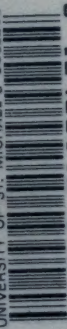



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THE PROTESTANT PLATFORM

BY

G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER

ORGANIZING SECRETARY, C.T.S.



LONDON

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THE PROTESTANT PLATFORM

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE following twenty examples give us a view of the Protestant platform under what is perhaps the most widely advertised and vaunted of its aspects—the recruits from Rome. Here are a score of men and women who have either made public use of their apostasy or else have laid false claim to the notoriety of apostates. The collection is a mixed one in several respects: what links these people together into an unenviable unity is the common purpose they have achieved in attacking the Catholic Church on the ground of personal experience. How far such attacks are worthy of credence by sensible folk is best estimated by considering the careers and characters of the majority of these lecturers. It would be unjust, of course, to measure the best among them by standards applicable only to the worst. What the reader must do, in order to be quite fair, is to let the graver offenders draw whatever mitigating leaven can be supplied by the others, and then strike an average. That average will supply the moral quality of the “ex-Romanist” as Protestant lecturer—and what an average it is!

G. E. A.

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THE PROTESTANT PLATFORM

BY G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER,
Organizing Secretary, C.T.S.

GIOVANNI ACHILLI

MENTION of Achilli's name takes us back to the year 1850, a year in which Protestant prejudice throughout England was excited by the "No Popery" agitation which followed the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. In May of that year a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, at Birmingham, was addressed by one Dr. Achilli, minister of an Italian Protestant church in London, an apostate who had been a friar at Viterbo. His moral character was thoroughly bad; he had been a profligate, deprived of his lectureship for grave misconduct and suspended from all priestly offices, and he was described by the Neapolitan police as "known for habitual incontinency." Achilli's immoralities were alluded to by Dr. Newman in a lecture to the Brothers of the Little Oratory at Birmingham, in October 1851, and as a result the ex-priest brought an action for libel against the future Cardinal, which was heard in the Queen's Bench in the following year. The evidence as to Achilli's character was such that it would be conclusive to any modern jury; but those were the days of strong anti-Catholic bias, with which even the judge (Lord Campbell) showed

himself to be affected, and a verdict was returned against Newman. The *Times*, in a strong leading article, protested against this miscarriage of justice, and the *Morning Chronicle* took Lord Campbell severely to task. On appeal the verdict was quashed, and offerings from every part of the country flowed in to defray the costs on the Catholic side. Newman's exposure of Achilli was timely and thorough, and resulted in discrediting the latter with all respectable Protestants.

BROTHER ANSGAR

Among the accessions to the Protestant lecture platform within the past few years is a native of Denmark named Ericksen, an apostate who was for a time a member of the community of Marist Brothers at Dumfries. Needless to say, he was taken up by the Protestant Alliance after his "conversion," and addressed meetings under the auspices of that body. His lectures included the customary charges—drunkenness, cruelty, etc.—which Catholics have by now grown accustomed to from lecturers of this stamp; and he continued, as a Protestant lecturer, to wear an imitation of the Marist habit, to which, of course, he was no longer entitled. Ericksen (or Brother Ansgar, to give him his name in religion) was dealt with severely in a local Catholic magazine at Barnet, which resulted in his bringing an action for libel against the editor, Father Spink. To the great surprise not only of Catholics but of other people as well, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding him damages. There was no surprise, however, when on appeal the verdict was quashed by three judges, and the trial set aside. Nor need we be surprised at the further fact that

Ansgar took no steps to have a new trial moved for within the time allowed by law, but abandoned further proceedings against the priest. His charges with regard to the Marist congregation have continued, so it may be useful to have the above particulars on record.

PASTOR CHINIQUEY

There are doubtless many Protestants who still believe the charges brought against the Catholic Church by the late Pastor Chiniquy in his *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*. But a man does not remain associated for half a century with a communion which he afterwards discovers to have been full of corruption, without laying himself open to the charge of either telling lies or having been singularly complacent of evil! As a matter of fact, the volume in question, published in 1885, introduces charges which find no place in Chiniquy's earlier work, *Why I Left the Church of Rome*; while if we go further back to his autobiography, published by the Religious Tract Society in 1861, we there find his conversion to Protestantism stated as solely due to doctrinal considerations. It was not until he had been many years out of the Church that Chiniquy tickled the anti-Catholic palate with the more serious charges which give his *Fifty Years* its special spice. An examination of this book by Father Sydney Smith, S.J. (*Pastor Chiniquy*, C.T.S., 1d.) reveals its manifold inconsistencies and manifest libels. Of Chiniquy himself, as Father Smith shows, the evidence of letters and other documents relates a history that is by no means commendable. His uncle, a M. Dionne, had reason to doubt of him as early as 1825, when he ceased pay-

ing for Chiniquy's education and forbade him his house. In September 1851, eighteen years after his ordination, Bishop Bourget of Montreal had occasion to withdraw all priestly powers from him, in connection with a charge affecting his morality. Chiniquy wrote to the Bishop in the following month, saying: "I shall go and hide the disgrace of my position in the obscurest and least known corner of the United States." He went to America, but not into obscurity. Readmitted to priestly duty, he worked until 1856, when Bishop O'Regan suspended and afterwards excommunicated him on further charges of immorality. Details of these events, leading up to Chiniquy's apostasy in 1858, are given in the C.T.S. pamphlet, together with the text of letters from the ex-priest himself, and other persons, which effectually repel the statements in *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*.

"THE REV. T. H. CLIFFORD, B.D."

This adventurer, an ex-soldier who posed as a Wesleyan minister, lectured for the Scottish Protestant Association at Ayr, N.B., where he carried on evangelistic meetings in the High Street and on the Low Green. We give him the name by which he called himself at that time, but it is not clear what his name really is. Clifford's police record is a bad one. In 1904, under the name of Smith, he received three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, for fraud in London. He had pretended in the City to be a paralytic cripple, but went nimbly home to the suburbs each evening, after his business day was done, living well on the charity he received. Later, he was imprisoned for six months for falsely representing himself to be an undergraduate of

Trinity College and a nephew of the Rev. Dr. Clifford. His wife secured a separation order in 1907, with maintenance; on two occasions Clifford went to prison for failing to pay this. He afterwards proceeded to Scotland with a woman named Ethel Brown, with whom he went through a bigamous form of marriage. In 1909 he was giving anti-Catholic lectures at Ayr, for the Association mentioned above; but after a time he left that body, pretended that he was a clergyman, and started the Free Gardeners' Hall Mission. On August 27, 1910, he was arrested on charges of falsely celebrating marriages and contravening the Registration of Births Act by causing false entries to be made in the birth register (in connection with his irregular life with Ethel Brown). In sentencing Clifford to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour, the Sheriff said the case was one of the worst he had recollected. Details of the trial are to be found in the *Ayrshire Post* for October 14, 1910.

ELLEN GOLDING

Among the Protestant pamphlets issued by Mr. Kensit is one on “Convent Life, by Sister Mary Raymond.” Although there is no mention of the fact, the story related is really that put forward by the late Miss Ellen Golding some years ago, after she had left the convent of La Sainte Union at Highgate, London. Her story, in brief, is that she was attracted to the Catholic Church by the glamour of its music and its ceremonies, that she entered the Order of the Sainte Union, and that her subsequent disillusion as to the virtues of the conventual life included the knowledge that poison was administered

to the nuns in their food, from which deaths had taken place in various convents in France to which she was from time to time attached. She had been in the Order about twenty-five years when, in August 1891, she made up her mind to leave. Her vows were only annual ones; she could have left the Order with full regularity and sanction in the month following; but instead of doing this she wrote a secret letter to a Protestant solicitor, who went to the convent and brought her away, after a "scene." The story got into the papers, and within a comparatively short time Miss Golding was secured for the Protestant platform. A visit to Bournemouth proved her undoing, as she was there taken in hand by a local priest, Father Cooney, S.J., and closely cross-examined, a professional shorthand writer being present to take down the questions and answers. The effect of the Catholic action was so entirely to discredit the "Rescued Nun" that after a short time her campaign was brought to an end. The full story, with many important details for which there is no space here, will be found in the C.T.S. pamphlet *Ellen Golding, the "Rescued Nun,"* by the Rev. S. F. Smith, S.J. (1d.).

WILLIAM JEFFERYS

Calumnies against convents and monasteries are among the things that age cannot wither nor custom stale. It is getting on for seventy years since an impostor named William Jefferys produced his *Narrative of Six Years' Captivity and Suffering* at the hands of the monks at Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire, and although the story was publicly knocked on the head, and its author sent to gaol for three months as a rogue and a vagabond,

the *Vanguard*, a Protestant paper largely subsidized by the Hope Trust, reprinted it as recently as 1913, — for which the editor was forced to make an apology. Jefferys's lying *Narrative* so excited the neighbourhood of the Abbey in 1849 that threats were made to burn down the monastery. As a matter of fact, he had never been in the monastery, except to enjoy its hospitality as a guest. The Prior called for a magisterial inquiry into the charges, so that the case might be fully investigated. This was done, and the wretched Jefferys, after vainly endeavouring, on the spot, to locate the scenes of his sufferings, completely broke down, threw himself on his knees before the Superior, and confessed that the whole story was false. Although the community forgave him, the Protestants whom he had duped, including the printer of the *Narrative*, were not so lenient; Jefferys was taken to Wednesbury and lodged in prison, and received his sentence at the Handsworth Petty Sessions. A full summary of the facts of the case is supplied by James Britten, K.S.G., in the C.T.S. pamphlet on *An "Escaped Monk"* (Id.).

SARAH M'CORMACK, THE "WHITE NUN"

"Now, Sarah, I want you to study these books, and you must get things out of them for to-night." The speaker was one Evans, "General" of a Salvation Army in Scotland with which the organization founded by General Booth had nothing to do and must not be confounded. The books were those of Maria Monk and Edith O'Gorman (see pp. 11, 16). "Sarah" was Sarah M'Cormack, a Glasgow servant-girl, who under Evans's direction was to read up these narratives and pose as an "escaped nun" from

the convent at Lanark, a place in which she had never set foot, as she afterwards confessed. This was in 1894. The lecturing career of the "White Nun," as she was called, came to an end after brief visits to Leith and Edinburgh; the police arrested her on a charge of "falsehood, fraud, and wilful imposition," and she received seven days' imprisonment. Evans, charged with abetting, got off on the Scottish verdict of "not proven"—a lucky escape, for, as the prosecutor said in Court, though the girl was foolish and wicked, the man charged with her was worse; he was a direct participator in the fraud. It turned out that Evans had taken the proceeds of the lectures, giving his dupe ten shillings a week and finding her in material for her revelations. A full account of the M'Cormack case was given in the *Glasgow Observer* for March and April 1894; a summary of it, from which this note has been written, will be found in a useful pamphlet on *The Truth about Convents*, by James Britten, K.S.G. (C.T.S., 1d.).

"PASTOR" M'DONALD

Several towns in Scotland—Motherwell, Campbeltown, and Hawick among them—have been lectured to by "Pastor" James M'Donald, also known as "the Kilwinning Martyr." This man started a Protestant Guild at Hawick, the members of which were drawn from sympathizers with his campaign. The Scottish field, however, proved less fruitful than he had hoped, so in November 1913 M'Donald purchased a ticket for New Zealand. The Protestant Guild subscribed a testimonial; but their interest and also the Pastor's movements were diverted when the police arrested

him on the charge of deserting his family. M'Donald pleaded not guilty, but on advice withdrew that plea and admitted the offence. The Sheriff said it was sad that a man should go about working in the name of religion and forget the primary Christian duty of maintaining his wife and children; he emphasized this view by fining the Kilwinning Martyr five pounds, or thirty days' imprisonment (*Glasgow Herald*, November 26, 1913). Two Protestant ministers at Hawick, the Rev. W. A. Ashby and the Rev. W. J. Ainslie, had previously (November 13) issued a leaflet to the public in which various unpleasant things are said about the “Pastor,” who, it was stated, “is absolutely unworthy of support in any self-respecting community. . . . The sooner he is gone the better it will be for Hawick, and every good cause in it.” In February 1914 M'Donald was in Edinburgh, where he was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment at the City Police Court for having obtained board and lodging without paying or intending to pay for them. The following May found him again at Hawick, where he was fined for attempting to enter a public-house while under the influence of drink.

MARIA MONK

Who has not heard of the *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*? The book came out about eighty years ago, and continued for several generations to be a staple of Protestant literature; this is no longer the case, as respectable Protestants will have nothing to do with it, and for the most part it is stocked by purveyors of pornographic books and pictures, although it has still a certain vogue with

anti-Catholic firebrands of the baser sort. Maria Monk's story related to events which she alleged had taken place in the Hôtel Dieu Convent at Montreal. Cruelty, immorality, murder—all were included in the indictment. From the first her statements were disbelieved by the authorities, and it was not long before a complete investigation, by Protestants themselves, demonstrated the utter falsity of the narrative. A Protestant gentleman of New York, Colonel W. L. Stone, accompanied by others, went to Montreal and probed the matter to the bottom; the visitors examined every part of the convent, and tested every detail advanced by Maria Monk, and the Colonel's signed verdict was that "Maria Monk is an arrant impostor, and her book, in all its essential features, a tissue of calumnies." Mr. John Ostell, an architect, proved that an alleged plan of the convent, printed with the *Disclosures*, could by no possibility be true. Protestant ministers, magistrats, and others visited the Hôtel Dieu and vindicated it by letters and affidavits. As a matter of fact, Maria Monk was a girl of bad character, who so far from having been a nun was instead an inmate of the Magdalen Asylum for fallen women, from which institution she drew the characters introduced into the *Disclosures*. Her end was as follows: in 1849 she was arrested for stealing from a paramour, and sent to prison, where she died. See *The True History of Maria Monk* (C.T.S., id.).

MARGARET MARY MOULT

In February 1909 the English Press gave wide publicity to an "escape" from the well-known Benedictine convent at East Bergholt, Suffolk;

The facts of the case, separated from its fictions, related to a Miss Margaret Moulton, in religion Dame Maurus, who made a secret departure from the convent and was for a brief period an "escaped nun" lecturer on the Protestant platform. It is due to her to say that her narrative, both on the platform and in a book which appeared in her name, was happily free from the kind of suggestions and innuendoes that one so often finds in attacks on the conventual life; and as Miss Moulton has since married and given up lecturing, it might seem a charitable duty to omit all reference to her case. But this cannot be done, first of all because the omission would be misunderstood as a desire to suppress unpleasant facts, and next because her book is still in circulation. All that need be said here, however, is that an investigation of the matter was undertaken by three local gentlemen of position, all of them non-Catholics: Mr. Thomas Robertson, a magistrate, Mr. W. S. Calvert, Lord of the Manor, and the Rev. E. A. Ley, Vicar of Manningtree. These gentlemen visited the convent without any previous intimation: "We were allowed," they reported, "to converse freely with any of the nuns apart from the presence of the Superiors, and were struck with the expressions of contentment and happiness used by all whom we addressed in talking of their daily life." The report concludes: "In fine, after a lengthened investigation we could find no foundation for the charges made in the book published under the title of *The Escaped Nun*." Those who desire a full statement of the case are referred to the C.T.S. pamphlet by Father Sydney Smith, S.J., on *The Escaped Nun from East Bergholt* (1d.).

MINNIE MURPHY

Minnie Murphy is not an important person, but her case, besides the fact that it is a fairly recent one, supplies a typical instance of the readiness with which a certain section of the English Press will lay hold of any "escaped nun" story, however wildly improbable, and give it currency without either suspicion or inquiry. On May 25, 1912, the *Sheffield Independent* printed a startling story, with no less startling headlines: "SAVE ME FROM THIS PRISON! DRAMATIC STORY OF CONVENT LIFE. SHEFFIELD PLOT. ESCAPED NUN WHO SLEPT IN HER COFFIN." It appeared that "a bright-eyed, bonny girl, of frank, open countenance," had spoken in a train about her intention of entering a convent. "A shrewd little woman" tried to dissuade her, and gave the girl her visiting-card. So much for the prologue: the story opens with the receipt of a letter by the shrewd little woman aforesaid: "Will you try to get me from this prison of misery," it ran, "or I shall die." Posing as the girl's aunt, the benefactress went to the address, St. Vincent's Home, Ancoats, Manchester, and took Minnie away. Speedily a narrative was forthcoming, of scourgings, and drudgery, and a dark punishment cell, and sleeping in one's own coffin—a story palpably absurd; yet it was accepted without question, without any investigation, by the editor of the *Independent*, and was copied into the *Weekly Dispatch* in London, and, needless to say, also into the Protestant Press. Exposure was not long in coming. Dean Dolan of Sheffield showed the impossibility of the details given, and the *Sheffield Telegraph*, a rival organ, made first-hand inquiries at Ancoats, by which the whole story collapsed like a house of cards. Minnie

Murphy herself fled from her Protestant friends, leaving a note behind her in which she confessed to having deceived them. The truth was that she had never been in a convent at all. At the home at Ancoats she was a laundry girl; her previous history included residence in two Catholic institutions in Dublin, and work, as a servant, in a home at Preston. For the full story, see *Minnie Murphy's Mendacities* (C.T.S., 1d.).

TITUS OATES

In point of time Titus Oates, going back as he does to the seventeenth century, heads the list of the various anti-Catholics who are pilloried in this pamphlet. His character is aptly expressed in the first three words of the notice about him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "Oates, Titus, perjurer"; it is a qualification making him the father-in-kind of many who have come after him. This scoundrel belongs to English history, and is so well and unenviably known that his inclusion here is more for the sake of suitability than of necessity. Oates contrived to get admitted to orders in the Established Church, but soon gave signs of his later vocation by bringing a trumped-up charge against a schoolmaster, the failure of which led to his being thrown into prison. He escaped and joined the Navy as a chaplain, from which office he was expelled. It was about 1677 that Oates began his campaign of calumny against Catholics. Pretending to be reconciled as a Catholic himself, he was actually received into the college at Valladolid, but after a few months was ignominiously expelled. Later on he fabricated his story of a "Popish plot," on the strength of which—sustained by the perjured testi-

mony of a second scoundrel named Bedloc—whole-sale arrests were made and innocent men, one after another, put to death. Oates was well paid and lodged by the Government, and fêted and fed, until the tide of his fortunes turned in 1681. Popular credulity was now largely exhausted as to the supposed plot, but not until between thirty and forty Catholics had been judicially murdered, among them the Venerable Oliver Plunket. Titus Oates fell from his pinnacle, and when James II. came to the throne he was tried for perjury, and ordered to be imprisoned and whipped. Financial and other relief came to him with the Orange *régime*, but he remained hopelessly discredited until his death in 1705—"a most consummate cheat, blasphemer, vicious, perjured, impudent, and saucy, foul-mouth'd wretch" (Roger North).

EDITH O'GORMAN

One of the very few survivors in the ex-nun business, Mrs. O'Gorman Auffray, the "Escaped Nun," is still (1915) prepared in her old age to tell English Protestant audiences about her sufferings, her escape, and her subsequent persecution by Catholics. It is an old story—how she joined the Sisters of Charity in New Jersey, witnessed various cruelties to children who were under the Sisters' care, was annoyed and almost drugged by a priest, fled from the convent, went through divers adventures, and finally received the light of Protestant conviction. Her statement, frequently made, that Catholics have not attempted any reply to her charges, no longer holds good: there is a C.T.S. pamphlet, *Edith O'Gorman and her Book* (1d.), which sufficiently refutes Mrs. Auffray's story out of her

own mouth; for it compares very closely two editions of her narrative, divided by an interval of thirty years, and exposes flaws which are vital. For example, the story of the alleged escape is differently related, in the two editions, in regard both to the place and circumstances: in one edition (1871) the "escape" takes the very mild form of leaving a school-house in the city of Newark, New Jersey; while in the later version (1901) the scene is shifted to the convent at Jersey City, where she "softly unlocked the doors and gates" and so departed. She is proved to have kept up communication with, and written in defence of, the priest who comes into her story, and it is shown that the text of letters and newspaper reports has been altered to suit the purposes of the book. Edith O'Gorman's charges, tested in this way, break down in every important particular.

EX-PRIEST ROCHE

Described by *Truth* (December 8, 1909) as "an utterly unprincipled scoundrel," ex-priest Roche supplies one of a number of instances where moral unworthiness has proved to be no bar to the anti-Catholic lecture platform. The Lanarkshire Protestant Crusade and Evangelical Mission of Scotland engaged Roche among its lecturers some years ago; an inquiry beforehand, in the proper quarter, would have elicited the following facts about him. Roche was for several years attached to the Catholic mission at Selkirk, where his conduct gave rise to continual scandals: he was intemperate, and a lady who passed as his sister had in reality been married to him many years previously. On one occasion he exhibited a tradesman's bill with a stamped receipt

at foot ; the tradesman repudiated the signature as a forgery, and the handwriting was clearly that of Roche himself. Deprived of his priestly office in 1906, Roche left Selkirk and went to Edinburgh, leaving behind him various unpaid debts, among them his liquor bills. On June 10 of that year he was admitted to the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, suffering from acute alcoholism, and remained there for ten days. Subsequently he took to writing begging-letters. Utterly unscrupulous, he offered to say mass in return for help, well knowing that his deprivation made him no longer capable of doing so ; and while appealing to the Superior of a Catholic convent for assistance, he was actually appearing in public and denouncing the Catholic Faith. The editor of *Truth* says, referring again to Roche as "a dissolute hypocrite," that "if these are the sort of champions on whom Protestantism depends, the cause is truly in a parlous state."

"EX-PRIEST RUTHVEN"

The above is the name assumed by Michael Riordan, an apostate who came to England from the United States about 1899, and began to deliver the customary lectures, a compound of invention and indecency, which one looks for, and gets, in men of this class. The Catholic Truth Society secured his American record, which supplied the reason why "Ruthven" should prefer to try the English Protestant field. The testimony against him was largely that of Presbyterian newspapers and clergymen. Riordan had been expelled from the Baptist Church as a fraud ; he had been in gaol for misappropriation of funds, which he had been collecting in the name of the Rev. Dr. Paton, the well-known

missionary, who described the affair in his autobiography and supported it on oath at the trial of a libel action brought by Riordan against Father De Bom, the priest at Shanklin, Isle of Wight. Besides the C.T.S., *Truth* took the matter up, and printed a number of exposures of Riordan's past. It was in 1901 that the libel action against Father De Bom took place, which resulted in a verdict for the defendant on one count and for the plaintiff on another. When, in the course of the proceedings, extracts from Riordan's lectures were read, Mr. Justice Ridley ordered all women and boys out of court. The Judge's summing-up (since printed by the C.T.S. as a pamphlet, *The Judge and the Ex-Priest*) is one of the most scathing pronouncements regarding anti-Catholic lectures of this kind that have ever issued from the Bench. That Riordan left hotel bills unpaid, and was charged with using threats with a revolver, are among the records of his minor offences.

MARGARET SHEPHERD

Among the many impostors who have posed as convent victims it would not be easy to find an example at once so fraudulent and so depraved as the late Margaret L. Shepherd, anti-Catholic lecturer, writer, and creator of a Protestant women's society in America. She was never a nun: her only association with the conventual life was derived from institutions, under the care of nuns, for incorrigible girls or fallen women. She was for a time at Arno's Vale Convent, Bristol, not as a nun but among the penitent prostitutes whom that community looks after. In many respects Margaret Shepherd is to be classed with Maria Monk,—certainly she

was no better, and on the whole was rather worse. Her entire life, almost from childhood, was one of criminality and deceit. She passed under various names. As "Miss Douglas" she was arrested for forging Lord Archibald Douglas's name. At Bodmin, Cornwall, and in London, she was imprisoned at different times on criminal charges, in the names of Parkyn and Edgerton. At another time she was "Margaret Herbert," and claimed relationship to Lady Herbert. It was after she ran away from Arno's Vale that Margaret Shepherd began her career of imposture and deception against the Church. She was befriended by the Salvation Army, and went to America under its auspices; there she betrayed the trust reposed in her, and subsequently Florence Booth wrote: "I have no doubt at all but this woman is a fraud." She deceived the late Mr. W. T. Stead, whose disillusion found expression in the advice to an inquirer about her: "The less you have to do with the lady you mention the better it will be for your peace of mind and the security of the contents of your pockets." Mrs. Shepherd supported her vile lectures with obscene books, on account of which the authorities at Brooklyn issued a warrant against her in 1901. She victimized people right and left, among them several Nonconformist clergymen, who wrote letters warning the public of her true character. She died in 1903, leaving behind her about as bad a record as it is possible for this sort of person to accumulate.

PASTOR SILVA

In the spring of 1914 the Protestant lecture platform in England received another recruit in the person of "Pastor Silva," an Italian apostate priest whose

alleged story has been circulated by the Waldensian Church Mission Society under the title of "Father Frederick." This man is an ex-Capuchin friar, who apostatized and married and was afterwards connected with a Waldensian mission near Genoa. The story of his conversion to Protestantism is a variant of the well-worn legend of Luther's discovery of a Bible. Pastor Silva also discovered one among "prohibited and dangerous" works in the library of the friary at Bergamo, to which his appointment as librarian had given him access; he took it to his cell, read it, and was "converted" as the result! At a meeting held in St. Paul's Church Room, South Kensington, on April 30, 1914, Pastor Silva was tackled by Mr. A. Hilliard Atteridge, the Secretary of the C.T.S. Catholic Defence Sub-committee. Mr. Atteridge was able to demonstrate the falsity of the Pastor's statement by reading extracts from the Capuchin Rule itself, in which the reading and study of Holy Scripture is specially enjoined. Pastor Silva's rejoinder was that such a rule belonged to the thirteenth century, and was now obsolete; but his shot failed signally to hit the mark, for the edition from which Mr. Atteridge read was issued in 1905. This single instance will serve to show the character and worthlessness of this ex-priest's statements; other particulars will be found in *Catholic Book Notes* for August 1914 (p. 289).

THE SLATTERYS

In 1897-98 an ex-priest named Joseph Slattery, accompanied by Mrs. Slattery, a sham nun, were giving anti-Catholic lectures in various parts of England, particularly in the north. The Slatterys, like Ruthven (see p. 18), were an American importation;

they came to this country bearing "the highest testimonials from well-known gentlemen in America," and were launched upon the English public by the Protestant Alliance. It was not long before Catholics over here were in possession of the facts, mainly due to a pamphlet issued by the C.T.S. of America. Joseph Slattery was a priest of the Dublin archdiocese who gave way to drink. He had been warned by Cardinal M'Cabe and Archbishop Walsh, but to no good end, and the Archbishop was obliged to give him up. Slattery left Ireland, and was next heard of as a student for the Baptist ministry at Hamilton, New York, where he posed as having abandoned the priesthood from "conscientious scruples." Exposure of the truth led to his expulsion, and he then went to the Baptists at Philadelphia, but there also he was expelled. He and the woman took to the lecture platform in America before coming to England and Scotland. At Edinburgh they were prosecuted for selling "an indecent and obscene book," for publishing which Slattery had been imprisoned at Pittsburg. His "testimonials," when examined, are found to be either bogus or worthless. As to Mrs. Slattery, who lectured, and produced a book, as an "ex-nun," it need only be said that her whole story is a string of fictions, as to her convent life and all connected with it. See *The Slatterys*, by James Britten, K.S.G. (C.T.S., id.), for a complete exposure of this couple.

THEODORE VON HUSEN

It was in the summer of 1912 that this person first came under notice as an anti-Catholic lecturer. Under the auspices of Mr. Kensit's crusade he was introduced to audiences at Teddington as an ex-

priest ; in support of this claim Von Husen put forward various particulars, *e.g.* the date of his ordination, and that he was known at Cologne Cathedral and Archbishop's House, Westminster. Inquiry at both places elicited, as was expected, the reply in each case that nothing whatever was known there about him. At one time he would pose as an ex-Jesuit, at another as an ex-Franciscan. The details he gave of his life would make him a sub-deacon when less than fourteen years of age, and a priest before he was eighteen. Challenged at one of his meetings as to the words of consecration, he hazarded "*Corpus Christum meum factum tuum*"!¹ Von Husen fell into the hands of the police in September 1913, and in the following month was convicted at the Central Criminal Court and sentenced to gaol for three months for indecent conduct, the jury finding him guilty without leaving the box. At the hearing various facts about him transpired. He had been married twenty years previously. For two years he had worked in London as a painter and decorator, changing into semi-clerical garb in the evenings and thus becoming "Father Von Husen" of the Protestant lecture platform. Mr. A. Hilliard Atteridge, who had already exposed Von Husen at a public meeting, has done so in fuller detail in the C.T.S. pamphlet entitled *The Record of an Impostor* (id.).

FRANCIS GEORGE WIDDOWS

"Ex-Monk Widdows," as he likes to call himself, is another of the "Pastors" of the anti-Catholic platform ; he has filled that office at the Martin

¹ The chairman on this occasion was the notorious "Ex-Monk" Widdows (see below).

Luther Church at Hackney, London, but his spiritual ministry has been interrupted by enforced retirement—in other words, Widdows has more than once been imprisoned for a serious offence, and at present (1915) is serving yet another sentence. This man, whose name is properly Nobbs, was never a Catholic. He is not an ex-monk; his only association with a religious community is in the fact that he was befriended by the late Father Ignatius, the Anglican monk, then at Norwich, afterwards at Llanthony. In 1888 Widdows was tried at the Central Criminal Court and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude; it transpired at the trial that he had been previously convicted of indecency in 1875, at Toronto, and imprisoned for five months.¹ The autobiographical details which this ex-convict supplies, in proof of his claim to be also an ex-Franciscan, make interesting reading. He states that he was taken by a Capuchin priest to France, entered a Franciscan novitiate in Paris, and took his vows at Lyons in 1869, afterwards going to Rome. But according to the *Daily Telegraph* for February 18, 1869, Widdows was at that time in London, and not only in London but also in the dock at Marylebone Police Court, charged as a result of a quarrel with a man named Hughes, the two of them being partners in a general shop. *Truth* (June 4, 1896) says that "the most rabid Protestant, unless he is destitute of all sense of decency and self-respect, should be ashamed to give his countenance and support to a lecturer of Widdows' character and antecedents."

¹ In 1902 he was again found guilty, in London, of an indecent offence, and sentenced to two years' hard labour.

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THE TRUE HISTORY OF MARIA MONK.

IT is more than sixty years since *Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures* first appeared, and a year after its appearance a complete refutation of the story was published in the *Dublin Review* (May, 1836). The story, however, was too much according to the taste of an anti-Catholic public to be given up for so trifling a consideration as its proved falsity; and a notorious shop in Paternoster Row, as well as others established under Protestant auspices, still continues to print and disseminate it. The character of the work appeals also to another class of readers, and it may usually be found in quarters in which more or less indecent publications are exposed for sale. It is not easy to believe that a book of this kind can be accepted as authentic by decent and well-meaning Protestants; yet we are assured that such is the case. To them, therefore, we now offer (1) a reprint of the *Dublin Review* article; (2) some further evidence on the subject which has come to light since that date; (3) an account of her death. We ask a careful perusal and an attentive hearing for the evidence we offer, and we shall be surprised if our readers are not convinced that the "True History" is a tissue of lies.

I.—The "Dublin Review" Article.

A book bearing the title of *Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures* has just appeared in London. It is a verbal reprint from the original edition published in New York in January last (1835), and its object is to calumniate the members of the Catholic religious establishments of Montreal in Lower Canada, and thereby to cast discredit and obloquy on the professors of that faith generally.

Let us hear how this precious nun introduces her "awful disclosures."

"It is hoped that the reader of the ensuing narrative will not suppose that it is a *fiction*, or that the scenes and persons that I have delineated had not a real existence. It is also desired that the author of this volume may be regarded not as a *voluntary participant* in the very guilty transactions which are described ; but receive sympathy for the trials which she has endured and the peculiar situation in which her past experience and escape from the power of the Superioress of the Hôtel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal, and the snares of the Roman priests in Canada, have left her. My feelings are frequently distressed and agitated by the recollections of what I have passed through ; and by night and by day I have little peace of mind, and few periods of calm or serious reflection. I have given the world the truth so far as I have gone, on subjects of which I am told they are generally ignorant ; and I feel perfect confidence that any facts which may yet be discovered will confirm my words, whenever they can be obtained. Whoever shall explore the Hôtel Dieu Nunnery at Montreal, will find unquestionable evidence that the descriptions of the interior of that edifice given in this book were furnished by one familiar with them ; for whatever alterations may be attempted, there are changes which no mason or carpenter can make and effectually conceal, and therefore there must be plentiful evidence in that institution of the truth of my description. There are living witnesses also who ought to be made to speak, without fear of penances, tortures, and death ; and possibly their testimony at some future time may be added to confirm my statements. It would distress the reader should I repeat the dreams with which I am often terrified at night ; for I sometimes fancy myself pursued by my worst enemies ; frequently I seem as if shut up again in the convent ; often I imagine myself present at the repetition of the worst scenes that I have hinted at or described. Sometimes I stand by the secret place of

interment in the cellar ; sometimes I think I can hear the shrieks of helpless females in the hands of atrocious men ; and sometimes almost seem actually to look again upon the calm and placid countenance of Saint Frances as she appeared when surrounded by her murderers ” (Preface.)¹

Thus the authoress confesses that she is afflicted with terrific dreams—that she imagines herself to be pursued by enemies—shut up again in the “black convent”—present once more at the hideous scenes she describes—about to be conveyed to the “secret place of interment” in the cellar—that she hears “the shrieks of helpless females in the hands of atrocious men.” Well then, if the lady be subject to visions of this description, is it not just possible that some of them might have found their way into her book ? A glance at her early history, as it stands recorded by herself, will throw some further light upon her character. Her parents, she tells us, were both from Scotland, and resided in Lower Canada. She was born at St. John’s, and has spent the most of her life in Montreal. Her father was an officer under the British Government. He is dead, and her mother has a pension. The latter is a Protestant. Our heroine, when about six or seven years old, went to a school kept by a Mr. Workman, a Protestant, who taught her to read and write, and arithmetic as far as division. A number of girls of her acquaintance went to school (as day scholars) to the establishment of the Congregational Nunnery, or Sisters of Charity, as they are usually called.

When she was ten years old, being anxious to learn French, she obtained permission to attend the schools of the Sisters of Charity. The “terrible Black Nunnery” is adjacent to that of the Sisters of Charity, being separated from it only by a wall. The Black Nunnery “professes to be a charitable institution for the care of the sick, and the supply of bread and medicines for the poor ; and *something is done in these departments of charity*, although but an insignificant amount compared

¹ All quotations from *Maria Monk* are from the book above mentioned.

with the size of the buildings and the number of the inmates." This is the institution which Maria Monk and her confederates have thought fit to libel. It is called the "Black Nunnery" from the colour of the dress worn by the inmates.

"From all that appears to the public eye, the nuns of these convents are devoted to the charitable objects appropriate to each, the labour of making different articles known to be manufactured by them, and the religious observances which occupy a large portion of their time. They are regarded with *much respect* by the people at large; and now and then, when a novice takes the veil, she is supposed to retire from the temptations and troubles of this world into a state of holy seclusion, where, by prayer, self-mortification, and good deeds, she prepares herself for heaven" (p. 14).

Now here it is admitted that these establishments, which have existed at Montreal for upwards of half a century, are regarded with much respect by the people of that place, although we shall presently learn from the evidence of Maria Monk that one of them at least is the perpetual scene of every crime that can degrade religion and disgrace human nature. But let us proceed. While Maria was at the school of the Sisters of Charity, priests regularly attended to instruct the pupils in the Catechism. With a view to forward them in the essential part of Catholic education, a small catechism in common use amongst us was put into their hands.¹ But, says Maria:—

"The priests soon began to teach us a new set of answers which were not to be found in our books, from some of which I received new ideas, and got, as I thought, important light on religious subjects, which confirmed me more and more in my belief in the Roman Catholic doctrines. These questions and answers I can still recall with tolerable accuracy, and some of them I will add here. I never have *read them*, as we were taught them only by word of mouth. Question: Why

¹ [The English Catechism of Christian Doctrine can be obtained from 21 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E., price 1d., by post 1½d.]

did not God make all the commandments? Answer: Because man is not strong enough to keep them. Question: Why are men not to read the New Testament? Answer: Because the mind of man is too limited and weak to understand what God has written: These questions and answers are *not to be found in the common catechisms* in use in Montreal, and other places where I have been, but all the children in the Congregational Nunnery were taught them, and many more not in these books."

Well might Maria say that she had never *read* these questions and answers, and that they are not to be found in the common catechism. The first question is an absurdity in itself, and the propriety of the second may be judged of by those who take the trouble to look into the Missal used by the Catholic laity, which they will find almost wholly composed of extracts from the New Testament.

We now begin to see a little of this lady's character. Her first acquaintance with the Black Nunnery arose from a service it conferred upon her.

"In the Black Nunnery is an hospital for sick people from the city, and sometimes some of our boarders, such as were indisposed, were sent there to be cured. I was once taken ill myself and sent there, where I remained a few days. There were beds enough for a considerable number more. A physician attended it daily; and there is a number of the veiled nuns of that convent *who spend most of their time there*. These would also sometimes read lectures and repeat prayers to us" (p. 20).

Such are the practices—attending the sick, reading lectures to them, repeating prayers with them, spending most of their time with them—of the Black Nuns whom nevertheless we shall, by and by, find charged by this grateful patient with the perpetration of the most horrid crimes!

The only opportunity she appears ever to have had of becoming acquainted with the interior of the nunnery in question was that which she enjoyed on this occasion; and yet she has the audacity, as well as the ingratitude,

to put forth as a test of the truth of her narrative the knowledge of the localities which she acquired during the period she received from the sisterhood the most kind, the most beneficial attentions. She proceeds : —

“After I had been in the Congregational Nunnery about two years, I left it and attended several schools for a short time ; but I soon became *dissatisfied*, having many and severe trials to endure at home which my feelings will not allow me to describe ; and as my Catholic acquaintances had often spoken to me in favour of their faith, I was inclined to believe it true, although, as I have before said, *I knew little of any religion. While out of the nunnery I saw nothing of religion.* If I had, I believe I should never have thought of becoming a nun” (p. 21).

According to her own account, Maria was now about twelve or thirteen years old. Suddenly she takes it into her head to become a black nun ; she was introduced, she says, by an old priest, to the Superior of the convent, to whom she explained her wishes ; and accordingly, after a short delay, she says, “at length, on Saturday morning I called about 10 o'clock and was admitted into the Black Nunnery as a novice, much to my satisfaction” (p. 23). She states (p. 28), and not incorrectly, that the usual period of the noviciate is about two years and a half, which is sometimes abridged, and yet we find her commencing her fourth chapter in these terms :—

“After I had been a novice *four or five years*, that is, from the time I commenced school at the convent, one day I was treated by one of the nuns in a manner which displeased me, and because I expressed some resentment, was required to beg her pardon. Not being satisfied with this, although I complied with the command, nor with the coolness with which the superior treated me, *I determined to quit the convent at once, which I did without asking leave.* There would have been *no obstacle* to my departure, I presume, novice as I then was, if I had asked permission ; but I was too much displeased to wait for that, and went home *without speaking to any one on the subject.*” (p. 33).

Therefore we find that, according to her own account

her noviciate was double the ordinary length of the period of probation; that from her thirteenth to her eighteenth year she spent in the "Black Nunnery" in the first instance; and that then she quitted it without asking leave of anybody.¹ We next behold her as assistant teacher in a school at St. Denis. And, lest we might be charged with mutilating her narrative by condensing it, we shall permit her to tell her own story.

"While engaged in this manner I became acquainted with a man who soon proposed marriage; and, young and ignorant of the world as I was, I heard his offers with favour. On consulting with my friend, she expressed a friendly interest for me, advised me against taking such a step, and especially as I knew *little about the man* except that a report was circulated *unfavourable to his character*. Unfortunately I was not wise enough to listen to her advice, and *hastily married*. In a few weeks I had occasion to repent of the step I had taken, as *the report proved true*—a report which I thought justified and indeed required our separation. After I had been in St. Denis about three months, finding myself thus situated and not knowing *what else to do*, I determined to return to the convent and pursue my former intention of becoming a Black Nun could I gain admittance. Knowing the *many inquiries* that the Superior would make relative to me during my absence before leaving St. Denis, I agreed with the lady with whom I had been associated as a teacher (when she went to Montreal, which she did very frequently) to say to the Lady Superior, *I had been under her protection during my absence*, which would satisfy and stop further inquiry; as I was sensible, *should they know I had been married*, I should not gain admittance" (pp. 35, 36).

Here then we have a novice who ran away from her convent, married to a man of bad character; having nothing else to do, she resolves again to become a nun, and in order to shield herself from inquiry on that subject, deliberately fabricates a false statement, in

¹ The article in the *Dublin Review* might also have noticed the absurd age when Maria Monk asserts she was clothed, &c.

which she gets another person to join her, and back she goes to the nunnery with this lie upon her lips, concealing, too, the fact of her marriage, which, without a legal separation sanctioned by the Church, is utterly inconsistent with the vows into which a nun must enter. But this is not all. Having, as she asserts, obtained permission to take up her abode again in the convent as a novice, she proceeds to give us the following piece of information, which, even upon her own showing, would be enough to disqualify her as a witness in any court of justice in the world.

"The money usually required for the admission of novices had not been expected from me ; I had been admitted the first time without any such requisition ; but now I choose to pay for my readmission. I knew that she (the Superioress) was able to dispense with such a demand as well in this as the former case, and she knew that I was not in possession of anything like the sum she required. But I was bent on paying to the nunnery, and accustomed to receive the doctrine, often repeated to me before that time, that when the advantage of the Church was consulted, the steps taken were justifiable, let them be what they would ; I therefore resolved to obtain money *on false pretences*, confident that if all were known, I should be far from displeasing the Superior. *I went to the Brigade Major*, and asked him to give me the money payable to my mother from her pension, which amounted to about thirty dollars ; and without questioning my authority to receive it in her name, he gave me it. From several of her friends, I obtained small sums under the name of loans, so that altogether I had soon raised a number of pounds, with which I hastened to the nunnery, and deposited a part in the hands of the Superior. She received the money with evident satisfaction, though she must have known that *I could not have obtained it honestly* ; and I was at once readmitted as a novice" (pp. 36, 37).

We shall only add one other trait of this woman's character, as described by herself :—

"The day on which I received Confirmation was a

distressing one to me. I believed the doctrine of the Roman Catholics, and, according to them, I was guilty of three mortal sins : concealing something at confession ; sacrilege in putting the Body of Christ in the sacrament under my feet, and by receiving it while not in a state of grace ; and now, I had been led into all these sins in consequence of my marriage, which I never had acknowledged, as it would have cut me off from being admitted as a nun " (p. 40).

It was about a year after this period that Maria (as she says) became a nun, by taking the veil, having still concealed the circumstance of her marriage, and consequently committed sacrilege, under all its most aggravated forms. No sooner did she take the veil than she was at once initiated in all the crimes which she says the nuns are in the habit of committing. "From that moment," she declares, "I was required to act like the most abandoned of beings" ; then for the first time she heard that "all her future associates were habitually guilty of the most heinous and detestable crimes" (p. 47). It will not be required of us to go through the dark catalogue of offences which she imputes to the sisterhood. There is one alleged crime, however, which we cannot pass unnoticed. It is told with much of circumstance, and involves a deliberate murder, in which she says that she herself took a part, and of which, if there was one tittle of foundation for her story, the authorities of Montreal would have easily disposed, by having the alleged murderers brought to public trial.

In page 101 of her *Disclosures* she prefers a charge of deliberate murder against the Bishop of Montreal, the Superioress of the convent, and five priests, three of whom are named Fathers Bonin, Richards, and Savage. The facts are as follows : a certain nun, called "Saint Frances," because she would not take part in the alleged criminal acts of the sisters, is hurried up before the five priests and the Bishop, sentenced to death, and immediately is bound and gagged, tied face upwards to a bedstead and mattress, other beds are thrown upon her, and all the five priests with the nuns jump upon the

bed and literally crush the "poor victim" to death. She is then unbound and buried in quicklime in a cellar, where in a very short time all vestiges of this alleged murder are destroyed.

The person who records this deed says that she cannot even think of it now without shuddering. She has no kindly feelings towards the parties who, she says, were guilty of this murder. There were other witnesses of it besides herself. Why then did she not, at least after quitting the convent, of which she asserts she was at one time an inmate, go before the King's Attorney-General and denounce the murderers? Simply because she knew that the whole scene is a fabrication of her own brain, or of some other brain more steeped in falsehood than her own.

We need not pursue this narrative any further. It will be sufficient to add that Maria confesses that even after she had taken the veil, she *twice* quitted the convent, and that eventually the necessity she was under of preparing for her own *accouchement*, as she confesses, obliged her to run away altogether. She found refuge, as she informs us, in an almshouse at New York.

Such is the story of this abandoned woman as told by herself, or at least by others with her sanction, abstracting from its truth or falsehood. We ask any reasonable being, is it a story that deserves the slightest credit? We might leave the work to its fate upon the evidence we have brought against the alleged author out of her own pages; but fortunately for the cause of our religion and of truth we happen to have in our hands the means of proving that it is from beginning to end a tissue of the most unalloyed falsehoods ever penned or uttered. The sources whence we derive our evidence of the utter falsehood of the book are: 1. The universal testimony of the Protestant press at Montreal. 2. The affidavits of individuals of character residing at Montreal, and, amongst the rest, that of Maria Monk's own mother, who appears to be a respectable woman.

The first publication of this calumny against the priesthood and nuns of Montreal appeared in a New York

“religious” (?) paper called the *Protestant Vindicator*. The number in which the infamous libel appeared was dated 14th October, 1835, three months previous to the appearance of the book ; it reached Montreal four or five days later, and was met by immediate and unanimous contradiction from the whole of the Protestant press of the Province. The contradictions are of the most unqualified character ; and as the parties from whom they emanated are, for the most part, politically opposed to the section of the population to which the priests belong, they are at once honourable to the good feelings of the witnesses themselves, and of course the more valuable as evidence. We shall commence with the evidence of the *Montreal Herald*, in favour of the unimpeachable character of the calumniated persons. After a paragraph which it is not necessary to quote, the *Herald* (in its issue of 20th or 21st (?) October, 1835) proceeds as follows :—

“ The first editorial article is entitled ‘Nunneries,’ and is intended to be an exposure of debauchery and murder said to have taken place in the Hôtel Dieu in this city. We will not disgrace our columns nor disgust our readers by copying the false, the abominably false article. Though of a different religious persuasion from the priests and nuns, we have had too many opportunities of witnessing their unwearied assiduity and watchfulness and Christian charity during two seasons of pestilence, and can bear witness to the hitherto unimpeached and unimpeachable rectitude of their conduct, to be in the slightest degree swayed in our opinion by a newspaper slander ; but we would respectfully inform the conductors of the *Protestant Vindicator* that there never existed a class of men who are more highly respected and more universally esteemed by individuals of all persuasions than the Roman Catholic priests of Montreal. The ‘Sisters of Charity’ are equally respected and are the means of effecting important services to the community. They *practise* Christianity by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, protecting the orphan, and ministering to the sick, the afflicted, and the dying,—

'pursuing the noiseless tenour of their way,' courting no popular applause, and seeking their sole reward in 'conscience void of offence towards God and man.' We do not pretend to be defenders of the Roman Catholic religion, or of any of its particular institutions. We are Protestants and glory in being so; but we will not so far forget the precepts of our Divine Master as to connive at traducing the character of individuals who are exemplary members of society, although they are of a different religious persuasion from ourselves."

[The *Dublin Review* then adds extracts from the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Rucher Mercury*, belonging both to the same date October 21, 1835. These are omitted here for want of space, but they testify with the same cordiality to the respect and even veneration felt by citizens of all denominations for the character and heroic labours of the clergy and nuns.]

These general testimonies in favour of the Roman Catholic clergy and religious ladies of Montreal, and in contradiction to the sweeping accusations against them, contained in the paper already named, produced no retraction or apology on the part of the editor of the *Protestant Vindicator*. On the contrary, in a subsequent number of that paper, dated the 4th November, 1835, the calumnies were reiterated and insisted upon, in the violent and bitter language of ignorant fanaticism, on the single authority of the unfortunate creature whose name is attached to the book (which is the object of this criticism). In the meantime some of the Protestant inhabitants of Montreal had voluntarily instituted an inquiry into the origin of the accusations, and the result was the perfect establishment of the falsehood of the statements which have since been woven into the book under notice.

The first piece of evidence we shall offer is the sworn affidavit of Dr. Robertson, a physician of long standing, and a Justice of the Peace. It is not the first in chronological order, but it is the first in importance, as it gives a connected history of Maria Monk for a considerable time previously. The document we give

entire, inviting the reader's especial attention to the passages which we have printed in italics.

"William Robertson, of Montreal, doctor in medicine, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposeth and saith as follows: On the 9th of November, 1834, three men came up to my house, having a young female in company with them, who they said was observed, that forenoon, on the bank of the canal, near the extremity of the St. Joseph's suburbs, acting in a manner which induced some people who saw her to think that she intended to drown herself. They took her into a house in the neighbourhood, where, after being there some hours, and interrogated as to who she was, &c., *she said she was the daughter of Dr. Robertson.* On receiving this information they brought her to my house. Being from home when they came to the door, and learning from Mrs. Robertson that she had denied them, they conveyed her to the watch-house. Upon hearing this story, in company with G. Auldjo, Esq., of this city, I went to the watch-house to inquire into the affair. We found the young female, whom I have since ascertained to be Maria Monk, daughter of W. Monk of this city, in custody. She said that, although she was not my daughter, she was the child of respectable parents, in or very near Montreal, *who from some light conduct of hers (arising from temporary insanity, to which she was at times subject from her infancy) had kept her confined and chained in a cellar for the last four years.* Upon examination, no mark or appearance indicated the wearing of manacles or any other mode of restraint. She said, on my observing this, that her mother always took care to cover the irons with soft clothes, to prevent them injuring her skin. From the appearance of her hands she evidently had not been used to work. To remove her from the watch-house, where she was confined with some of the most profligate women of the town, taken up for inebriety and disorderly conduct in the streets, as she could not give a satisfactory account of herself, I, as a Justice of the Peace, sent her to gaol as a vagrant.

“The following morning I went to the gaol, for the purpose of ascertaining if possible who she was. After considerable persuasion, she promised to divulge her story to the Rev. H. Esson, one of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, to whose congregation she said that her parents belonged. That gentleman did call at the gaol and ascertain who she was. In the course of a few days she was released, and I did not see her again until the month of August last, when Mr. Johnson, of Griffin-town, joiner, and Mr. Cooley, of the St. Ann suburbs, merchant, called upon me about ten o'clock at night, and after some prefatory remarks, mentioned that the object of their visit was to ask me as a magistrate to institute an inquiry into some very serious charges which had been made against some of the Roman Catholic priests of the place, and the nuns of the General Hospital, by a female who had been a nun in that institution for four years, and who had divulged the most horrible secrets of that establishment, such as the illicit and criminal intercourse between the nuns and the priests, stating such particulars of depravity of conduct, on the part of these people in this respect, and their murdering the offspring of these criminal connections as soon as they were born, to the number of from thirty to forty every year. I instantly stated that I did not believe a word of what they told me, and they must have been imposed upon by some evil-disposed and designing person. Upon inquiry who this nun, their informant, was, I discovered that she answered exactly the description of Maria Monk, whom I had so much trouble about last year, and mentioned to these individuals my suspicion and what I knew of that unfortunate girl. Mr. Cooley said to Mr. Johnson, ‘Let us go home, we are hoaxed.’ They told me that she was then at Mr. Johnson’s house, and requested me to call there and hear her story.

“The next day, or the day following, I did call, and saw Maria Monk at Mr. Johnson’s house. She repeated in my presence the substance of what was mentioned to me before, relating to her having been in the nunnery

for four years ; having taken the black veil ; the crimes committed there ; and a variety of other circumstances concerning the conduct of priests and nuns. A Mr. Hoyte was introduced to me, and was present during the whole of the time that I was in the house. He was represented as one of the persons who had come in from New York with this young woman, for the purpose of investigating into this mysterious affair. I was asked to take her deposition, on her oath, as to the truth of what she had stated. I declined doing so, giving as a reason, that from my knowledge of her character, I considered her assertions upon oath were not entitled to more credit than her bare assertion, and that I did not believe either ; intimating at the same time my willingness to take the necessary steps for a full investigation, if they could get any other person to corroborate any part of her solemn testimony, or if a direct charge were made against any particular individual of a criminal nature.

“During the first interview with Messrs. Johnson and Cooley, they mentioned that Maria Monk had been found in New York, in a very destitute situation, by some charitable friends, who administered to her necessities, being very sick. She expressed a wish to see a clergyman, as she had a dreadful secret which she wished to divulge before she died ; a clergyman visiting her, she related to him the alleged crimes of the priests and the nuns of the General Hospital at Montreal. After her recovery, she was visited and examined by the Mayor and some lawyers at New York, afterwards at Troy, in the State of New York, on the subject ; and I understood them to say that Mr. Hoyte and two other gentlemen, one of them a lawyer, were sent to Montreal with her, for the purpose of examining into the truth of the accusations thus made. Although incredulous as to the truth of Maria Monk’s story, I thought it incumbent on me to make some inquiry concerning it, *and have ascertained* where she (Maria Monk) has been residing a great part of the time she states having been an inmate of the nunnery. During the summer of 1832

she was at service at William Henry; the winters of 1832-3, she passed in this neighbourhood of St. Ours and St. Denis. The accounts given of her conduct that season, corroborate the opinions I had before entertained of her character.

“W. ROBERTSON.”

Sworn before me, at Montreal, this 14th day of Nov., 1835.

“BENJAMIN HOLMES.”

“Justice of the Peace.”

So strong is the evidence of Dr. Robertson in proof of the mingled insanity and depravity of Maria Monk, that we might safely rest upon it, the case of the clergy and nuns. In the first place she represented herself as the daughter of Dr. Robertson. Finding from the personal attendance of Dr. Robertson that this story could not be maintained, she substituted for it a statement to the effect that her parents resided near Montreal, and that they kept her chained in a cellar for the last four years. At a subsequent period she gives up the cellar story for one which seemed likely to become more profitable, and she then represented herself as having been an inmate of the Hôtel Dieu during the very four years that she had previously said she had been chained in a cellar by her parents.

But although each of these stories contradicts the other, and all of them completely destroy the general credibility of the witness, we have further the direct testimony of Dr. Robertson, that during the four years in question she was neither chained in a cellar nor outraged in a nunnery. In 1832 she was at William Henry—a town about forty-five miles below Montreal—and in the winter of 1832-3 she was living in the same neighbourhood, namely, at St. Ours or St. Denis, two villages lying south and inland of the town just named.

We now come to the affidavit of the mother of Maria Monk. It is of great length, and contains many minor details which do not materially strengthen the evidence, though they would do so were that evidence of a less

decided character. Many of those details we shall therefore omit, giving only the most important passages. The affidavit was sworn on the 24th October, 1835, before Dr. Robertson, whose own evidence the reader has just perused. Mrs. Monk declares in this affidavit:

"That, wishing to guard the public against the deception which has lately been practised in Montreal by designing men, *who have taken advantage of the occasional mental derangement of her daughter*, to make scandalous accusations against the priests and nuns in Montreal, and afterwards *to make her pass herself for a nun* who had left the convent."

She proceeds to state that in August, 1835, a man named Hoyte, who stated himself to be a Minister of New York, called upon her and informed her—

"That he had lately come to Montreal with a young woman and child of five weeks old; that the woman had absconded from him at Goodenough's Tavern, where they were lodging, and left him with the child. He gave me a description of the woman; I unfortunately discovered that the description answered my daughter; and the reflection that this stranger had called upon Mr. Esson, our pastor, and inquiring for my brother, I suspected that this was planned; I asked for the child, and said that I would place it in a nunnery; to that, Mr. Hoyte started every objection, in abusive language, against the nuns."

Subsequently the child was delivered to her. Mrs. Monk then sent an acquaintance, a Mrs. Tarbert, to seek for her daughter, who was found, but she refused to go to her mother's house. The only fact of importance in this portion of the affidavit is "*that Maria Monk had borrowed a bonnet and shawl, to assist her to escape from that Mr. Hoyle at the hotel*," and she requested Mrs. Tarbert to return them to the owner. We now proceed to quote a further portion of Mrs. Monk's affidavit:—

"Early in the afternoon of the same day Mr. Hoyte came to my house with the same old man, wishing me to make all my efforts to find the girl, in the meantime

speaking very bitterly against the Catholics, the priests, and the nuns ; mentioned that my daughter had been in a nunnery, where she had been ill-treated. I denied that my daughter had ever been in a nunnery ; that when she was about eight years of age she went to a day-school. At that time came in two other persons, whom Mr. Hoyte introduced ; one was the Rev. Mr. Brewster ; I do not recollect the other reverence's name. *They all requested me, in the most pressing terms, to try to make it out my daughter had been in the nunnery,* and that she had some connection with the priests of the seminary, of which nunneries and priests she spoke in the most outrageous terms ; *said that should I make that out, myself, my daughter and child would be protected for life.* I expected to get rid of their importunities in relating the melancholy circumstances by which *my daughter was frequently deranged in her head,* and told them that when at the age of about seven years she broke a slate pencil in her head ; that since that time her mental faculties were deranged, and by times much more than other times, but that she was far from being an idiot ; that she could make the most ridiculous, but most plausible stories ; *and that as to the history that she had been in a nunnery, it was a fabrication, for she was never in a nunnery ;* that at one time I wished to obtain a place in a nunnery for her, that I had employed the influence of Mrs. De Montenach, of Dr. Nelson, and of our pastor, the Rev. Mr. Esson, but without success. . . . After many more solicitations to the same effect, three of them retired, but Mr. Hoyte remained, adding to the other solicitations ; he was stopped, a person having rapped at the door ; it was then candle-light. I opened the door, and I found Dr. McDonald, who told me that my daughter Maria was at his house in the most distressing situation ; that she wished him to come and make her peace with me ; I went with the doctor to his house in McGill Street. She came with me to near my house, but would not come in, notwithstanding I assured her that she would be kindly treated, and that I would give her her child ; she crossed the parade ground and

I went into the house and returned for her ; Mr. Hoyte followed me. She was leaning on the west railing of the parade ; we went to her ; Mr. Hoyte told her : *My dear Mary, I am sorry you have treated yourself and me in this manner ; I hope you have not exposed what has passed between us ; nevertheless I will treat you the same as ever, and spoke to her in the most affectionate terms ; took her in his arms ; she at first spoke to him very cross, and refused to go with him, but at last consented and went away with him, absolutely refusing to come to my house.* Soon after Mr. Hoyte came and demanded the child ; I gave it to him.

"Next morning Mr. Hoyte returned, and was more pressing than ever in his former solicitations, and requested me to say that my daughter had been in the nunnery ; that should I say so, it would be better than one hundred pounds to me ; that I would be protected for life ; and that I should leave Montreal, and that I would be better provided for elsewhere. I answered that thousands of pounds would not induce me to perjure myself. Then he got saucy and abusive to the utmost ; he said he came to Montreal to detect the infamy of the priests and the nuns."

What follows is not important, except that Mrs. Monk heard, a few days after, that her daughter was at one Mr. Johnson's, a joiner at Griffin-town,¹ with Mr. Hoyte ; that he passed her for a nun who had escaped from the *Hôtel Dieu* nunnery ; and on further inquiry she found that her daughter had subsequently gone off with the said Hoyte.

To the above ample testimony we shall only add the most material portion of the evidence of Mrs. Tarbert, the female who was requested by Mrs. Monk to seek out her daughter :—

"I know the said Maria Monk ; last spring she told me that the father of the child she was then carrying was burned in Mr. Owsten's house. She often went away in the country, and at the request of her mother I accompanied her across the river. Last summer she

¹ Griffin-town is the western suburb of Montreal.

came back to my lodgings and told me that she had made out the father of the child; and that very night left me and went away. The next morning I found that she was in a house of bad fame, where I went for her, and told the woman keeping that house that she ought not to allow that girl to remain there, for she was a girl of good and honest family. Maria Monk then told me that she would not go to him (alluding, as I understood, to the father of the child), for that he wanted her to swear an oath that would lose her soul for ever, but jestingly said would make her a lady for ever. I then told her (Maria): do not lose your soul for money."

Here, then, not only have we abundant proof of the utter falsehood of Maria Monk's *Awful Disclosures*, but the whole character of this abominable conspiracy is unfolded. It is quite clear that Maria Monk had been living in a state of concubinage with Hoyte, and there is every reason to believe that the infant alluded to was the fruit of their intercourse. Hoyte probably belongs to one of those sects of fanatics, so common in some portions of the United States, who will not scruple to resort to any means, however criminal, to bring discredit on the professors either of the Catholic or of the Episcopalian faith. This, at least, is the only mode of accounting for his conduct, and for that of the other wretches associated with him.

But little now remains to be added. Touching the character of the Catholic clergy and nuns of Canada, we might add the testimony of several persons now in London,¹ whose opportunities of observation have been ample, having resided many years in Canada, during the whole of which period not even a whisper was ever uttered against the servants of the Gospel; on the contrary, the spotless purity of their lives was universally acknowledged. Living in the midst of a populous city, their residences open to any visitor, constantly mixing with the inhabitants, they may be said to be perpetually under the public eye; hence it would be quite impossible that any irregularity of con-

¹ [That is, in 1836, when this *Dublin Review* article appeared.]

duct could be practised without attracting attention and leading to exposure. Most of the individuals named in Maria Monk's book are specially known for the practice of every active virtue. With reference to education particularly, both priests and nuns have secured the enduring gratitude of the community of Lower Canada. The seminaries of Montreal and Quebec are the only public schools of any note in Lower Canada, and there is scarcely an individual of education in the province who is not indebted for his mental acquirements to one or other of these excellent establishments.

The same may be said of the Nunneries as places of education for girls. So deservedly popular are they, that the Protestant English are in the habit of sending their daughters to those institutions for elementary education, and, as the *Quebec Mercury* very properly observes, when these daughters in their turn become mothers, it is seldom that they do not evince their confidence in the purity of the lives and conduct of the members of these establishments by committing their own daughters to their care. . . . That any persons of a (respectable) station in life should be found so destitute of all sense of religion, as to republish known calumny, the falsehood of which was demonstrated, might indeed create the extreme of surprise, if anti-Catholic and ultra-Protestant bigotry had not furnished multitudinous instances of the total abandonment of all shame, of such an utter disregard of veracity, that Charles James Fox's expression of "a good Protestant lie" is not so familiar as to suppress every angry emotion, and to cause a smile of contempt to take the place of a more legitimate resentment.

II.—Further Evidence.

Here we part company with the *Dublin Review* article. Here also we might finish, were it not that soon after the article in question was written additional evidence came to light, still further showing the utter worthlessness of the book and of the unhappy woman who was concerned in its publication. A thorough investigation of the whole affair was made by Col. W. L.

Stone, Editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. This gentleman, a Protestant, and previously an ardent believer in the veracity of Maria Monk's story, went over to Montreal, fully determined to search the convent in question in confirmation of his belief, and afterwards to publish for the benefit of the public whatever result might come from his visit. He was accompanied by Mr. A. Frothington, President of the Bank of Montreal, and Mr. Duncan Fisher, another Protestant gentleman of the same city. They obtained permission from the Bishop, visited the convent together, and searched it from garret to cellar. Every hole and corner, every cellar and passage, was explored by them. They interviewed the nuns, and questioned them, but none of them ever knew of such a person as Maria Monk as ever having been a member of that sisterhood. They never heard of such an individual as Jane Ray, though Maria Monk's book contains such pathetic and gloomy stories concerning the "awful sufferings" of this same person. We shall see afterwards of what institution Jane Ray was an inmate. They knew not any nun called Sister "Frances Partridge" or "Sister Frances." The result of Col. Stone's inspection of the convent was the firm conviction, and in fact, the certain knowledge, that the whole account of Maria Monk's *Disclosures* was a pure fiction, and Maria Monk herself an arrant impostor. The whole of this Protestant gentleman's experience may be seen in a little book entitled *Refutation of the Fabulous History of the Arch-Impostor Maria Monk* (Art and Book Company, Leamington, price 3d.). Our account of Col. Stone's investigation has been taken from it.

Not only were no such persons as are mentioned in Maria's book known to the Sisters, but the very description given so minutely by her, of the convent, and the passages and doors she asserts that she passed through to make her second escape; the very position of the convent, the alleged underground passages leading from the seminary to the convent—all these were found to have no existence, nor ever at any time to have

existed. Another Protestant gentleman named Mr. W. Perkins, of Montreal, had also obtained episcopal sanction and visited this convent, searching it all over and with a like result. (This also is recorded in Col. Stone's book.) These gentlemen determined to shame Maria Monk by publicly confronting her. Several public interviews took place between Col. Stone and Maria Monk. The result was in each case that she made some glaring blunders regarding the convent and its inmates which Col. Stone and his friends from their actual experience were able to contradict on the spot. Maria Monk's friends made another effort to save her "reputation." They introduced for the first time a certain so-called "nun" who asserted she had been since Maria Monk's time an inmate of the "Black Nunnery."

The supporters of Maria Monk looked upon the advent of this new confederate as a godsend, and a godsend it really proved itself to be, in a manner that completely overthrew the cause of the "Father of lies." "In ten minutes," writes Col. Stone, "in the presence of half a dozen other friends, clerical and laical, was the imposture unmasked." Frances Partridge forgot herself completely, and in describing the convent located it on the wrong side of a very large block of buildings, quite in a different direction from its actual position; giving an entrance leading to it which completely contradicted the one given by Maria Monk, her prompter, as well as the actual one seen by Col. Stone with his own eyes in visiting the convent. This was no *lapsus lingua*, writes the Colonel, for time was given Frances to recover herself; Maria Monk gave her a "hint" or two, but she did not "take." Three times did she repeat the same fatal mistake, so that Col. Stone exposed her and denounced her to her face, together with Maria Monk, as an arrant fraud. There stood at the same time as the Hôtel Dieu Convent another institution for the reclaiming of prostitutes to a life of virtue, known as the "Magdalen Asylum," and kept by Mrs. McDonnell. This lady has sworn an affidavit before a public notary at Montreal that Maria

Monk was never a nun at all, but had always led the life of a prostitute. She states that the names of "Fougnée," mentioned in the *Awful Disclosures*, were in reality the names of the Misses Fournier, her assistant directresses in the Magdalen Asylum, and that "Howard, Jane McCoy, Jane Ra, and Reed," introduced into the same narrative, so far from ever having been nuns, were reclaimed prostitutes living in the Asylum at the very time Maria Monk was under probation for an amendment of her wicked and infamous career. Moreover, Mrs. McDonnell states that the description given of the Hôtel Dieu Convent is alone applicable to the Magdalen Asylum. The following is the affidavit:—

"Province of Lower Canada, district of Montreal.

"Before me, Adam L. MacNider, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the district of Montreal, appeared Agatha Henrietta Huguet Latour, widow of the late Duncan Cameron McDonnell, who, after making an oath on the holy Evangelists, declared that for six years past she had conducted and managed an institution in the city of Montreal, commonly known and distinguished as the Magdalen Asylum; that about the close of the month of November, 1834, Maria Monk, daughter of Mrs. W. Monk, housekeeper of the Government House in the city of Montreal, entered the Asylum and became an inmate thereof; and she understood that the said Maria had for many years led the life of a stroller and prostitute, and that she received her into the Asylum with the hope of effecting her reformation; that in the progress of her acquaintance with the character of the said Maria, she found her to be very uncertain and grossly deceitful; but that she nevertheless did persevere in her efforts to reclaim her to the paths of virtue and morality.

"And deponent further declared that having been informed that the said Maria held conversation with a man who had reached the yard of the Asylum by scaling the enclosures, she sent for the said Maria, and severely reprimanded her, pointing out that her

conduct in holding such conversation was in direct violation of the rules of the institution, and did moreover indicate a disposition to relapse into her former vicious courses ; that the said Maria was not touched by the remonstrances addressed to her, but became more indecorous in her conduct every day, and that finally deponent was obliged to dismiss her from the Asylum ; that the said Maria before her dismissal did appear discontented with her residence there, but deponent would not consent to her withdrawal without the consent of the said Mrs. Monk, who was accordingly informed of her daughter's conduct, and her desire to withdraw from the Asylum. And deponent further declared that she had reason to believe that the man with whom the said Maria communicated during her stay at the Asylum was . . . having been informed thus by the said Maria herself.

“ And deponent further declared that she had reason to believe that the said Maria was in a state of pregnancy at the time she entered the Asylum ; and deponent further declared that the said Maria was dismissed from the Asylum at the beginning of the month of March, 1835, and withdrew, as this deponent has been informed, to her mother's house. And deponent further declared that she had read the pamphlet entitled, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, and that deponent was thereby informed for the first time that the said Maria had been at any time the inmate of a convent ; that the said Maria, at the time she was in the Magdalen Asylum, did never pretend to deponent or any one else, according to the information and belief of the deponent, that she had been an inmate of the Hôtel Dieu Convent, or of any convent whatever ; but that deponent had always understood and believed that she had for many years led the life of a vagrant and disorderly person. And deponent further declared that she had reason to believe that the name ‘ Fournée,’ mentioned in the said *Disclosures*, is misspelt for ‘ Fournier.’ That at the same time the said Maria was at the Asylum, Miss Hypolite Fournier and Miss Clotilde

Fournier, two sisters, were assistants to deponent in the management of the Asylum, and that deponent believed them to be identical with the persons mentioned in the *Disclosures* as the two Misses 'Fougnées.'

"And the deponent further stated that she had reason to believe that the person named 'Miss Howard' in the *Disclosures* to be identical with a person bearing that name who lived in the Asylum contemporaneously with the said Maria, and deponent further declared that she had reason to believe, and therefore did believe, that the person named 'Jane McCoy' in the said *Disclosures* to be identical with a person bearing that name who lived contemporaneously with the said Maria, and deponent further declared that she had reason to believe and did believe that the person designated in the said *Disclosures* as 'one of my cousins who lived at Lachine named Reed' to be identical with a person bearing that name who lived contemporaneously with the said Maria, and deponent further declared that many of the rules and habits of conventual life were in use and practice before, since, and at the time the said Maria Monk was an inmate thereof, and that she had reason to believe and did believe that the description given in the said *Disclosures* of the interior of the Hôtel Dieu Nunnery is an incorrect description of the apartments of the said Asylum, of which the said Maria was for some time an inmate, as is hereinbefore mentioned; and further deponent declareth not.

(Signed)

"AGATHA HENRIETTA HUGUET LATOUR.

"Widow of D. C. McDONNELL.

"Sworn before me, the 27th day of July, 1836.

(Signed)

"ADAM L. MACNIDER,

"Justice of the Peace."

III.—Maria Monk's Death.

Maria Monk furnishes a dreadful illustration of the saying, "As a person lives, so will he die." She found her way several times into gaol. At length when

arrested for the last time on a charge of stealing from a wretched paramour of hers, and cast into prison, she ended there her miserable career. The account of her death may be found in *Dolman's Register* of October 9, 1849. "Two months ago or more, the police book recorded the arrest of the notorious but unfortunate Maria Monk whose book of *Awful Disclosures* created such excitement in the religious world some years since. She was charged with picking the pocket of a paramour in a den near the Five Points. She was tried, found guilty, and sent to prison, where she lived up to Friday last, when death removed her from the scene of her sufferings and disgrace. What a moral is here, indeed!"

[Note to new edition, April, 1895.] As adding to the evidence in this tract it is only right to mention a little book of which we were not aware when first writing, but which contains still fuller proofs of the imposture. *An Awful Exposure of the Atrocious Plot formed . . . through the intervention of Maria Monk* (Jones and Co., Montreal, 1836) traces step by step and authenticates with eighteen affidavits from her successive employers, &c., the places where Maria Monk was in fact residing during the years when, according to her story, she was in the Hôtel Dieu at Montreal.

Still, although there is this fuller evidence to be had, the present tract contains more than enough to convince every sane mind that *Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures* is a barefaced and a slanderous fiction. What then are we to think of publishers who, like Mr. Kensit, of Paternoster Row, still continue to circulate it with the object of prejudicing English minds against Catholic Convents? What are we to think of the Committee of the Protestant Alliance, who, notwithstanding their active support of this gentleman's publications, have never yet felt called to administer to him an indignant rebuke? What are we to think of Mr. Walter Walsh—the prominent ultra-Protestant lecturer and editor of the *Protestant Observer*,

28 *The True History of Maria Monk.*

a cherished organ of this self-same party who, in his issue for April, 1895, admits a letter in defence of the imposture under the title of "The Story of Maria Monk—New Evidence"? And what are we to think of the Nestor of ultra-Protestant lecturers, the octogenarian Pastor Chiniquy, who asserts both in his book and on public platforms that only a few years after the events he had himself been told by a nun in the Hôtel Dieu of Montreal, when she had first exacted from him a promise to reveal nothing till after her death, "there is a sufficient amount of truth in the book to cause all our nunneries to be pulled down by the people, if only the half of them were known to the public."¹ Well, there is one thing which we must think, and which we can think with great satisfaction. It is that these gentlemen are over-shooting their own mark, and are doing good service to the Catholic Church by making it so palpable to all that their persistent vilification of her doctrines and institutions is not due to any very remarkable love of truth or justice.

[Cardinal Newman's lecture, called *True Testimony unequal to the Protestant View*, containing much information upon similar Protestant calumnies, may be had from 21 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E., price 2d., by post 2½d.; see also *Calumnies Against Convents*, by the Rev. S. F. Smith, S.J.]

¹ *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, p. 307.

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THE TRUE STORY OF BARBARA UBRYK.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

ABOUT three years ago I wrote for the Catholic Truth Society a slight examination of one or two of the slanderous charges against convents which, in the furtherance of their campaign for the persecution of Catholics, the Protestant Alliance people so industriously circulate.¹ Among these slanderous charges was one relating to the strange story of Barbara Ubryk. This story was sprung upon the world in 1869, when it was so worked by the Masonic press that in the first instance it not unnaturally caused many excellent persons to lose their heads. But when the judicial inquiry to which it led had ascertained the true facts, it became apparent that the accused nuns, so far from having indulged in an almost fiendish cruelty, had been passing through a perfect martyrdom of patient and compassionate endurance. The Protestant Alliance people, however, according to their wont, in their many accounts of Barbara Ubryk suppress all mention of these

¹ *Calumnies against Convents*, by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. (Catholic Truth Society, 1d.). By the phrase "Protestant Alliance people" it is intended to denote the class of bigots who gather round the Protestant Alliance and similar societies. Some such designation seems required, for it would be grossly unfair to the Protestants of England to connect their name in any way with the half-crazy, half-dishonest fictions which the Protestant Alliance people circulate.

later stages in the history of the discovery. They confine themselves to the task of disseminating widely, with the additional embellishment of purely imaginary pictures, the hideous version of the *Vienna Free Press* (of July 23, 1869), a paper notorious for its anti-Catholic and indeed anti-Christian bias. *Calumnies against Convents* met this misrepresentation by supplying the suppressed portion of the history, and it is a consolation to know that the exposure has been of some use. If it has likewise stirred up the Rev. Lancelot Holland—a gentleman whom the Protestant Alliance is proud to have on its managing committee—to write in highly seasoned language a species of reply,¹ this too is cause for satisfaction, enabling one, as it does, to expose still more effectually the kind of evidence on which these people rely. As the primary object of the present tract is not so much to furnish more exhaustive particulars of the Barbara Ubryk case as to show up the methods of these anti-Catholic bigots, it will be best in the first place to transcribe the section from *Calumnies against Convents*, and then to examine the mode in which Mr. Lancelot Holland deals with it.

“In one of the *Monthly Letters* of the Protestant Alliance entitled *Convents* may be found the following:—

On Tuesday, the 20th instant (*i.e.*, July 20, 1869), an anonymous notice, apparently written by a female hand, reached the Criminal Court at Cracow, to the effect that, in the Convent of the Carmelite barefooted nuns, one of the order, named Barbara Ubryk, had been forcibly kept in close confinement in a dark cell for a long number of years. The Vice-President of the Criminal Court, Ritter von Antoniewicz, immediately laid this information before a judge of inquiry, who, in company with the public prosecutor, repaired to the Bishop von Galecki, with the request to permit them to enter the convent. [The Bishop declared he would grant the request as Papal Delegate], and subdelegated the Papal prelate Spital, a very intelligent and worthy priest. . . . The convent was first entered by

¹ *Walled-up Nuns*, pp. 162–183.

Father Spital, followed by the members of the judicial commission, to whom the portress attempted to refuse admittance, and she allowed their entrance only when Dr. Gebhardt, with the confirmation on the part of Father Spital, referred to the permission he had received from the Bishop. The judge then informed the portress that he had come to see and speak to Nun Barbara Ubryk, which information made a terrible impression upon the portress. . . . The commission thereupon went to the upper corridor, followed by the nuns, one of whom showed the judge the cell of Sister Barbara. The cell, which was situated at the extreme end of the corridor, between the pantry, close to the dung-hole, had a walled-up window and a double wooden door, in which there was a movable grating, through which, very probably, food was handed in. Through a very small open window niche some rays of light could now and then penetrate into this dismal dungeon. The cell, seven paces long by six paces wide, was opened, but it is almost impossible to describe the view this piece of inquisition of the nineteenth century presented. In a dark, infected hole adjoining the sewer sat, or rather cowered, on a heap of straw, an entirely naked, totally neglected, half-insane woman, who, at the unaccustomed view of light, the outer world, and human beings, folded her hands, and pitifully implored: 'I am hungry, have pity on me; give me meat and I shall be obedient.' This hole, for it could hardly be called a chamber, besides containing all kinds of dirt and filth, and a dish of rotten potatoes, was deficient of the slightest decent accommodation. There was nothing—no stove, no bed, no table, no chair—it was neither warmed by a fire nor by the rays of the sun. This den the inhuman sisters who call themselves women, spiritual wives, the brides of heaven, had selected as a habitation for one of their own sex, and kept her therein in close confinement for twenty-one years—since 1848. For twenty-one years the grey sisters daily passed this cell, and not one of them ever thought of taking compassion on this poor outcast prisoner. . . . The judge instantly ordered the nun to be clothed, and went himself for Bishop Galecki.

"Here the narrative (which is an extract through the *Morning Post* from the *Vienna Free Press* of July 23, 1869) breaks off in the pamphlet before us, but in the *Free Press* it goes on to say that the Bishop on arriving was horrified like the rest, and cried out to the nuns, 'You are furies, not women!'

"This ghastly story was repeated by the journals of nearly every country at the time, and was received on every side with a chorus of indignation. Those, however, who understood the methods by which the Masonic Governments on the Continent were in the habit of

arousing a popular feeling in favour of the measures they were projecting against the Church, asked themselves what sort of Ministry were at the head of affairs in Austria, and what projects they had in contemplation. Nor were their suspicions allayed when they learnt that Herr Giskra, the Masonic Minister for Home Affairs, was bent on the suppression of the religious orders and the confiscation of their goods. A convent scandal like this was the very thing for him, and many circumstances pointed to the conclusion that it had been got up designedly. The anonymous letter, in a feigned female hand, proved to have been written by a retired Government employé (*Civiltà Cattolica*, vii. p. 737). At once, on the affair becoming public, a mob gathered in the streets, broke the windows of the convent, and tried to force an entrance into it; from the convent it passed on to the Jesuit College (only just opened in the town, and clearly not responsible for Barbara's twenty years' detention), invaded it, drove out the inmates, and murdered the aged Rector; it attacked also and destroyed several other convents and monasteries, raging in this manner for three days before the authorities found it convenient to stop its course (*Times*, August 2nd). It was likewise suggestive of prearrangement that—whereas the discovery was made on July 21st, Barbara was removed to the asylum on the 22nd, and the prioress and sub-prioress of the convent were taken to prison on the 25th—Herr Giskra, without awaiting the result of the trial, proceeded at once to utilize the opportunity. On the 29th he wrote to the Governor of Lemberg, asking if there could be any possible reason why he should not at once proceed to withhold the annual pension on which the convent depended for its subsistence, and even suppress the convent altogether (*Morning Post*, August 7th). Also, on the 27th, the municipality of Vienna, a body in full sympathy with the aims of the Minister, met together, and petitioned him for the instant suppression of the enclosed orders and the expulsion of the Jesuits (*Civiltà Cattolica*, viii. p. 240). Various other municipalities

throughout the country met at once in a similar manner to frame similar petitions. Why this indecent haste, save because all had been arranged beforehand, and they were anxious to use the opportunity before it was destroyed by the detection of the fraud?

"After indulging in excited telegrams for a few days the Austrian correspondents of the English papers suddenly lost interest in the subject. It did not seem to occur to them that English readers might wish to hear the result of the trial of the incriminated nuns, and for this reason we must seek elsewhere for this very important information. This is unfortunate, as we have endeavoured wherever possible to refer for our proofs to non-Catholic authorities; still, it would be outrageous to refuse credence to respectable Catholic witnesses when they pledge their good faith for facts of a public character, nor do we anticipate that it will be denied them by any save the hopelessly credulous people who gather round the Protestant Alliance. We shall rely, therefore, on accounts given of the further proceedings by the *Tablet* and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, each of which journals took pains to obtain information from persons living at the time at Cracow, whose trustworthiness they guaranteed. Unfortunately we are unable to refer to the *Univers* (of Paris), which took a leading part in ascertaining the details of the history.

"When, then, the two nuns had been a month in prison, the preliminary proceedings against them were instituted, the result being that they were declared 'guilty of the objective, not the subjective, offence of overtly violating the rights of personal freedom, and were adjudged to stand a special trial accordingly' (*Tablet*, August 21, 1877): that is, in English, it was judged that they had *unwittingly* been guilty of a legal offence in locking the door on a mad woman without having first gone through the legal formalities. Surely a ridiculous mouse out of the labouring mountain! After this comparative acquittal they could not of course be detained in prison, and on August 28th they were allowed

to return home. In its *Cronaca* for February 12, 1870, the *Civiltà* tells us what the final result was.

Slowly and incompletely but still in some degree justice has been rendered to the innocent Carmelites of Cracow. Ever since August 28th, after more than a month of most cruel imprisonment, the Prioress, Sister Maria Wenzyk, and the Sub-prioress, Sister Teresa Kosierkiewicz, were reconducted to their monastery and restored to liberty; but the process against them was by a piece of craft left suspended without a definite sentence being passed, probably because either they desired to avoid the shame of having, by recognizing the manifest innocence of these persecuted ladies, to acknowledge at once the iniquity that had been perpetrated, or, which is worse, because they wished to let the fruits of their calumny grow to maturity, and accomplish the projected abolition of the religious orders and confiscation of their goods. But this manœuvred delay could not last for ever, and the conscience of the judicial authorities was opposed to it. Hence Giskra and his fellow-conspirators had to put up with the passing of a verdict in good form to the effect that Barbara Ubryk had in no way been shown to have undergone any cruelty to which her madness could be imputed, and that throughout its course she had been treated as well as possible according to the only method consistent with her deplorable state, and had received every attention which the most tender Christian charity could inspire.

“What, then, is the true version of the facts which, since it extorted this verdict of complete acquittal, must have differed widely from the horrible version to which the *Vienna Free Press* gave publicity? The answer is given by a Polish correspondent of the *Tablet*, for whose accuracy it vouches, and whose communication appeared in its columns on August 21, 1869. On account of its length we will not transcribe this document, but give instead the *Tablet's* shorter summary of its contents.

We undertook to lay before our readers such additional information as we might be able to obtain. We now do so, and the details which will be found in another column may be relied upon as accurate. In the first place, the whole accusation respecting the punishment of Barbara Ubryk for an offence against her vows falls to the ground. It is a case of simple madness and the treatment of a lunatic. Secondly, with regard to the accusation of inhumanity, it is proved that she was fed more abundantly than the other inhabitants of the convent, and that her health and appearance confirms the statement. Also that she exhibits no trace of personal ill-usage.

Thirdly, that the absence of clothes and of a proper bed and other chamber furniture was owing to the fact that she invariably destroyed all the articles with which she was repeatedly supplied. Since the removal to the hospital it has been equally impossible to prevent her from destroying her clothes without the use of the strait waistcoat, which has been accordingly employed. Fourthly, that her cell was kept as clean as was possible consistently with her habits. Fifthly, that about half the window was walled up to prevent her being visible to the passers-by, and causing grievous scandal. Sixthly, that the cell itself, instead of being a dungeon, was in all respects similar to those inhabited by the other sisters. Seventhly, that her insanity was known to her relatives. The Bishop has therefore very properly retracted the expressions which he used with respect to the religious, who can reasonably be accused of nothing but a certain want of prudence in not getting rid of so terrible a patient by consigning her to a lunatic asylum.

“On the authority of another Cracow correspondent the *Tablet* (*ibid.*) learns that the state of Barbara Ubryk had been well known to many others besides her relations. At the trial of the nuns it was deposed by a witness who had been sacristan to the nuns for thirty years that, when she first went mad, numerous physicians paid her professional visits, and that the two administrators of the diocese previous to Bishop von Galecki, who had quite recently succeeded, knew well about it, having received frequent applications from the sisters for leave to send her away to an asylum—applications which had been refused on the ground that it was the duty of the nuns to take care of a mad sister, not send her to a lunatic asylum.”

Such is the account given in *Calumnies against Convents*. Now let us see what Mr. Holland has to say to it. The daily papers, not finding the further stages of the history to be of sufficient interest, and therefore passing them over in silence, in the Catholic Truth Society's tract, as the above transcript shows, I had been compelled to seek information as to these further stages from Catholic papers only; but I had ventured to hope that their authority would be accepted by all sensible readers (see above, p. 5). Mr. Holland, being what he is natu-

rally objects to this anticipation, but forgets that I had not been so rash as to expect credence from the "hopelessly credulous people who gather round the Protestant Alliance." He feels himself, however, to be now in the possession of evidence against me so conclusive that he can say confidently, perhaps over-confidently, "I give him [that is, the writer of the C.T.S. tract] my word for it that, if I do not convince him, I will convince nearly every reader of this book [his *Walled-up Nuns*] who has not made the Pope a present of his reason, that the authorities which he gives are worthless" (*ibid.*, p. 172). I, too, am now in the possession of further evidence, and it enables me to anticipate that I shall be able to convince every reader who has not made the Protestant Alliance a present of his reason that Mr. Holland's new authorities are not only false, but, it is to be feared, fraudulent. Here, then, is matter for a comparison.

Mr. Holland's convincing authority purports to be the report of "the Commission appointed by the Austrian Government to investigate the frightful discovery," a Commission which, he tells us, "consisted of the most respected citizens of Cracow—the Bishop himself taking part in the inquiry—all being Roman Catholics." Mr. Holland's account reads as though it were a condensation of this report, and it has sentences and passages interspersed which, being placed within quotation marks, one naturally takes to be the very words of the Commissioners. On the faith of authority apparently so good he gives us the evidence of Johannes Egriek, a wood-cutter, and of Sister Mary, one of the nuns, of whom the latter owned to be the writer and the former the bearer of the anonymous letter which first called public attention to the scandal. On the faith of the same authority he further gives us a long and elaborate deposition from Barbara herself—detailing immoral proposals made to her and cruelties inflicted on her for repelling them—which purports to have been made and signed by her in the presence of the "presiding Judge of the Court of Correction, Austria"; and he likewise gives "the decision of

the Commissioners" with their signatures appended—a decision which treats the charges against the nun and the confessor as fully established, and recommends the condign punishment of the Mother Superior.

If all this were really certified by a judicial commission duly appointed by the Austrian authorities, no doubt it would be evidence of great weight. What, however, is the case?

To readers who might wish to inquire further into the character of so important a document, the sole reference granted is to "the American edition of the *True Story of Barbara Ubryk*, C. J. Thynne, London" (see *Walled-up Nuns*, p. 183); and this American edition on being consulted is found, although headed "The Convent Horror—a Sworn Statement" (possibly a misprint for "foresworn statement"), to be nothing better than a romance absolutely unsupported by any reference whatever. Yet it is from this romance that Mr. Holland's entire account is derived, and from it, not from any authentic document, in spite of his express declaration to the contrary, that his quotations within inverted commas are extracted.

That this American account is not supported by any reference, and that it has not the character of evidence taken before a judicial commission, can be seen at once on inspection of its text; that although purporting to be a "sworn statement" it is in reality pure fiction, shall now be shown. I have before me (Doc. I.) a brochure entitled *Barbara Ubryk*, published at Cracow by the firm of Ladislaus Jaworski whilst the judicial proceedings were still pending; (Doc. II.) a copy—legally authenticated before the notary Stephan Muskowski under dates January 25 and 27, 1896—of "the Report of the Proceedings in the Cracow High Court of Justice for Criminal Cases—in re the Prosecutor General versus Mary Wezyk, Theresa Koziarkiewicz, and Mary Xavera Jozaf, in the affair of the nun Barbara Ubryk, March 8, 1870"; (Doc. III.) a copy of the entry in the Hospital Register made on the day (July 23, 1869) when Barbara

was first brought there ; (Doc. IV.) a certificate of her death which took place on April 29, 1891. I have before me also a French tract entitled *Guerre aux Couvents*, published at Paris in 1869, contemporaneously with the events at Cracow, and written, as its name ("War against the Convents") implies, by an anti-Christian writer (M. Cayla), with whose sentiments Mr. Holland will doubtless find himself in the fullest sympathy ; some extracts from well-known German papers ; and some notes of inquiries kindly made for me by a friend who visited Cracow last year. With the help of these materials let us endeavour to test the account which Mr. Holland's American friend calls "a sworn statement," and which Mr. Holland himself elevates to the higher dignity of a report of "the Commission appointed by the Austrian Government."

1. As to Barbara's alleged "Deposition before the presiding judge Kironski."—Barbara was removed from the convent to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost on July 23, 1869, and even Mr. Holland does not deny that she was then mad. But he tells us that "with care and kind treatment she soon improved both mentally and physically, insomuch that on the 16th August (*sic*), shortly after her release, she was able to give the particulars of her experience, which she signed herself before Kironski, the presiding judge of the Court of Correction" (*ibid.*, p. 170). The American authority (p. 28) even goes so far as to give the text of Kironski's attestation : "The foregoing statement has been duly and legally made to affirmation by the nun, Barbara Ubryk, of the Carmelite (*sic*) Convent, as being in every whit true. Done before me officially this sixteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, A.D., Kironski, presiding judge of the Court of Correction, Austria."

Such is the allegation, but what are the facts? The friend who made inquiries for me at the Cracow Hospital spoke with a doctor who had seen and the nurse who had attended Barbara from the first. Both report that she never ceased to be mad, and was therefore never in

a state to make any deposition at all, much less to write the long and elaborate composition with which she is credited. And this statement of the doctor and the nurse is confirmed (a) by the anti-religious M. Cayla (p. 93), who says: "Since July 23rd Barbara Ubryk has been at the Hospital. By assiduous care it has been possible to save for some time the *débris* of this poor body . . . but her reason has been extinguished for ever in the darkness of her prison. . . . She will always remain mad" ("*elle est folle à tout jamais*"). The doctor's and nurse's statement is confirmed also by (b) the Austrian correspondent of the anti-Catholic *Allgemeine Zeitung* (November 25, 1869), which says, "There is no longer any hope that the mad nun, Barbara Ubryk, can ever recover her reason sufficiently to give evidence;" and (c) by the decision of the Cracow Court of Justice (the Court of First Instance) of November 25, 1869, which, as quoted by the Report of the High Court, March 8, 1870, (Doc. II.) says that, "According to the final report of the doctors appointed to make a thorough examination of Barbara Ubryk, now confined in the lunatic asylum, the woman's reason and mental faculties are utterly disordered; she is passing into a state of idiotcy, her disease is incurable, and is of many years' standing."

Here are four independent sources of evidence, one Catholic (the nursing sister and possibly the doctor), two rabidly anti-Catholic (M. Cayla of Paris and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Berlin), and one judicial (the Report of the Court of First Instance, in November, 1869, confirmed by the Court of Appeal, in March, 1870). All concur in testifying to facts which prove that Barbara Ubryk could not possibly have made the alleged deposition either on August 16, 1869, or on any other date previous or subsequent. And, indeed, this fact is notorious, and can be ascertained independently by any one who will take the trouble to inquire at the Cracow Hospital of St. Lazarus, to which, on the closing of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, Barbara was not long afterwards transferred,

To evidence so conclusive it seems superfluous to add more, but for completeness' sake it may be well to point out that the so-called deposition makes Barbara allege (a) that she was born in 1827 and took her vows in 1846 ("after the death of my father in 1843, at which time I was sixteen years old . . . and [I assumed] the veil and vows of a Carmelite nun in 1846"), whereas the Register of Deaths of the parish of St. Nicholas, Cracow (Doc. IV.), enters her as having died on April 29, 1891, aged seventy-two; and the Report of the Court of First Instance, as quoted and confirmed by the High Court (Doc. II.), says, "after her noviciate she made her solemn vows in the Order [of Mount Carmel] on March 12, 1841, being then twenty-three years of age"; (b) the so-called deposition makes her allege that she went straight from Vienna to the Cracow convent in consequence of a disappointment in love (Amer. Edit. p. 10), whereas the aforesaid report states that "symptoms of mental aberration were observed in Barbara Ubryk already in 1838, when she entered the Convent of the Visitation at Warsaw, the said symptoms manifesting themselves three months after she took the veil," and that "in consequence she was dismissed from that convent," and in "1839 came to Cracow and entered the Convent of the Reformed Carmelites in the Wesola Street"; (c) the "deposition" likewise makes her allege that a certain Father Calenski was the cause of her immurement and persecution, whereas no person of that name had at any time anything whatever to do with her case (see below). In view of all this evidence is it excessive to say that Mr. Holland and his nameless American friend (who for aught we know may be himself under another guise) must share between them the responsibility of having attempted to pass off as genuine a palpably spurious document containing the grossest charges against others, and this with the express object of exciting prejudice and persecution against the peaceful priests, nuns, and other Catholics of English-speaking countries?

2. As to the alleged "decision of the Commissioners" ¹ (*Walled-up Nuns*, pp. 176, 177). This is given by the American edition of *Barbara Ubryk* (p. 58), thus:—

We, the duly appointed Commissioners in the case of the nun, Barbara Ubryk, lately an inmate of the Carmelite Convent of Cracow, having fully examined all the witnesses in the matter, do hereby render the following decision, to wit—that the said Barbara Ubryk has been for twenty-one years unlawfully imprisoned in a loathsome underground dungeon of the Carmelite Convent and most cruelly and barbarously oppressed and maltreated by Mother Josepha, the Abbess thereof, and Father Calenski, the confessor thereof. We also find that the said Barbara Ubryk was not of unsound mind, and therefore that it was entirely unnecessary to deprive her of her liberty.

We recommend, that as Father Calenski has, by suicide, placed himself beyond reach of the law, an example should be made of the surviving partner of his wickedness, Mother Josepha, as a wholesome warning to others in like positions of trust, that such deeds cannot and shall not go unpunished.

Signed { WILHELM FRANSKI, J. TRELLINGS,
 { LOUIS BREVERRICH, J. P. HEILINGSKI.
 Commissioners of Examination.

Now in this alleged decision (to pass over the palpable fact that it is not a bit like the report of a commission of inquiry) there are at least seven mis-statements—a plain proof that it is spurious.

(a) The signatures, in spite of the ostentatious word "signed," have every appearance of being made-up names. The only Commission which was appointed in connection with the case was the Commission of Inquiry deputed, after the manner of foreign judicial procedure, to collect the evidence and prepare the case for trial. First on this Commission was the Judge of Inquiry, Dr. Gebhardt, as is mentioned by the Polish tract (Doc. I.), by the *Reveil*, as quoted by M. Cayla (p. 60), and even by the *Vienna Free Press* (July 23, 1869), as quoted by the *Monthly Letter* of the Protestant Alliance (see above, p. 3). Dr. Gebhardt's name must therefore have stood

¹ Of this "decision" Mr. Holland gives from the words "that the said Barbara" to the end.

first among the signatures to any genuine report of the Commission, whereas in Mr. Holland's document it does not appear at all. Also second among the signatures to the genuine report of the Commission would have been the name of the Imperial Procurator, which M. Cayla (p. 52), quoting from the *Agence Havas*, gives as Kin-sizski, but which, as I have ascertained by private inquiry at Cracow, was Kendzierski. This name likewise is wanting in Mr. Holland's document, thereby revealing its spuriousness.

(b) The confessor's name is given wrong. It was not Calenski, but Piatkewicz, as is testified by—(1) The Polish tract, Doc. I. ("the terrified nuns and their chaplain, Piatkewicz"); (2) the *Agence Havas* ("the confessor, Piantkewicz, an old priest, dared to say that the episcopal authority knew of the case, on which . . . the bishop immediately suspended the confessor and the superior," *ibid.*); the *Wiener Zeitung*, as quoted by the *Volks und Schützen Zeitung*, of Innsbruck, for July 30, 1869 ("the bishop suspended the chaplain and confessor who was present, the Carmelite Father Pietkewicz"). There was indeed a Father Louis Zielinski, who had at a former time been confessor to the nuns (see Doc. II.). But the genuine report of the Commission of Inquiry would have given his name accurately, and would not have made the mistake of representing him as the actual confessor, or have spoken of him as a suicide, seeing that he gave valuable evidence before the Land Court, which treated him as a trustworthy witness (see below, p. 21).

(c) Father Piatkewicz, in fact, so far from committing suicide, lived on till 1881, when he died, after a long illness, at the ripe age of seventy five, in the Carmelite monastery of Czarna. This has been ascertained for me from the Directory (*Schematismus*) of the diocese of Cracow. Moreover, this Father Piatkewicz, after a short interval, occasioned apparently by the outbreak, seems to have resumed his duties as confessor to the Wesola Street nuns.

(d) The cell was not, as stated in this spurious decision, "an underground dungeon," but was at the end of a gallery on the first floor, and was the last of a series of cells occupied by other nuns. This is stated—(1) By the report of the Court ("The Commission . . . was shown by the Superior of the convent a cell situated on the first floor of the building at the end of a corridor"); (2) by the *Vienna Free Press*, quoted by the Protestant Alliance *Monthly Letter* ("The Commission therefore went to the upper corridor, followed by the nuns, one of whom showed the judge the cell of Sister Barbara; the cell, which was situated at the extreme end of the corridor . . ." See above, p. 3); (3) by Doc. I., *i.e.*, the Polish tract ("Her cell was the last of a suite of cells").

(e) It is not very conceivable that the Commission of Inquiry should have reported Barbara as "not of unsound mind," for had it done so the subsequent report of the Court would not have neglected to mention so important a fact, whilst referring to several witnesses as having established the origin, duration, and virulence of her madness.

A *bonâ fide* decision of the Commission of Inquiry could never have contained so many and such glaring misstatements. It is proved, therefore, that this alleged decision is a pure work of imagination and, since it is put forth as historically true, of fraud.

3. As to the testimonies of Johannes Egriek and Sister Mary, which Mr. Holland and his American authority profess to have derived from the report of the Commission of Inquiry. These are the two witnesses stated to have been the means of delivering Barbara from her persecutors, the one by sending, the other by bearing, the anonymous letters to the Court. Egriek's alleged evidence is confined to this one point, but Sister Mary's, together with that of a supposed former servant in the convent, by name Gabrilla Hansung—which Mr. Holland passes over but his American authority gives—tells us a tragic story of cruelties inflicted on Barbara during the

twenty-one years of her captivity. In fact, it is on these witnesses, as added to the bogus deposition of Barbara herself, that the case against the nuns is made to rest. What, then, about them?

There can be no doubt that they, too, are bogus witnesses. For—(a) Both “Sister Mary” and “Gabrilla” represent Father Calenski as figuring largely in the history—in fact, as having been the demon of the plot—whereas it has already been shown that Calenski was not the name of the confessor whom these writers have in view, and the previous confessor, Zielinski, was, as has been said, treated as a witness of good repute by the two Courts of Justice.

(b) “Sister Mary” and “Gabrilla” both say that the place of incarceration was an underground cellar, and “Sister Mary” further assures us that it was not till ten years after Barbara was immured in it that the nuns knew where she was (“We did not know where she was.” Amer. Edit., p. 48), whereas, since her cell was at the end of a corridor in which they were themselves living, they must have all known she was in it, from her shrieks if from nothing else. For Adalbert Jarom, one of the gardeners who gave evidence before the Court, which the Court mentions and cites with approval, “deposed” (says Doc. II.) “that whenever he was at work in the garden or in the corridor he heard Barbara’s shrieks” (see also below, on p. 20, Dr. Wroblewski’s confirmatory evidence on this point). (c) If “Sister Mary” and “Gabrilla” had really given the evidence ascribed to them, the report of the Court could not have passed it over in silence, and yet it has not one single word of reference to anything of the kind.

Such, then, is the character of the evidence, on the ground of which Mr. Holland felt confident of “convincing nearly every reader who has not made the Pope a present of his reason.” Whether this effect has actually been produced on the minds of any sensible persons who have read so far into this present tract they are themselves the judges. I feel, however, so confident

that the effect produced upon them has been very different, that I will in their name invite Mr. Holland henceforth to stand down as a discredited witness.

But further, whilst Mr. Holland's story is thus discredited, the account given in *Calumnies against Convents*, on the faith mainly of certain correspondents of two Catholic papers, the *Tablet* and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, is fully justified by the evidence derivable from the above-mentioned authentic sources of evidence. This must now be shown, though, for reasons of space, very briefly.

4. **As to the acquittal of the Nuns.** It seems that the prosecution set on foot against them never got so far as the trial stage at all, the evidence by which it was supported having broken down in the preliminary stages. In England, as we all know, the first stage of such a prosecution is before the magistrate, who, if he deems the evidence devoid of even *primâ facie* sufficiency, dismisses the case forthwith. In conformity with the Austrian procedure, which in this respect resembles the French, the evidence collected by the Commission of Inquiry was first laid before the Land Court, to whose judges at that stage it belonged to decide the question of *primâ facie* sufficiency. This Court decided on November 25, 1869, that the evidence was not sufficient to justify a prosecution; that the nuns had indeed performed an action which was in itself criminal by locking the door upon a free person, but that they had not acted with criminal intent, or shown cruelty or want of proper consideration for Barbara, or, in fact, done anything save what they could hardly have avoided doing; that the charge against them must therefore be dismissed, and they themselves at once set at liberty. This much is expressly stated in Doc. II., and it agrees completely with what was said in *Calumnies against Convents*, whilst at the same time supplementing it. Thus the *Tablet* correspondent for August 21, 1869, was cited in the C.T.S. tract as reporting that the nuns were declared (that is before that date) guilty of the objective, not the

subjective, offence of overtly violating the rights of personal freedom, and were adjudged to stand a special trial accordingly. This, which coincides exactly with the information sent by its Cracow correspondent to the Bavarian *Volk's und Schützen Zeitung*, and printed in its issue of August 9th, must refer to the conclusion reached by the Committee of Inquiry. As this Commission was only a Commission of Inquiry, it would have felt obliged on arriving at such a decision to send the case on to the Land Court, but it cannot have taken a very unfavourable view of the conduct of the nuns, or it would not have released them from prison on August 28th (see *Tablet*, *loc. cit.*, and the independent witness of the Bavarian paper for August 30th). The case having thus passed under the purview of the Land Court, was adjudged on November 25th in the manner above described. In other words, the Land Court entirely endorsed the opinion favourable to the nuns of Dr. Gebhardt and his committee. This much is certified—(1) By the terms of the decree of the High Court, to be cited presently: (2) by M. Cayla, who (p. 91) has to report, much to his disgust, that “the Land Court has ordered the discontinuance of the prosecution against Marie Apolonie Wezyk, Therèse Koziarkiewicz, and Xavier Joseph, charged with the [species of] public violence against Barbara Ubryk, foreseen by the Law § 63 of the Criminal Code. . . . The decree [of the Court] is motivated by the complete absence of any ground of accusation (*manque absolu du chef d'accusation*). By the same decree the Court recognizes that in the conduct of the sisters of the Carmelite convent there has been no criminal act. The Imperial Procurator, Nalepa, demanded that the Court should draw up a charge against the above-mentioned accused.” In this last sentence M. Cayla is not as correct as in the preceding part of the paragraph. What the Imperial Procurator did was to avail himself of his right, and appeal from the Land Court to the High Court, asking the latter to do what the former declined to do—treat the

evidence in hand as sufficient to justify sending the case on for trial, and hence draw up the charge.

The result of this appeal made by the Imperial Procurator was a further judicial testimony to the innocence of the nuns. On March 8, 1870, the High Court confirmed the judgment of the Land Court in every particular. It is the report of this judgment of the High Court of which Doc. II. is a legalized copy. It begins: "In a report of December 13, 1869, No. 22065, in the appeal presented by the Imperial Procurator, and referring to the criminal prosecution against Mary Wesyk, Theresa Kosierkiewicz, and Mary Xavera Josaf, charged with the crime of public violence." It goes on to say that "the Imperial Royal Higher Court of Justice, approving the decree of the Cracow Court of Justice of November 25, 1869, . . . which decided *that the prosecution of the above-named three persons for violence committed against the life and security of Barbara Ubryk must be abandoned*," orders that certain fees be paid to the advocates and doctors, and also that copies of the decree of November 25, 1869, be delivered to the said defendants, with a Specification of the Motives by which the judgment of this lower Court was determined—all this being required by certain paragraphs of the Statute Book of the Empire.

Thus we have the entire innocence of the nuns judicially established, and the Motives just mentioned, which are appended to the legalized copy before me, furnish us with a still more conspicuous vindication of their character.

From these Motives we learn that Barbara had previously been in another convent, and had been dismissed because signs of mental derangement appeared. By 1839, when she joined the Carmelites, these symptoms had ceased, and the Carmelites do not seem even to have known of their previous existence. In this second convent she kept her health and gave satisfaction to every one till 1845. "Her behaviour then became extraordinary. She would put out the lights in the

choir, throw about the breviaries, dance and sing worldly songs, until one day, escaping or running away from the choir, she locked herself up in a cell and refused to open the door. When it was at length forced open, she was found entirely naked, gesticulating most unbecomingly" (*Report of High Court*). She had, in fact, contracted that well-known but most distressing species of madness called erotomania. The witnesses whose testimony the Court deemed sufficient to establish these initial facts, as likewise their sequel during the twenty-one years of Barbara's madness whilst in the convent, were several of the nuns and two convent workmen—the sacristan, Casimir Gregorczyk, and the gardener, Adalbert Jarom. These two men likewise testified that as soon as her madness broke out in the manner described, no less than three doctors were called in to see her—Dr. Sawiczewski, Dr. Wroblewski, and another not named—and that for a time "these visited her daily and sometimes twice a day." Of these doctors, Dr. Sawiczewski was dead in 1869, as perhaps was the unnamed third doctor, of whom no more is said in the report. But Dr. Wroblewski came forward himself as a witness, and confirmed what had been said by the two workmen. He stated that she was undoubtedly incurably and dangerously mad when he was first called in, and that he had warned the nuns to take care lest she should kill either herself or others; he did not remember, the time being so long ago, having recommended the walling-up of her cell window, but he imagined that they had followed in this the advice of Dr. Sawiczewski, who was their ordinary attendant. Still when some of the nuns deposed to their distinct recollection that Dr. Wroblewski had concurred with Dr. Sawiczewski in recommending this step, the Court, as it tells us in express words, judged their recollection to be more trustworthy than Dr. Wroblewski's. Dr. Wroblewski, besides his testimony before the Court, wrote a letter to the *Tygodnik Katolicki*, dated September 3, 1869, which is preserved for us in the Polish tract (Doc. I.). In this he says: "Barbara was no victim of conventual or

monastic persecution, for she was neither hidden away nor walled in. She was known to every one who wished to come near her, known to all the inmates of the convent, to priests, to other convents, and to many laymen." It was proved also, by production of the original correspondence, that the nuns had, as far back as 1852, communicated with their superiors at Rome and begged for leave to have Barbara transferred either to a hospital or to the care of her relations; and that this leave having been refused, on the ground that a sick nun should not be cast out among strangers but nursed by her own religious sisters, they had regularly reported her state to the Carmelite fathers, who were their superiors at Cracow, and to the predecessors of Bishop Galecki. Moreover, Father Zielinski, the former confessor, whose name appears to have suggested the Calenski of Mr. Holland's legend, "shows" (says the report), "by his sworn deposition, that the case of the insane Barbara was known even to Counsellor Vukasovich, the political Director of the government of Cracow, at that time a free city (and therefore before 1846), he himself having requested that Barbara might be transferred to a hospital at the Government expense." All this shows that there was no attempt whatever at concealment from those who by their office and position were entitled to know, and whose knowledge would be the most effectual safeguard against such persecution as has been imputed. At any rate, it fully satisfied the two Courts, which say: "It is proved that the case of the insane Barbara Ubryk was known to both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities; that they knew her to be in confinement in the convent in Wesola Street, in Cracow; and that neither the civil authorities nor the ecclesiastical considered it necessary to order anything to be done for the disposal of the patient or gave any advice to the nuns during the twenty-one years"—so that the nuns might reasonably suppose they were doing the best that could be done.

In the next place the report of the Court fully con-

firms what was said in *Calumnies against Convents* as to the manner in which Barbara was treated during the period of her detention. The cell, it says, "was seven paces long and five broad," not therefore so excessively small, and besides of the same size and character as those of the other nuns. The furniture, too, which was in it when she was first put there, was similar to that in the other cells—in particular there was a bed with proper bedding, and a stove—nor was the window closed up. But Barbara destroyed everything—tore up the bed-clothes, pulled the stove to pieces, and used the pieces as missiles to throw at the heads of her visitors. For very safety's sake, therefore, it was necessary to remove all her furniture, as for decency's sake it was necessary partially to wall up and partially to board up the window. One would be glad not to refer to the loathsome habits of the afflicted woman, which drove the nuns at last to the well-meant if ill-advised expedient of making a direct communication between her cell and the closet pipe, in the hopes that she might be induced to use it. On the other hand, from the report of the Court and from the Polish tract (Doc. I.) we learn that the nuns, though they found it impossible to keep the cell always clean, were indefatigable in cleansing it from time to time, and that when the paroxysms were over for the while (for these were periodical, not continuous), they at once made things straight, reclothed their unfortunate sister, and visited her regularly in parties of twos and threes. Indeed, that these interludes of tranquillity rather than the times of paroxysm predominated, seems proved by the state in which she was found on transfer to the hospital. Dr. Wroblewski (in his letter to the *Tygodnik Katolicki*) remarks well: "She could not have been neglected, ill-fed, deprived of light and clothing for the period of twenty-one years, since she lost neither sight nor hearing, nor was covered with skin eruption and abscesses, nor had poisoned blood—in fact, showed none of the signs and symptoms inseparable from long neglect of attention to the needs of the body."²

Still further evidence in defence of the nuns might be adduced did space permit, but Dr. Spital's letter to the Dutch *Maasbode*, written in August, 1869 (Doc. I.), cannot be entirely passed over. Dr. Spital was present as the Bishop's representative at the "discovery" of Barbara, and the purport of his letter to the *Maasbode* was to retract the unfavourable judgment he had at first passed, and to testify to the innocence of the nuns. "I am ashamed now," he writes, "of my short-sighted credulity, and I deplore its consequences. . . . The nuns were accused of concealment, and hence suspected of criminality; but they have now been completely exonerated, proofs being to hand that, ten years ago, they sought advice in Rome and elsewhere, but were instructed to regard their misfortune with resignation—which they had to do in the end. The present Vicar-Apostolic, however, had no knowledge of the case, and I had only entered on my office six months ago. The Imperial Court of Justice has opened a strict inquiry into the matter, and will certainly not shield any one from justice or from the public if guilt should be brought home to him, but up to the present the only witnesses that have come forward testify in favour of the nuns. Even the public, which at first was so filled with indignation, even the physicians and lawyers, yea, and the Jews themselves, now speak aloud in praise of the nuns, whom they have come to recognize, not as guilty persons, but as fearfully afflicted sufferers."

Here, then, this tract must end, but in concluding one may be permitted to express agreement with Mr. Holland at least to this extent, that, in view of the injurious charges against convents which he and other Protestant Alliance people are so constantly bringing, some fresh legislation in reference to convents is imperatively needed. Not indeed that there is any need of a law subjecting them to State inspection, for the existing laws are strong enough to put down any convent cruelties or infringements of personal liberty, so soon as Mr. Holland

or his friends can show to the police officers *primâ facie* evidence of their existence. But there is need of such a remodelling of the law of libel as shall enable the innocent and peaceful inhabitants of English convents to protect themselves against slanderers cowardly enough to attack them, not openly and by name, but covertly under the guise of charges against other convents in distant lands. It ought to be possible for the nuns, without undue expense, to bring such persons into Court, and there say to them: "It is us you are seeking to injure by your loathsome stories; you shall therefore at least demonstrate their truth by evidence satisfactory to an English Court of Justice, or else you shall expiate your cruel offence either in prison or in the lunatic asylum."

[The Documents designated I., II., III., IV., with an English translation, are kept at the office of the Catholic Truth Society, 21 Westminster Bridge Road.]

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the Rescued Nun.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

HORRIBLE revelations concerning the secret practices of convents excite less attention now than in former days. Convents are more in evidence than they were. Almost every English town has one or more, the good works of which are manifest and acknowledged. There is constant intercourse, too, between the convent and the residents, with the result that the nuns become personally known to their neighbours, Protestants and Catholics alike. Many Protestants, too, as well as Catholics, have relatives of their own in the convents of the land; relatives whom they visit regularly, without finding in them any signs of discontent, or any falling off from the high motives which led them to embrace this life. With such facts under their eyes, what wonder that the mass of Englishmen should have become favourably impressed, and should be prone to disregard the incredible stories imported from time to time from foreign regions! And this the more because Englishmen do not fail to notice that whenever ex-priests and ex-nuns are carried round the country to lecture against convents, there is always something uncanny and suspicious about them.

“Why then,” say many Catholics, “should we trouble ourselves about these impostors? For the reasons mentioned they cannot do us much harm, and, on the other hand, it is almost impossible to get at the facts about their antecedents, except by a most expensive lawsuit.” The difficulties and expenses of detection do indeed, as a rule, make it impossible to submit these cases to a rigorous investigation. Still, if this should in any instance be possible, it seems worth attempting. The educated classes may not be much influenced by such slanders; but many a poor Catholic girl in the shop or factory has much to suffer because she has no

means of defending the good nuns, to whom she owes so much, against the atrocious charges broached at some recent lecture. We propose, therefore, not to neglect the present opportunity, but to place on record the true and instructive history of Ellen Golding, the "Rescued Nun."

It is but one history, and our calumniators assure us that it is one of many. These calumniators have an extreme dislike for any attempt to test their cases. What they claim, as they bring before our notice one case after the other, is, in each instance, that it should be believed because it is in keeping with so many others. They seem to imagine that a chain in the air can be kept in position by the mere multiplication of its links, without any support to connect it with the earth. The procedure which we invite all sensible readers to follow is just the reverse of theirs. When one of these stories brings its scene sufficiently within our reach to render testing possible, let us apply the tests, and then estimate the distant and unverifiable cases by the result of our discoveries in this.

Miss Ellen Golding is the daughter of an Anglican clergyman, who was formerly resident near Maidstone. She was received into the Catholic Church, being moved thereto, according to her present story, by its ornate services; but also no doubt by more solid reasons, since it is not customary with Catholic priests to receive converts until they have first learned to know and recognize the true basis of the Church's authority.

In 1866, at the age of 24, Miss Golding joined the Congregation of La Sainte Union, and there she remained for twenty-five years, residing successively in eight convents of the Congregation, all in the near neighbourhood of the Mother-house at Douai. In August, 1891, whilst she was at the Convent at Hem-Lannoy, she determined to leave. As the vows by which she was bound were only annual, and would expire on the 24th of the following September, there was nothing to prevent her leaving in a month's time, with the fullest sanction of the authorities

of the Catholic Church and of her own Superiors; for the very object of limiting her vows to a year's duration had been to render it more easy for her to depart on their expiration. So prosaic a mode of departure, however, did not commend itself to this lady. Accordingly she wrote a secret letter to a Protestant solicitor in London, with whom she had previously had dealings, and asked him, without forewarning the nuns of his purpose, to send some one over to fetch her out; alleging as a reason for so extraordinary a proceeding that she feared the nuns were proposing to send her to a mad-house. On August 25th, the agent of this firm arrived, and asked to see Miss Golding. She came to him in company with the Superior, and to the latter he at once explained the object of his mission. The Superior naturally took Miss Golding aside to reason with her, and to urge upon her, if she was determined to go, the propriety of at least waiting till her vows were expired; or at all events to change her religious attire for secular clothing, and not expose the Convent to the scandalous tales which would certainly be manufactured, out of such a fact as the departure from their convent of one of its members in a nun's dress in company with a gentleman. As Miss Golding refused to listen even to this reasonable request, the nuns, somewhat imprudently though excusably, took away her veil and her cross. This was her opportunity. She began to scream, and the agent who had come to fetch her, hearing the sound, valiantly determined to do his duty. He broke through the enclosure, and "waving his arm violently" at the nuns, carried off his spoil triumphantly. He conducted her back to England, and having deposited her at her brother-in-law's house at Beverley, proceeded, like a true Englishman, to write an account of his achievement to the *Times*. In that journal it appeared on Aug. 31, 1891, with all names left blank, and over the mysterious signature of "A Firm of London Solicitors."

Of course the heroine of so dramatic a delivery was at once beset by interviewers. On Sept. 3rd, an account appeared in the *Eastern Morning News*,

and on Sept. 7th, in the *Standard*. It was in the latter account that she first ventured upon, not indeed the full charges against the convents which her recent lectures have contained, but the elements out of which these were afterwards evolved. "In the convent," she there says, and this part we can believe, "it is work, work, work, all day, and in a way which people in the outer world cannot have any conception of." "If you disobey you are punished. Punishment consists in what is called 'sore throat.' Some decoction is given you in your food, you do not know when or where, and this is continued. Your throat gets parched, the next day you are feverish, the following day you are dizzy: the cold settles on your lungs, you take to your bed, and are then told to prepare for death." "All the sisters die in this convent between thirty and forty; with almost all who die, *consumption* is the cause." As she afterwards attributed these deaths to a very different cause, this statement should be carefully noticed. "Then there is the mad-house. When I asked to be allowed to go away, and to be given money enough to travel home, the Lady Superior said, 'You are under an illusion; we shall have to put you somewhere.' I asked, 'Where?' She smiled cynically."

In this *Standard* account we also learn what the "rescued nun" considered to be the pecuniary obligations of the Congregation towards her. "I taught in one Convent forty-eight children English, forty-eight music, thirty singing, twelve drawing every day." Surely a prodigious feat in teaching! "For my teaching the Convent received £20 a week in payments from parents—a thousand a year for twenty-five years." To others engaged in the art of teaching this must be a pleasing revelation of the capabilities of their profession. "I have a private income of £45 a year. The Convent took every farthing of it, nor has any of my money been refunded."

It was at that time hardly more than a week since her "rescue," and this last statement might seem rather premature. As Miss Golding has not here given the complete story about the non-repayment of her money, as

she calls it, we will supply the deficiency. She wrote within two days of her departure, claiming a sum of five hundred pounds. This represented, approximately, the amount of the several instalments of dividend that had come in during the previous thirteen years of her convent life; for the principal had always been in the hands of her sister or brother-in-law, and she had not the face to make a demand for salary, to which by the very nature of her religious vows she had owned herself not entitled. The nuns disclaimed all indebtedness in regard to the receipts of past income, and rightly. It had been given over to the Congregation to be spent, under the direction of the Superiors, on the maintenance of its members, and on the various works of charity in which every member, by the fact of joining the Congregation, was supposed to take interest. Outside the convent, if several people had formed a partnership, and had given annually a certain sum towards the charities which the partnership contemplated, on one of them retiring from the partnership, he would be thought most unreasonable, and would certainly not be heeded, if he claimed back the sums which had been thus given during the term of partnership, and which by his desire had been already spent. Nor had Miss Golding any claim on the score of generous consideration for her circumstances. Had she remained in the world during those previous years, she would certainly have already spent all these past instalments of income; for the nuns seem to have formed a much poorer idea of her teaching powers than she has formed herself, and report that they had not been able to utilize her services to any great extent; so that, had she during that time had to earn her own living, it would have been a living of a very humble kind. This, however, is a matter which is capable of easy decision. If Miss Golding has really such brilliant qualifications, her many Protestant admirers will surely hasten to confide their children to her charge, and, without in any way sacrificing the piquant pleasure of an occasional lecture, she can enjoy her thousand a year, with no fear of a Superior to snatch it out of her hands.

But this is digression. The nuns, desiring to be as

generous with her as possible, wrote back to say that, although they did not owe her these arrears, they had been thinking of *giving her, as a present*, the sum she asked for; now, however, that she had made slanderous charges against the convent in which she had lived for twenty-five years, they must exact, before they could make her the present, a retractation of these slanders. In this state things rested for a while, but at length, according to her sister's account, the Protestant Alliance conceived the idea that she might be useful to them. Accordingly they communicated with her, and offered to extract the money from the Congregation, by suing the Convent of the same Congregation at Highgate. This attempt proved a failure. We need not enter into that matter; but as throwing light on the truthfulness of the charges against the Convent, already at that time made to some extent and destined to be speedily converted into a most odious form, we must not pass over one little incident. In an early stage of the legal proceedings, bearing in mind the offer of the Mother General above referred to, Miss Golding's solicitors had an interview with their client, and drew up the draft of a letter to be countersigned by Miss Golding and sent by them to the solicitors of the Highgate Convent. In this draft is contained the following clause: "We quite believe, as the result of our interview with Miss Golding, that she has *no just cause of complaint against the Order beyond the fact that the authorities did not facilitate her leaving* at the various times when she desired to return to her relatives in England." The original of the draft lies before us.

This draft was forwarded by Messrs. Ranken, Ford, Ford, and Chester, to Messrs. Leathley and Willes, for approbation, on Nov. 9th., 1891. It is convincing evidence of what Miss Golding at that time herself believed and of what her solicitors thought. Hence in more recent times, when Father Cooney published this document in a pamphlet concerning which we shall have more to say presently, and appealed to it in disproof of her later accusations, she took the line of saying that it had emanated from her solicitors without her sanction.

But these solicitors say expressly that the terms of the draft are the result of an interview with herself; and her sister, Madame de Meilhac, in a conversation to be given lower down, testifies that she was present (she means along with Miss Golding) when the draft was composed.

The object which those who offered to manage Miss Golding's suit for her, had in view, was to use her eventually as a lecturer. By way of a variety on the "Escaped Nun" Edith O'Gorman, the "Rescued Nun" Ellen Golding would be very taking. She was therefore coaxed away from her sister's house, much to the latter's annoyance and that of her husband, and was transferred first to the house of Mr. Mark Knowles, then to that of Mrs. O'Gorman Aufray, and later to that of Mrs. Arbuthnot, President of the Women's Protestant Union, where she was prepared for her task of lecturing. We have no means of knowing precisely in what this preparation consisted, but we cannot help entertaining some suspicions, when we read such words as the following, written to the *Bournemouth Observer* of Nov. 8th, 1893, by Miss Cusack:

I know that this statement of truth [namely, of her own disbelief in Miss Golding] will further divide me from the class of Protestants who support only those who make statements which agree with their pre-conceived ideas. If I were to tell something of what I have been made to suffer by persons of this class, professing to be Christians, because I could neither make statements which I knew to be false, nor endorse statements made by others which I doubted, Miss Golding's case would perhaps be better understood.

When these preparatory studies were considered complete, Miss Golding began to lecture first in the North under the management of Mr. Waters, of Horley, then in the spring of 1892, in the South under that of a certain Mr. Littleton.

It was an evil day for the Protestant Association which had taken her up when they determined to visit Bournemouth. It is not easy for the mass of people to investigate a case like this, and in the places where she had previously lectured, she had things much her own way.

Catholics in this country have inherited the feeling that calumnious misrepresentation of their faith is too multi-form and persistent to be overcome, and must be borne in meekness and silence. There was, however, one exception to this general statement. As soon as Miss Golding was 'rescued' from the Convent, Father Sullivan of Hull, into whose neighbourhood she came, communicated with the Superior General, and placed her more intelligible version of the facts before the public. This action of his prepared the way for the final detection; for it had the effect of entangling Miss Golding in statements of fact which can now be compared with her after story.

The first Bournemouth meeting was held at the Shaftesbury Hall on the night of July 21st, 1893. The Catholic clergy were not present on that occasion; but Father Cooney, the Superior of the Jesuits in the town, took the precaution to call at the office of the principal local newspaper, the *Bournemouth Observer*, and to ask that any charges Miss Golding might make against convents or other institutions of the Catholic Church should be taken down with the utmost exactness: so that if necessary a legal prosecution might be founded upon them. This Mr. Hanscomb, a professional shorthand writer of great experience and a member of the *Observer's* staff, undertook to do; and he wrote down from her lips the following words:

They had another penance in our order, which was that poison was administered, a poisonous decoction administered to us for penance. *How many nuns, here, there, and everywhere, died in their beds!* Without any falsehood, I had got perfectly used to hearing that such and such a sister had been found dead: such and such a sister died this morning. My own Mistress of Novices was found dead behind her bedroom door. *Another nun in a convent where I was coughed a little, went a short distance and died.* Five more nuns in a convent close by, in one year, vomited blood and died. The effect of the poison was, the first thing, irritation of the throat, and then we coughed, a kind of irritation cough, worse and worse, until the irritation got to the chest. If they gave it very strongly they would spit blood and die: it was according as they gave it to you. *How many nuns have I seen die of it!* How many times was I at death's door when I would not renew my vows again. As I would not renew my vows they gave me this, and I was at

death's door..... We were told by one of the priests "In this order you all die young." I was also told they rarely lived to 40, and many did not reach 30. Why did I not pass off with the others? They knew they would get my money while I was alive and would not get it after..... Once the Superior ordered me penance, and soon after when I went to tea there was a plate of bread and butter put for me, which I pushed on in front of another sister, who became as ill as could be. The old cook had put the poisoned food there by order of the Superior.

The incident mentioned in the last sentence is very interesting. We presume it has not occurred to Miss Golding that others might think her conduct on that occasion somewhat cruel, not to say criminal. However, we will not dwell on this. We have more important matters to consider.

The next evening, yielding to the persuasions of some of the Bournemouth Catholics, Father Cooney, S.J., attended a second meeting called by Miss Golding, and asked her some questions from the platform. We still quote from Mr. Hanscomb's certified report, which includes the dialogue between them.

There is one thing you said in your lecture last night. You stated there were certain convents in which poison was given. One lady was found dead in consequence. I find from shorthand notes which I have of that lecture that there are accusations that *many were murdered by poison in certain convents.....* I now come to ask the gentlemen present to form a committee and to allow me to be one of the committee, so that we may have put down in writing *the names of the convents where these things, this poisoning of nuns, took place.....* (Father Cooney read extracts from the shorthand notes).

Miss Golding said: "My dear friends, it is with the greatest pleasure that I explain this, and I don't retract one word of what has been said. I said there I would give proof of what I said, and say so again."

Father Cooney (interposing): "I am only asking for the names of the places where the poisoning took place."

Miss Golding: "The poisoning took place! All right. *The poisoning took place in every convent.* More or less poison was given in general to us all."

Father Cooney: "In France? In every convent?"

Miss Golding: "In all of that Order, the Order of La Sainte Union."

Father Cooney: "*In every convent, or in one or two?*"

Miss Golding: "*Every one.*"

Father Cooney: "Can you mention the names of the convents where the poisoning was done?"

Miss Golding: "Oh, I should have to name so many; all the fifteen convents in which I was."

Father Cooney: "Will you be kind enough to have the patience to mention them?"

Miss Golding mentioned the names of ten convents, and they were written down by Father Cooney. They included those of Calais, St. Omer, Douai, St. Joseph, Nieuport, and Valenciennes.

Father Cooney: "And in these places ladies were poisoned?"

Mr. Littleton (interposing): "More or less."

Miss Golding: "*They died from the effect of the drug administered to them in penance.*"

Father Cooney: "*While you were there?*"

Miss Golding: "*Yes.*"

The complete list of the convents thus taken down by Father Cooney from Miss Golding's lips and certified to be correct, is as follows: Calais, St. Omer, Douai, La Gorgue, St. Joseph's at Douai, Nieuport, Dunes, Hesdin, St. Pierre at Calais, Valenciennes.

Miss Golding was not prepared on this occasion to give more definite information, such as the names of the murdered persons, dates of deaths, grounds for belief in foul play, &c., and the managers of the Golding campaign resisted by all manner of evasive pretexts the formation of a committee of investigation into her alleged facts. Under these circumstances Father Cooney determined to make the best of the little of definite statement he had been able to extract, and invited the Superiors of the Order of La Sainte Union to assist him with their comments upon it.

The Congregation of La Sainte Union is a Congregation whose members devote their lives to the education of all classes, including thousands of the poor. It has numerous houses in various parts of the world, and is governed by a General Superior resident at the Mother House at Douai. In reply to Father Cooney's inquiries this lady sent (1) a detailed statement of the successive places of Miss Golding's residence whilst she was a member of the Congregation, and also the dates and circumstances of the only deaths (two in number) which she had personally witnessed: (2) a medical certificate

from the doctor who had attended these two nuns up to the last; (3) a series of certificates from mayors and others confirming the Superior's statement so far as it regarded the deaths that had occurred or not occurred whilst Miss Golding was resident in any convent.

Father Cooney had all these printed, along with other documents bearing on the question, in a small pamphlet which he distributed widely among the people of Bournemouth. The Mother General's statement is as follows:

Douai, 4th September, 1893.

Miss Golding joined the Congregation on the 10th of April, 1866.

She went to Calais in September, 1867, where she remained till the 6th of December, 1869.

She was sent to Valenciennes on the 6th of December, 1869, and left in September, 1870, to return to the Mother House, where she remained till the 6th of April, 1871.

Sent to Tourcoing on the 6th April, 1871, she remained there till the 6th of June, 1873.

She returned to Calais on the 6th of June, 1873, and left that town the 25th of September, 1878, for St. Omer.

From St. Omer she returned to Calais, where she remained from the 1st October, 1881, to the 13th of April, 1885.

She was once more at St. Omer, from the 13th of April, 1885, to October, 1886.

At Nieuport from October, 1886, to the 7th of March, 1887.

Recalled to the Mother House, she remained there till the 19th of September, 1887.

On the 19th of September, 1887, she was sent to La Gorgue, when she remained till the 1st of March, 1889.

On that day she returned to Douai, to St. Joseph's boarding school.

On the 25th of September, 1890, she went to Hem Lannoy, which she left with her Solicitor on the 25th of August, 1891.

We affirm that in none of the convents above named did any of the nuns die during the residence of Miss Golding, save at St. Omer, where two nuns died—one on the 28th December, 1878, aged 44, and the other on the 23rd September, 1885, at the age of 43.

We likewise affirm that this is an exact copy of the Register of the Congregation.

DAME ARCHANGE.

Superior General of the Sainte Union des Sacrés Cœurs.

Seen for the legalization of the signature of DAME ARCHANGE, Superior General of the Sainte Union des Sacrés Cœurs domiciled at Douai.

THE MAYOR,
C. GIROUD.

Douai, the 5th of September, 1893.

It will be noticed that this affirmation is accompanied by a legalization of the signature. This falls short of an official attestation of the truth of the facts asserted in the documents. Still it imparts a formal solemnity to the affirmations, and is thus a cogent pledge of the truthfulness of the affirmant. However much a person might otherwise be inclined to speak falsely, it is not likely that he would go out of his way to bring his falsehood under official notice. It will be observed also that, whereas Miss Golding's statements are loose and impalpable, the Superior's are definite and straightforward. The latter are of the kind to invite and render possible an endeavour to test them: the former are of the kind to discourage testing and to elude it by assuming various forms as soon as it attempts to pin them down. However, the Superior does manage to pin down her traducer to a direct contradiction in spite of the studied vagueness of the accusation.

Miss Golding solemnly declared that she had witnessed many deaths, manifestly due to the poisoned drug, in each of the fifteen convents in which she had resided. And now we have the formal contradiction on the part of the nuns who say that she never resided in more than eight convents, and that, although of course during the twenty-five years of her religious life there must have been many deaths in the Order, in the convents where she resided only two occurred whilst she was there. These were at St. Omer, one being a conspicuous case of hereditary consumption, and the other a conspicuous case of cancer in the stomach. Father Cooney has the certificate of the physician, that these were the true causes of the said two deaths.

It lay then with Miss Golding, as the person who had made the charge, to bring positive proof that she was in the right in regard to these disputed facts, and that the Superior was the false witness. This eventually she undertook to do in a fresh meeting at Bournemouth, on Nov. 11th. Before that day arrived other things had happened which we shall have to relate, but it will be convenient first to confine our attention to the peculiar mode in which Miss Golding tried to meet the

straightforward statements of the Superior General; or, as she herself preferred to express it, "to face her enemies."

Mr. Littleton, the representative of the promoters of the campaign, prepared the way for her difficult job by a pamphlet entitled, *Are the Rescued Nun's statements true?* a pamphlet the evident object of which is to discourage all direct investigation into the truth of Miss Golding's assertions, and to suggest their acceptance on the sole score of antecedent probability. The way thus prepared, Miss Golding, we presume, felt more able to "face her enemies," although it was noticeable how, when Nov. 11th came, and she reappeared at last on the platform, she and her conductor appeared white and trembling with evident anxiety. If they had self-possession enough at the time to survey their audience and compare it with the audience of their previous lectures, they perhaps would have derived even further matter for anxiety. Although in numbers the audience before them may have seemed satisfactory, in quality it had fallen off considerably. None of the Anglican clergy of the town, and very few Dissenting ministers, were on the platform to support them.

She appeared on the platform with a printed pamphlet in her hand, explaining that she wished to speak in well-considered words, but also, doubtless, because former experiences had convinced her promoters that it was safer to make her read than repeat from memory the extremely tricky language they were putting into her mouth.

The "*Reply of Miss Ellen Golding, the Rescued Nun, to Father Cooney's documentary disproof,*" was sold at the doors after the meeting of Nov. 11th. We wish we could quote the substance of this pamphlet, but it is far too long. Still her friends have distributed it widely. Its contention was, that she had been misreported by what she was pleased to call Father Cooney's reporter, that is to say, by the reporter of the *Bournemouth Observer*, a gentleman who is not a Catholic, and who had no motive save to give an accurate account of a matter which his paper considered to be of public interest. We

have heard what, according to this reporter, she said at the former meeting, and unquestionably it agrees with what she had been understood to say throughout the country. And yet now, at this second meeting, she pronounces this report to be a "cleverly manipulated fallacy." It had artfully changed the word "dying" into the word "die," and thus made her claim to have been an eye-witness of deaths palpably due to poison; whereas, all she had said was that she had seen (during her twenty-five years in the Order) many nuns in a dying state who afterwards died elsewhere, and that she had formed the opinion that in many instances their deaths had been due to poison administered. Having made this artful change, it was easy for Father Cooney to obtain from the nuns a formal contradiction of what had been interpolated into her statement, and under the cover of this to evade the necessity of dealing with what she had actually said. But let her speak for herself:

Let me now point out misrepresentations in the pamphlet. It states that I said: "How many nuns have I seen die of it?" That is incorrect. What I have said, what I always wish to say, and what I mean, is: "*How many nuns have I seen clearly dying from it?*" So dreadful was their state, and so clearly were they dying, that we all felt it, and constantly remarked to each other, "Ah! she will not live much longer," or "You will not live much longer," or "I know I shall not live much longer." The prostration, the helpless dragging about the convent, the fever, severe coughing, and vomiting of blood, were frequently going on around us, and when we got to the extreme stage through it, and unfit for work, the rules, or rather in this case the regular usage of the convent, was that we were to be sent away to the hospital, which I have also correctly referred to as the "mad-convent,"—where, naturally, as was the understood custom, the deaths as a rule occurred. It was the horrible fear of being sent to this convent which made us all say we would rather "drag on here" in misery to the last than be sent to that terrible place, and why sick nuns often begged and supplicated to die in their convents rather than be sent there. That is why so few of the actual deaths occurred in the ordinary convents themselves in which I was. But we were, in many cases, informed of the deaths by the Superior, generally after breakfast, and ordered to pray for the souls of the departed, whose names were frequently given. In this way (not to speak of other deaths) the deaths were announced of all but four or five of the thirty to thirty-five nuns who took the veil with me. Whether all or any of these (about thirty) died of the drug penance, I am unable to say, as they went to other convents, and I never remember meeting any of them afterwards.

About the cause of their deaths I can only express my opinion, which is that illness from what (for lack of any certain name) I call the drug penance, was so general that it is probable a good many of them died from this; and it is certainly remarkable that nearly all of these thirty to thirty-five died during my convent life, all being young when we entered.

Surely it must have been under the pressure of a strong necessity, that Miss Golding found herself thus obliged to disavow her former words; for that they were her former words is certain beyond all reasonable dispute. The reporter who took them down did so under the knowledge that he might afterwards be called upon to stand by them in the witness-box, and does not hesitate still to adhere to them. And moreover, in the *Bournemouth Observer* of July 26th, these sentences appear which involve them all:

Miss Golding then gave the names of ten convents in which she had resided.

Father Cooney: "And in these places ladies were poisoned?"

Mr. Littleton: "More or less."

Miss Golding: "They died from the effects of the drug administered to them in penance."

Father Cooney: "*While you were there?*"

Miss Golding: "*Yes.*"

It is evident that this passage covers the charge which, in her *Reply*, Miss Golding says she herself never made but which had been imputed to her for malicious purposes. And yet, neither on that occasion, nor in any of the numerous letters which he wrote in the following weeks, to the Bournemouth papers, did Mr. Littleton take exception to this account of what had been said. Not a whisper of exception was heard from him, until Father Cooney had published the Superior's statement, transcribed higher up, and had thereby given him cause to fear lest he might be seriously called to account for the language of his protégée.

However, let us assume for the sake of argument that she had been misrepresented or misunderstood in the ways he alleges. Does it not occur to Mr. Littleton that, if from the first Miss Golding had done her duty, and volunteered definite details, there would have been no

opening for the misrepresentations she complains of? After mentioning as many cases as she thought fit, had she added—"And here are some definite cases for you to test me by. Dame M., aged about —, died at —, in the year and month——. There were these suspicious circumstances about her death, which led me to think that it was due to poison." And so likewise of Dames N., P., Q., etc.—had she spoken thus, and of her own accord, from the first, the matter might have been brought to an issue at once. Two or three cases would have sufficed, after which the Superior General could have been invited to say whether the persons in question were living or dead; and if living, to give proof thereof, or, if dead, to give the certificate of death. Had the Superior proved unable to furnish either of the two alternative proofs, then solid ground of suspicion would at once have arisen, which would have told powerfully with the British public; and what is of still more importance, might have moved the anti-Catholic Government of France, only too glad to damage the reputation of a Religious Congregation, to take instantaneous action.

Is Mr. Littleton aware of the formalities exacted by the French law, of nuns as well as of others, before it will allow the body of a deceased person to be buried? They are more stringent even than our own. On a death occurring, whether of a religious or of any one else, a declaration must be made of the surname and Christian name of the deceased (the religious name will not do); and in support of the declaration a certificate of birth must be added, giving also the age and nationality. Further, it is necessary to declare the place of residence of the deceased and his profession. The declaration containing these particulars having been sent in, the next step is for the *public* medical officer to come and carefully examine into the cause of death and give his certificate. Then, and then only, will the permission to bury be given. To bury before these formalities have been observed is a serious legal crime; so that if Miss Golding could point out a case where, in order to avoid inquiry into the suspicious

nature of a death, burial had taken place clandestinely, she had only to lay an information to that effect before the French police authorities, and all that she could desire would at once have followed. And yet, although this course was the one incumbent upon her from the first, even after all the challenges she has received, she still does not venture to take it.

But let us examine her *Reply*. It will be seen that the effect of her revision of her charges has been to reduce them to perfectly harmless dimensions. She describes herself indeed as about to "give the names of several of the nuns in the convents where I have resided who died under the circumstances named (that is, from the effects of the poison); also the name of my own Mistress of Novices, who died as I have said; and also of several nuns whom, as stated in my lectures, I saw dragging themselves about the convent with death stamped upon their faces, through the drug which was given us; whom I saw spitting and vomiting blood as the result of it, and who were evidently dying of it." This raises our expectations, but what do we find? At first sight a rich profusion of names. But on closer examination, a studied avoiding of all exact details, and of all positive assertions.

In the earlier paragraphs whilst as yet she is concerned with generalities, she can make direct and wholesale charges. "When I speak of the deaths, it is clear that I mean *we knew* that they were suffering from the usual effects of the drug penance;" "whom I saw spitting and vomiting blood and *evidently dying from it*;" "I can only state honestly what *we saw*, which *passed quite commonly before us*;" "How many have I seen *dying from it*;" "The prostration, the helpless dragging about the convent, the fever, the severe coughing, and vomiting of blood, were frequently going on around us, and when we got to the extreme stage through it, and unfit for work, the rule, or rather in this case the regular usage of the convent, was that we were sent away to the hospital, which I have also correctly described as the 'mad-convent,' where naturally, as was the understood custom, the deaths as a rule occurred."

But when it becomes at length necessary to support these direct and wholesale general charges, by some precise individual cases, with the names attached, her tone changes, and she becomes vague, doubtful, and scanty. In this second—and all-important part of her *Reply*—she can only give us the mere statistics of death and disease, together with some guarded and timid expressions of personal opinion as to the cause.

As for the *statistics*, she assures us, that looking back on the twenty-five years of her convent life, she can remember (1), twenty-eight deaths, one of them in her presence, and six of them at the 'mad-convent' of Sin-le-Noble; (2), thirteen persons vomiting blood, six of them in her presence; (3), seventeen, as "dragging themselves about the convent, most of them almost corpse-like in appearance, from emaciation and weakness, apparently in deep consumption." These are all her statistics. And it must be remembered that even in these a large allowance must be made for repetitions. The same names recur now as dead, now as dying. So far then, no grounds of accusation against the nuns have emerged into view. The record given is, indeed, a somewhat mild and moderate record of death and illness in a congregation numbering its members by hundreds, and employing them in the hard and health-trying labours of teaching the young.

But were all, all without exception, due to the poisoned drug? O dear no! It is here that we pass from the region of facts to that of *opinions*. Miss Golding does not mean to say that all these deaths and illnesses were due to the drug poison. She is not prepared to say that any one of them was certainly due to this cause. She can only express a personal opinion that some of them were due to it. Eight of those who died (she gives the names) "*died in my opinion from the effects of the penance which I have called a drug or slow poison, or what appeared to me to be such.*" Of the six who died at Sin-le-Noble (which by the way is an infirmary for the sick and aged, not a mad-house), and again, of all the thirteen who vomited blood, she cannot mention a single one, who, "even in her opinion," was suffering from

the drug. And the seventeen cases of those who "dragged themselves about, etc.," were, like the deaths, only "*in my opinion*, the result of the drug penance." And in like manner she can only express an opinion about the death of the Mistress of Novices found dead behind the door. "They (the doctors) said she died of congestion of the brain. *I am not able definitely to deny or affirm* that she did die of this; *my own opinion would be* that it was the result of the drug, though *in this case, it is only my opinion.*"

So far then we have nothing more than Miss Golding's opinion, and surely, we cannot be expected to trust in this alone. We need to know further the grounds on which it is based; and this all the more, because the doctors (three have been specially consulted) tell us they know of no drug, and do not believe in the existence of a drug, which could cause the effects she describes.

Now it is just here, at the very essential point of all, that Miss Golding's *Reply* fails us. Searched from end to end, it yields no suggestion whatever of a *basis for this opinion*, so injurious to the character of the nuns; or rather it yields the clearest proof that the opinion is based solely on the occurrence of what she calls the drug effects, that is to say, the ordinary phenomena of consumption.

We are not strangers to this distressing malady outside the convent, and it cannot be denied that their hard work renders our nuns peculiarly liable to its ravages. That they do not hesitate to run the risk, is part of the devotedness we so much admire in them, and in fact, it is this very heroism of personal devotedness which Miss Golding and her *entrepreneurs* have fastened on, and misconstrued into an odious crime.

But we have not done with the lady yet. It is very noticeable to those who compare her *Reply* to Father Cooney with the documents in Father Cooney's pamphlet, how careful she is in the *Reply* to avoid anything like a direct conflict of statement between herself and the Mother General. Such conflicts, she feels, are awkward, as they open a straight road to decisive testing; the one thing she is anxious to escape. Still there is conflict of statement between the two on one

point, a conflict into which Miss Golding probably drifted inadvertently.

On page 9 of her *Reply*, Miss Golding says:—

The nun referred to in the pamphlet [that is, in Father Cooney's pamphlet, which gave the words taken down from her lips], as another nun in a convent where I was, who coughed a little, went a short distance, and died, was at the convent at Tourcoing, I believe about 1872 or 1873, and whilst I was there. She had arrived in a delicate state, dragging along with the drug effects, and a short time after (six weeks or two months as far as I can recollect), whilst we were at dinner, she coughed a little, then walked out of the room, and a few minutes after we were informed that she was lying in the kitchen, where she vomited blood and died. Those around her, we were informed, said: Send for a priest; but the reply was: It is no good, she is dead. I think her name was Eugénie or Euphemie, but I am not quite positive.

As Miss Golding had so seldom been an eye-witness of these deaths, the odious nature of which she understood so well, it is strange that the name of this particular victim did not impress itself upon, and even brand itself into, her memory: the name too of the convent where the tragic event happened; for, wonderful to say, when she named to Father Cooney in July ten out of the fifteen convents where the murders had taken place, Tourcoing was not among them. However, we will not lay stress upon this.

Now the Superior General in her Statement says that Miss Golding never witnessed any deaths at all at Tourcoing, and one would like to have some means of deciding between the opposing testimonies. Fortunately we have such a means through a letter written by Miss Golding herself to the Superior General, the original of which is before us as we write, and the authenticity of which she will find it hard to dispute. It is dated "Calais, June 25th, 1873," and the date is noticeable; for Miss Golding says that Sœur Eugénie's terrible death took place in 1872 or 1873; and the Superior General says that Miss Golding left Tourcoing, where she had been living for the preceding two years, on June the 6th, 1873.

The letter is in English. We transcribe a portion of it, and wish it to be understood that the remainder is written in the same spirit.

Our Good Mother Superieur (*sic*).

I take the first opportunity of letting you know that my promises were true, that my wish was to remain a nun and that my brother Mons. de Meilhac came to see me this morning, but I was prepared, our good Mother Achille told me to expect him, I showed him clearly and firmly that if I had written to him to fetch me, that it was in case I should not have been permitted to give him any money but as our Superieur had been so kind as to allow me to give £15 I had not the *slightest* intention of leaving the Sainte Union where I am very happy and contented, but he *would not* understand me and said that it was not money he wanted but me . . . I hope he will leave things tranquille (*sic*) now, I regret deeply, our good Mother Superieur, to have caused so much scandal in having written that letter secretly, I promise you with all my heart to do all in my power to show you gratitude for your exceeding indulgence, in correcting my bad character and becoming a good and fervent religieuse . . . I deign (*sic*) to beg your maternal benediction

for Your child of the Sainte Union,
DAME MARIE RAYMONDE.

The remainder of the letter is in exactly the same strain, that is to say, of perfect contentment with her state; and yet it was written at the time when according to her present story she was in a state of the intensest internal commotion on account of the poisoning of Dame Eugénie so recently witnessed, and when, as she tells us herself, she had that very morning an opportunity of disclosing the dreadful story to her brother and being rescued. We have also before us as we write other original letters similarly written by Miss Golding to the Mother General, between 1873 and 1882. We will not quote from them as they relate to a money dispute between Miss Golding and her sister and brother-in-law, and we have no wish to disturb its privacy. But throughout the tone is one of satisfaction, always complete and at times effusive, with her religious life, although, if we are to believe Miss Golding's present utterances, the poisonings were daily multiplying around her.

Of course we know the answer. She was all the time terrorized and fascinated by her superiors. It seems there are some credulous enough to believe this; some who strangely fail to perceive that an allegation like this is but a mean artifice for depriving the innocent victims of these charges of the power to defend them-

selves: is but, as Cardinal Newman so well named it, an attempt to "poison the wells."

But we would ask Miss Golding whether she was still under the fascination at the end of August and in the beginning of September 1891? It was on Aug. 25th of that year that she was "rescued;" and on the 27th of that month she wrote to the Mother General from her sister's house at Beverley, announcing her abandonment of the Congregation, and demanding back "the money paid to the Sainte Union in her name." We have the original before us. It contains no references whatever to the shocking poisonings, which, now when she was at last free, we should have expected a right-minded woman to refer to in terms of burning indignation, threatening instant exposure, in this her first letter to the prime poisoner of them all. We have also before us her second letter to the Mother General, written likewise from Beverley on Sept. 2nd. In this she complains indignantly, and indeed rudely, that her previous letter had not at once been answered, and the five hundred pounds which she had demanded been already paid: and she adds:—

I regret much, Madame la Superieur (*sic*), to tell you that the affair *will turn out very badly for your Congregation*, if this sum does not come and at once. You cannot say that I have not forewarned you, and therefore for the honour of your Congregation you will do well to return the sum demanded, or else I shall not be able to hinder others from acting against you, and as for myself you will force me to employ the power of the law. And so I expect you will send me back the sum of five hundred pounds at once.

Surely this is not the language of one under a fascination. What then are we to say of the threat it contains? If Miss Golding knew well at the time when she wrote this letter that no such poisonings as those she talks of had ever taken place, her language is intelligible enough. It is the natural language of an excitable person who believed, though absurdly, that she had a right to have refunded the arrears of a small income which had been already spent in compliance with her own desires. But if she did at that time believe in the wholesale murders, it is difficult to regard her threat as less than a demand for hush-money; a most culpable and criminal proceeding.

However, let us credit her with the milder alternative. It ought to be clear by this time to any man of sense that this "rescued nun" is merely a person suffering from hysteria, or perhaps from a monomania. Nothing is more common than for such persons to imagine themselves surrounded by enemies who are poisoning their food, and they usually display a curious ingenuity in misconstruing the simplest actions of others into confirmation of their suspicions. It is noticeable too, that as far back as Sept. 7th, 1891, Miss Golding told her *Standard* interviewer (we have already mentioned it) *she had never seen the drug put into the food.* "Some decoction is given you in your food, *you do not know when or where,* and this is continued."

Possibly, then, this lady herself is a subject more for compassion than for reprobation, and, certainly, the graver responsibility lies at the door of those who have made use of her in so improper a manner. It is to bring home their misbehaviour more effectually to these people that we must now proceed.

At a meeting at Eastbourne, in the middle of October of this year, when Miss Golding was again detailing her fictitious experiences, Mrs. Arbuthnot stated that when Miss Golding came from the convent she was without home or friends, but that she (Mrs. Arbuthnot) had given her both. This was a palpable untruth, and it occurred to a representative of the *Catholic News* and the *Hull Catholic Herald* to call on Mons. and Madame de Meilhac, Miss Golding's brother-in-law and sister, and inquire what it meant, as also to ascertain what these relatives thought of the charges she was disseminating everywhere. The result of the interview appeared in those two journals on Oct. 21st, and was copied into the *Bournemouth Observer*, Oct. 28th. We take what we require of it from the latter journal, where it appears with the omission and alteration of one small clause; for reasons to be explained presently.

"It is very painful for me," said Madame Meilhac (*née* Golding) to publicly prove the falsehood of the statements which my sister makes. I am not myself a Roman Catholic, nor have I any desire to favour them, but for the sake of *truth* and *justice* I consider that the facts should be known.

"My sister joined the order in England, and went abroad to the convent at Calais belonging to the same order. Whilst she was there I used to go once or twice a year to see her. The nuns were always most kind to me, and I usually stayed in the convent. On one occasion I was there for a week, and had full opportunity to see how the convent was conducted. I never saw the slightest suspicion of anything objectionable. My sister and I had plenty of opportunities for private conversation, and she always said she was quite happy in the convent. It is nonsense for her to say she had difficulty in getting outside the walls. She went about the town with me, and once when leaving she came with me to the boat and was actually on board till the very moment of starting. I said to her 'Now, Nellie, if you want to leave, you have nothing to do, but to come along.' But she refused. She was sent to different convents to teach English and music, but we never had any difficulty in knowing where she was. Indeed, she wrote to us from nearly every convent."

"What of this statement by Mrs. Arbuthnot then, that when Miss Golding did leave the convent she had no home to go to?"

"Bah!" said Monsieur impatiently, lighting and puffing a cigarette, "we gave her a better home than ever she had had."

Madame Meilhac continued the relation—"The first intimation we had," she said, "that my sister meant to leave was this telegram from her lawyer saying that she would be in Hull that day, and asking us to meet her. We were surprised, but Monsieur met her and brought her to *our home*. She stayed with us for *six months*, and wanted for nothing. She told me about her life in the convent. . . . Some of the papers made statements of that kind, and a reporter from the *Eastern Morning News*, came to ask her if there was any truth in them. I was present at the interview they had, and she distinctly said that she saw nothing approaching to immorality in any of the convents she had been in. She told me that in her order punishments, except in a stricter application of the rules, were unknown. As for the steel belt she says they were forced to wear, she never saw one in her life till she visited the offices of the Protestant Alliance."

"What started her giving these lectures?"

"When she was with me she often complained of the quiet life we were leading. I suppose she was shut up so long that she wanted more excitement. When she had been here *six months*, Mr. Knowles, the solicitor of the Protestant Alliance, wrote to her, and offered to get back the money which she had made over to the order. For this purpose she went to London. The order offered to give her back the money on condition that she retracted all the calumnies she had uttered. It was then that letter which was read at the meeting at Eastbourne was written."

She means the letter, referred to above,—as written by her sister's solicitors—to Messrs. Leathley and

Willes, and containing the draft she was prepared to countersign.

"That is the letter. I know it is genuine because I was present when Mr. Ford, the lawyer who removed her from the convent, wrote it."

"How then do you think that it comes about that Miss Golding still goes about making these charges against the convents?"

"She is my sister," replied Madame de Meilhac, "and I cannot think of her going about telling what she knows to be untrue. My own opinion is that her brain is over excited. She may imagine that there is some ground for the statements she makes, but I rather believe that she has been wrought upon by these people of the Protestant Alliance till she is willing to utter any words they put into her mouth."

"I have not," said Madame, in conclusion, "told you this to defend the system of convents, nor to aid the Catholics, but only because I know there is no foundation for the statements, and my regard for the truth makes me anxious to undo, as far as possible, whatever evil or injustice my sister has done."

We can well understand the pain Madame de Meilhac must have felt in giving this testimony against her sister, and we can appreciate the sense of obligation which induced her to give it in spite of the pain. Indeed, we feel for her so much that if it were possible we would forego to use the information she has given us. It may, however, be some consolation to her that we are about to use it not so much against Miss Golding herself, for whom we have already bespoken some consideration, but against the men who have led her into these offences against truth and justice.

Still we must notice very briefly the points on which Madame de Meilhac's information confirms our own conclusions about her sister's statements. Madame de Meilhac declares that she had often seen her at the convent, walked with her alone in the town, thereby giving her an easy opportunity of manifesting her feelings without fear of discovery, and that, nevertheless, the impression produced throughout was in agreement with the tenour of Miss Golding's letters from which we have argued. Madame de Meilhac tells us also that, although, as she explained afterwards, her sister did on her first arrival in England "tell me about the poison and immorality," she herself had never be-

lieved this part of her story to be anything more than imagination, and that she had even been present on an occasion when her sister had assured the reporter of the *Eastern Morning News* that she had never witnessed either immorality or poisoning; and this testimony is quite in accordance with a letter now before us, written by Madame de Meilhac to the Mother General under the date Sept. 8th, 1891, in which she says: "We are very grieved to see the papers make so many mistakes; for we are none of us in a bad spirit with you."

Now about the light this interview throws on the methods of Mr. Littleton and his friends. On this point Madame de Meilhac's opinion is very manifest; namely, that her sister would not have done "the evil and injustice" she has been doing by her lectures unless the Protestant Alliance had obtained a power over her by promising to get the money she claimed from the Congregation, and that "she has been wrought upon by these people of the Protestant Alliance till she is willing to utter any words they put into her mouth."

Madame de Meilhac's words appearing in the *Bournemouth Observer*, the people of Bournemouth were naturally curious to know what reply Mr. Littleton would make to so serious a charge. They knew they could not have long to wait, for his fresh meeting at Bournemouth was already announced for Nov. 11th, and he could not hold it without dealing with the incident.

This was the meeting at which Miss Golding produced and read her *Reply*. This *Reply* had an appendix with the heading, "The Roman Catholic Report of the denial by Miss Golding's sister proved to be an invention." Reading from this appendix Mr. Littleton explained that as soon as he saw in the papers the extraordinary account of an alleged interview with Madame de Meilhac, he immediately went to Hull himself, and "in the presence of a lady of position, well known in Hull, saw Madame de Meilhac." The result, he tells us, was the following written declaration by her, signed in the presence of the lady referred to, whose signature as witness was also attached. All this explanation is taken from the Appendix to Miss Gold-

ing's *Reply*, which also gives the text of the declaration as follows :

HULL,

Nov. 3rd, 1893.

To MR. LITTLETON,

DEAR SIR,—I wish to state that the only thing I desired to say to the *Hull* and *Catholic News* reporter is that I felt hurt at it being supposed I was not willing to give my sister a home, at which I felt nearly broken-hearted. But I was almost beside myself with other troubles when the reporter was writing, and hardly knew what I was doing.

I crossed out with my own hand the most important passages in the report, which I was astonished to find he had written—especially those about poisoning and immorality. I have no knowledge of the real life of nuns, as they did not mix openly or unreservedly with me when I was at the convent, and are not allowed to. The mysterious force of the “vow” (which was unexpired) was what forced my sister to part from me on the boat.

I strongly think that convents should be inspected.

I believe all my sister says about her experiences and convents, and shall be most proud of her if she proves helpful by her arduous labours in bringing about their inspection.

I love her sincerely, and wish her every success in her anxious work, which I hope the public will support.

(Signed)

F. C. DE MEILHAC.

Witness* _____

(* This lady's name, signed in the original, is omitted, to prevent her being subjected to highly probable annoyance, but in case of absolute necessity can be given.)

We understand that Miss Golding's supporters considered this declaration a satisfactory vindication of her story and exposure of Popish fraud. Probably this was not the general view among the more sensible classes, and it was somewhat amusing to those who knew that both Father Cooney and the Editor of the *Bournemouth Observer* had independently written to Madame de Meilhac, as soon as the account of the interview first appeared, in order to ascertain how far she accepted it. Each got back a letter recognizing the account as correct, with the exception of certain phrases, and enclosing the cutting of the *Hull Catholic Herald* with pencil revisions in her own hand. It is from this amended version that we have quoted, and we have the sister's letter of revision

before us as we write. That is the reason why one clause is marked above as omitted. It was clear, then, there was some unpleasant mystery connected with the origin of the "Declaration" Mr. Littleton had read. Madame de Meilhac could certainly not have "hardly known what she was doing" when she wrote these two letters to Bournemouth, and enclosed her careful pencil revisions. The very next week the mystery was solved. In its issue of Nov. 25th, the *Bournemouth Observer* printed the following paragraph:—

We have since received the following letters from Miss Golding's sister and her husband on the subject:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOURNEMOUTH OBSERVER.

Sir,—From the great trouble I am suffering, I am anxious publicly to state how I signed the letter Mr. Littleton wrote.

My sister (Miss Golding) being in great distress about the report in the *Catholic Herald*, coming partly from me, sent Mr. Littleton with a letter of introduction to a friend of mine, asking them to send for me. As my husband was sleeping at the time the message came, I went; but I did not know who it was who wanted me. I was, however, introduced to Mr. Littleton, and he told me of the state my sister was in, and that when he had heard all was right he must send off a telegram directly, as he was afraid she might commit suicide. Any one can imagine what fearful anxiety I was in. Then I twice asked him to see my husband; but he refused, saying he wished (if possible) to return the same day, but that he might come again.

I have not ceased to regret this way of procedure, as I dislike deceit in any form or shape. Of course my husband knew nothing of the interview till he received the pamphlet you sent: "Reply of Miss Golding." With regard to what Mr. Littleton says about the *Herald* report being an *invention*, I can certainly say it is not so, though the reporter did *not cross out* the passages we marked. The best copy is the one you printed in the *Observer*, Nov. 4th inst.

I have no wish to be mixed up in the public life of my sister, which has been nothing but a source of grief and trouble to my husband and myself ever since she left us.—Yours truly.

F. C. DE MEILHAC.

Sir.—I quite endorse the above letter, but I cannot do it without expressing publicly my utmost contempt for Mr. Edward Littleton, who came to Hull, on behalf of Miss Golding, and saw my wife privately, in some one else's house, and took advantage of her weakness, and played upon her best feelings to obtain from her a retraction of the truth she had said before (and that in the absence of myself), and refused to come and see me when he was asked several times to do so.

I leave the public to judge his conduct. Mr. Littleton may call that a clever piece of policy, and the act of a gentleman! As for myself, I cannot find words in which to express my indignation and contempt.

He said to my wife he would call again; I do hope he does, and that I shall know about it, and then have an opportunity to receive him as he so richly deserves.

With sincere thanks for the printing of this in your esteemed paper, believe me, yours truly,

F. DE MEILHAC.

In a further communication from Mons. de Meilhac, he states that the letter in question was "both composed and written by Mr Littleton himself;" Madame de Meilhac being asked to append her signature to it.

After such an indictment against his personal honour, one would have expected of Mr. Littleton, had he been able to give it, a clear counter-statement. But it is now whilst we are writing, four months since these letters from the de Meilhacs appeared, and all Mr. Littleton has done has been from time to time to throw out dark hints to the effect that he has something up his sleeve about the de Meilhacs, but generously forbears to bring it down until they give him leave. As in the *Bournemouth Observer* for January 17th, 1894, Madame de Meilhac challenges him to produce it, he need not forbear any longer.

Considering the circumstances under which the declaration was extracted from Madame de Meilhac, no wonder the "lady of position" was unwilling to give her name. It was demanded, however, at the Bournemouth meeting of Nov. 11th, by a Catholic present, and, after some resistance, given. It turned out to be that of a Mrs. McLachlan, of 9, Stoney Street, Hull. By a Hull correspondent we are informed that the precise "position" of this lady is that of wife to a solicitor's clerk. If so, that is a most respectable position, and in every way to her credit: still it needs mention because of the further light it sheds on Mr. Littleton's ideas of candour. By a "lady of position" we naturally understand, and no doubt he meant us to understand, one who, by reason of her prominent position in Hull, could not afford, however much she

might desire, to take part in any dishonourable transaction.

Probably, after all this light shed on his methods, few will doubt what to think of Mr Littleton himself. There is, however, a further and serious consideration, as to whether others, and to what extent, are compromised along with him.

Mr. Littleton has several times reminded us that he is acting, not as Miss Golding's private agent, but as the agent of the North Sussex Protestant Parliamentary Council, a Council of which Mr. B. Nicholson, his chairman at the November Bournemouth meeting, is the parliamentary candidate. This association is, therefore, clearly responsible for what has happened. We should like also to know to what extent the Protestant Alliance can disclaim responsibility. According to Madame de Meilhac, at all events, it was the Protestant Alliance, which, through Mr. Mark Knowles, first approached Miss Golding, and drew her away from her sister to embark on her career as an anti-convent lecturer: and certainly this Mr. Mark Knowles, who also appeared for her as counsel in her suit against the Highgate Convent, was at that time a prominent member of their Managing Committee. In company too with ex-nun Edith O'Gorman, ex-priest Connellan, and other similar lights, she has been set down in their announcements as ready to give lectures on application. Mr. A. H. Guinness, the Secretary of this Alliance, advocates her case in one of its publications; and is not Mr. Kensit, the publisher of Mr. Littleton's pamphlet, *Are the Rescued Nun's statements true?** a publisher in co-operation with this Alliance?

In view of these facts it may be asked: Who are the leading lights of the Alliance? Among them we must include Colonel Sandys, M.P., its former, and the Hon. P. Carteret Hill, its present Chairman of Committee; Mr. A. H. Guinness, already mentioned, its Secretary; Mr. W. Walsh (Editor of the *Protestant*

* Judging from the cost of this work—6d. for 48 pp. of well-spaced print—it would appear that its extensive circulation is neither expected nor desired.

Observer), and Mr. C. H. Collette, its zealous lecturers, the latter a veteran in dishonest controversy. Lieut.-General Sir Robert Phayre, K.C.B., and Surgeon-General Partridge are likewise to be named as among its prominent members and zealous supporters. It is not for us to apportion out the degrees of responsibility between these persons. Perhaps when they drop Miss Golding, and begin to quarrel among themselves, we may obtain some further information on the subject. Otherwise we must wait until an inspection, more needed than convent inspection, has cast light upon the dark secrets of their committee-rooms.

Meanwhile there is another scandalous feature in the Golding campaign, for which those who have promoted and conducted it must bear the guilt. Madame de Meilhac's view about her sister is clearly correct. "Her brain is excited," is the phrase which, with sisterly delicacy, she applies to her. But it is very clear that she is hysterical, and probably subject to delusions. What a person so affected requires, is, above all things, rest and quiet. And yet, for their own purposes, these people have encouraged her delusions, fed her with horrors, wrought her into a perfect fever of excitement, and rushed her up and down the country. Any respectable doctor in the land will tell them that it is a wicked thing to have done. At Bournemouth the effects of this treatment were, we are told, painfully visible. She seemed dazed, and as though in a dream. There was a scared and frightened look on her face, especially when she turned towards Mr. Littleton; so we have been told by persons present. And when Father Cooney was trying to get from her the names of the convents where the enormities were alleged to have taken place, it took her a full quarter of an hour to give them; not because she was inventing them (for all, save two, were places where she had undoubtedly lived), but because even this slight effort of thought told hardly on her overwrought brain.

It is evident, too, from their own admissions, how these people have been tampering with her conscience. In his tract, above referred to, Mr. Littleton tells us that the Mrs

Arbuthnot, with whom Miss Golding stayed for some time after she had been drawn away from her brother-in-law's roof, stated at an Eastbourne meeting in October 1893, that "whilst staying with her (Mrs. Arbuthnot) Miss Golding more than once came down in the morning and said that she felt so miserable, having left her vows unfulfilled, that she felt that she must even now return to the convent to fulfil them, at whatever cost." Miss Cusack also, whom Mr. Littleton had the rashness to invoke as confessing to the same experiences as Miss Golding's, and who wrote to the *Bournemouth Observer* of Nov. 8th to protest, says in reference to this statement of Mrs. Arbuthnot's, that she has "heard the same things said by others, as to Miss Golding's feelings and desires." Mr. Littleton, in the pamphlet referred to, speaks of the fact mentioned by Mrs. Arbuthnot as a remarkable instance of "the mysterious power of vows over the mind." In the same spirit of perplexity, we can imagine the "citizen of that country" to whom the prodigal son joined himself, and "who sent him to feed swine," marvelling at the "mysterious power" which the memory of his father's house continued to exercise over the youth so happily rescued from its oppressive discipline. But plainer people will recognize in Miss Golding's case as well as in the prodigal's, the power of the voice of conscience, contrasting the solid happiness of a former life of sincerity and truth with the internal misery of a life of sinful falsehood. Poor woman! It is revealed to us by these acknowledgments how, in her heart of hearts, she has longed to retrace her steps and be "rescued" from these people who have bound her with their chains, and are holding them tight around her. And yet these are they who lift up their hands in pious sadness, lamenting that priests and nuns can be so depraved as to think that "the end justifies the means."

On the part of the Catholics in England, we must return thanks to the good Sisters of La Sainte Union, for the trouble and expense they have so willingly undergone in connection with this business. It was

not necessary for the vindication of their own character in the eyes of those who knew them: but it has enabled us to expose the malpractices of a certain aggressive class of slanderers of God's Church, in a way which will not be without its effect on many an honest English mind.

POSTSCRIPT TO SECOND EDITION.—On receiving this tract, Mr. C. H. Collette wrote at once to protest that we ought not to have connected the name of the Protestant Alliance with that of Miss Golding. Here, however, are the exact words of the announcements found among the notices (not the advertisements) of the *Monthly Letter* of the Alliance for March, 1893: "Arrangements can be made for lectures and addresses by Miss Cusack (the Nun of Kenmare), Mrs. Auffray (the Escaped Nun), Miss Golding (the Rescued Nun), Rev. Alexander Rogers (Lantern Lecturer), C. H. Collette, Esq., and others." A similar announcement in which Miss Golding's name continues to appear (not however Miss Cusack's), is found in the *Monthly Letter* as late as November of last year. These two publications likewise contain (again among the notices, not the advertisements) announcements of twenty-one lectures by Miss Golding, apparently thus arranged for. We thought these facts sufficiently connected the Alliance with Miss Golding. Mr. Collette thinks otherwise, and his explanation is so remarkable that it ought to be made public. He writes to us in the letter mentioned: "We [*i.e.*, the Alliance], keep a register of names and addresses of those who desire to give lectures. On application, this list is sent, and the parties applying make their own choice, and their own arrangement independent of the P. A. . . And we are in no way responsible for their statements. Their names with many others are entered in our report as having given lectures." Surely this mode of defence cannot be very acceptable to the Alliance. Presumably, they know that the main feature in Miss Golding's lectures is a wholesale charge of poisoning against the nuns with whom she formerly lived. Is it upright conduct, we put it to our readers, for a society to facilitate the dissemination of such serious charges, without having first, under a deep sense of responsibility, made searching inquiry into their truthfulness? And yet, Mr. Collette, although he disclaims the right to speak in the name of the Alliance, can describe himself as "an active member of our Committee, conversant with all its proceedings." Possibly they would plead inability to advert to all that appears in their *Monthly Letters*. But then it seems to us they should admonish their Secretary. In any case, it is all very perplexing.

One or two unimportant corrections are made in this edition.

S. F. S.

POSTSCRIPT TO THIRD EDITION.—Since the second edition of this tract appeared, much has happened to confirm what it endeavours to prove. In particular, the ‘Escaped Nun,’ Mrs. Edith O’Gorman Auffray, has written two furious letters to the *Surrey Mirror* (Feb. 17 and Mar. 3, 1894), denouncing Miss Golding’s story as a deliberate falsehood. Among other things of interest which Mrs. Auffray mentions, one is that Miss Golding, whilst staying with her, in the spring of 1892, wrote out in manuscript her convent experiences, and that “she had not then invented the deliberate falsehoods about murders, poisonings, and gross immoralities in convents.” Mrs. Auffray also says: “I know that the Protestant Alliance, as a Society, refused to have anything to do with her or to countenance or support her in any way, since [note this word ‘since’] she deviated from her first simple story.” Now this is most interesting. We have pointed out the extent to which the Protestant Alliance has by its past action made itself responsible for Miss Golding’s charges against the nuns. As we have now positive evidence that they recognise these charges to be false, it is their clear duty to speak out. Mrs. Auffray says, in defence of her conduct in writing to the *Surrey Mirror* (*ibid.* Mar. 3), “It would be *very wrong* to remain silent under such misrepresentations for the sake of the cause dear to me.” Her sentiment is sound, though we have our strong doubts whether the much more vulgar motive of personal jealousy has not been the real motive guiding her pen. But if it is “*very wrong*” for her to remain silent, much more must it be “*very wrong*” for the Managing Committee of the Protestant Alliance to remain silent. For they are more committed to Miss Golding than Mrs. Auffray is, and they pose as a Society to which Protestants of their way of thinking may look up for guidance. And if the Managing Committee as a whole is bound to speak out, much more are three of its members bound, namely, General Sir Robert Phayre, K.C.B., Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge, and the Rev. Lancelot Holland; for they, with Mr. B. Nicholson, form the Conventual Inquiry Society (see *Convents, Accumulative Evidence*, Kensit); and Mr. Littleton’s campaign professes to be undertaken precisely in order to further the ends that Society has in view. Indeed, we strongly suspect, it is they under whose auspices the Golding lectures were undertaken.

As Miss Golding has had the hardihood to say that the letter quoted as hers on page 21 is a forgery, although we imagine few will have believed in her disclaimer, it may be of interest to say that we received this with other letters of hers from the Mother General through the Superior at Highgate. In this edition we give a portion of it in *fac-simile* (No. 3), and along with it *fac-similes* of a portion of that quoted in p. 22, received in the same way (No. 4), and of two other letters written at the same time as No. 3. These (Nos. 1 and 2) have since fallen into our hands through an independent channel, and are valuable as exhibiting her handwriting contemporaneously with No. 3. No. 1 is from the letter written secretly in 1873 to her relatives.

N.B.—The Appendix of the two previous editions has been dispensed with to make room for the *fac-similes*, which here follow.

Nº1. (Date on envelope May 31st 1873.)

I want Jubra to come here
 Courcoing as soon as he receives
 my money come any day but
never Thursday when you come
 ask to see the Superioress and
directly she is gone to announce
 your visit.....

..... a hair net, false hair & spectacles

I am ever

Your devoted Sister
 Melly.

Nº2. (On envelope June 7th 1873.)

I don't wish you to go to Courcoing
 either of you as I have explained
 all my desires to Our Superior
 General and she has in her great
 kindness granted them not
 more from me than from
 her own generosity therefore.

you will

Your fondest Sister

M^{lle} Marie Raymonde religieuse de la
Ste Union des S^{rs}.

N^o 3.

(Date on letter June 25th 1873)

..... any money but as our
Superiress had been so kind
as to allow me to give £5 (I
had not the slightest intention
of leaving the Ste Union where
I am very happy
your maternal benediction
I am,

Your child of the Ste Union
D^{lle} M^{lle} Raymonde

N^o 4.

(Date on letter Sept 2nd 1891)

que la chose tournera très-
mal pour votre Congrégation
si cette somme ne vient
pas et tout de suite vous

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The Truth about Convents

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.

THE advocates and supporters of that kind of Protestantism which is embodied in such organizations as the Protestant Alliance and other even less reputable bodies, are characterized by certain peculiarities. Among these are a boundless credulity and a readiness (I might even say an anxiety) to believe the most appalling charges against the largest body of Christians in the world, and especially against the morals of the teachers and practisers of that religion. The credulity is evidenced, not only by the inherent absurdity of many of the statements which are greedily accepted, but by the alacrity with which the fictions of each new "ex-priest" or "ex-nun" are received as evidence against the Church from which they have, in many cases, been dismissed, or to which they have never belonged. It matters nothing to the Protestant of the Alliance or Kensit type that the antecedents of such persons are too often borne out by their subsequent career; the exposure of one such fraud in no way prevents the adoption of the next who presents himself (or herself).

The absence of common charity among Alliance Protestants is remarkable. Did they content themselves with saying that abuses might arise in convents,

no one could controvert them ; it would be equally impossible to deny that the knives intended for use at dinner might be employed for murderous purposes. Most of us, it is to be hoped, would rather believe good than bad of our fellow-creatures, even when they differ from us in opinion ; the Alliance Protestant indignantly resents the suggestion that convents, for example, are not necessarily dens of iniquity. The testimony even of Protestant historians is set aside when it happens to be favourable to Catholics, although it is eagerly accepted when it goes against them. Sir Walter Besant, for instance, speaking of pre-Reformation times, says : " I have nowhere found a single word breathed against the nuns of London by poet, satirist, or reformer¹ " ; and a writer in the *Leisure Hour* (one of the organs of the Religious Tract Society) tells his readers that " never at any time was one syllable breathed against the morals, or the piety, or the austerity of the Carthusian monks in London.² " But when the attention of Mrs. Arbuthnot, the editor of the *Protestant Woman*, is called to this latter testimony, her comment is characteristic : " To this statement we can only reply, ' Then they must have been utterly unlike *all other monks* !³ ' "

To such lengths can prejudice run that even the witness of those who have unhappily left the Church, and who rank themselves among her opponents, is not considered worthy of credence, when it runs counter to the Protestant view. The want of logic which characterizes Protestantism is, of course, manifest enough ; but can it be carried farther than by the rejection of all evidence which does not square with preconceived opinions ? Catholics may say, " The evidence of an apostate is tainted ; we will not avail ourselves of it " : but surely Protestants have no right to accept such details as fit in with

¹ *London*, December 16, 1897, p. 969.

² *Leisure Hour*, 1897, p. 439.

³ *Protestant Woman*, August, 1897.

their tradition, and to reject those which do not support it.

Not only, however, do they do this, but in certain instances they do not scruple to urge upon the unhappy perverts who have joined their ranks the narration of suitable horrors invented for their purpose. I am aware that this is a serious charge, but I shall have no difficulty in substantiating it.

But before bringing forward the testimony favourable to convents of those who have left the Church and who bear witness against her, I am anxious to make it quite clear that I bring no charge against the Protestants of this country, as a whole, of supporting those who calumniate the Church or her religious. The great bulk of English opinion is, if not absolutely favourable to, at least tolerant of, monks and nuns; and the development within the Anglican Establishment of numerous and successful communities of women, and fewer (and less successful) communities of men, in many cases under definite episcopal sanction and with ecclesiastical approval, is sufficient proof how they are regarded by a large and important section of Englishmen. Even among the Nonconformists, communities of "sisters" have been established. The attitude of those who are indifferent to all religious manifestation is by no means unfriendly; the same may be said of the tone of the press.

The active opposition which exists, is fostered and developed by two classes of persons—those who make a living out of it, and those whose ignorant prejudice and marvellous credulity induce them to supply the funds necessary for carrying it on. Prominent among the former class are the Protestant Alliance, whose secretary is paid £400 a year; the Protestant Truth Society¹ (*i.e.*, Mr. John Kensit, who

¹ Of this body *Truth* writes (January 11, 1894): "I gather that the "Protestant Truth Society" is J. Kensit, *plus* any noodles who will send him money for the objects of the Society: that the executive is Kensit; and that the objects of

says that the Society was "formed really to help me in the circulation of literature I have published"); the Protestant Evangelical Mission; and many more.¹ The prototype of these worthies is Demetrius the silversmith, who, "calling the craftsmen together, with the workmen of like occupation, said: Sirs, you know that our gain is by this trade, and you see that this Paul hath drawn away a great multitude, so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also the temple of great Diana shall be reputed for nothing."² But Demetrius had an advantage in honesty over his modern followers, for he frankly put his own gain first and Diana second; whereas the Protestant lecturers and secretaries put a professed zeal for religion in the forefront.

Those who make their living out of the business are hopeless. Some will say that those who support them are equally so; but their very generosity in maintaining what they believe to be right induces the hope that they may be willing to hear the other side. No Christian man or woman can really wish to believe that the creed which embraces the largest number of Christians, the religion which is professed by thousands of their fellow-countrymen, the institutions which number among their inmates representatives of the noblest and best in the land—are blasphemous assumptions and abodes of iniquity. Even if they accept the testimony of her recreant children against the Church, they will be at least as willing to hear

the Society are to purchase and distribute the publications of Kensit. If sectarian bigotry induces Protestants to pay money to Kensit on such terms, they deserve to lose it. This, however, is by no means saying that Kensit deserves to get it."

¹ In 1894 the Protestant Reformation Society spent in salaries £2,012 5s. 6d. out of an income of £2,715 3s. 3d.; the Church Association spent £4,022 17s. 6d. in salaries out of an income of £8,748 5s. 3d., of which £1,500 was borrowed from the bankers; the Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland spent in salaries £3,294 os. 9d., of which only £2,343 8s. 2d. came from subscriptions and donations, the remainder being made up of legacies, &c.

² *Acts* xix. 25, 26.

what these have to say in her defence. To them, therefore, I appeal; and I base my appeal on the evidence of those who have no goodwill towards the Church they have deserted, but who see that no cause is to be advanced by perjury and falsehood.

WHAT THE NUN OF KENMARE SAYS.

Miss Cusack, for many years the most conspicuous member of the community of Poor Clares at Kenmare, left the Catholic Church in the summer of 1888. How she entered the Church and how she left it is narrated in her book, *The Truth about Convent Life*, and at greater length in *The Story of my Life*. In the course of her former book she expresses herself strongly as to the attitude adopted by Protestants towards Catholics in general and nuns in particular: the following are some out of many passages bearing upon this subject.

CONVENT INSPECTION.

So far as the inspection of "institutions established by and under the control of Sisters, such as schools, orphanages, homes for old people," &c., is concerned, Miss Cusack is in its favour. But she says: "The vile charges which have been made by a certain class of Protestants against Sisters will, I fear, very much hinder the carrying out of such a measure, as *it has disgusted the sensible and thinking portion of the public*" (p. 193). "A certain class of Protestants cannot understand that Rome can have any motive except a bad one for keeping sisters in seclusion, but persons with larger minds, and who are not incapacitated [*sic*] by prejudice from using their reasoning powers, will see that there may be another side to this question" (p. 192). "Those who are most urgent to have convents inspected have shown little judgement in their efforts for this end, and *instead of gaining the ear of the public they have repelled them*. When the public see that *these Protestants will believe any statements, no matter how absurd or self-contradic-*

tory, and will not tolerate any one, no matter how well informed, who does not speak as they wish, they turn from the subject in disgust which ends in indifference" (p. 191).

"EX-NUN" LECTURERS.

Miss Cusack's testimony regarding "ex-nun" lecturers and her contempt for the credulity of those who support them, are noteworthy. She had almost succeeded in establishing "a quiet mission for Romanists in New York," when "a woman came forward with the most marvellous statements about convent life, which quite threw my narratives of fact into the shade. The woman had never been a Sister, and was not only unreliable, but actually criminal in her conduct. But she was sensational to the highest degree, and that was sufficient to secure her success. I refused to go on any platform with her, and thereby incurred the bitter enmity of her supporters, who were amongst the very best families of Boston. After they had expended thousands of pounds on her, they at last discovered who and what she was; but I received scant thanks for having tried to save them from the scandal of renouncing publicly one whom they had so long held up to the admiration of the public. My long experience of convent life and of many religious orders enabled me to detect falsehood in statements which she made which would not have been apparent to others. From inquiries which I made through friends in England I got her whole miserable history. *But it seems that no amount of failure will save Protestants from the grossest impositions*" (p. 184).

ELLEN GOLDING.

Miss Cusack got into trouble with Protestants in England because she at once perceived that "the Rescued Nun" was a liar of the most pronounced type, and warned them against her. It is difficult to believe that little more than four years since, this

wretched woman, with her showman, a man named Edward Littleton, was stumping the country and attracting large audiences. *Where is she now?* No collapse has ever been more complete; yet a bill, issued only four years ago, is before me announcing her lectures at Norwich, with a J.P. in the chair, supported by the presence of six Anglican rectors and vicars, and by the sympathy of at least one more vicar, as well as a canon "unable to be present through indisposition." There is no need to slay the slain; Ellen Golding is not likely to appear again, and, if she does, Father Sydney Smith's pamphlet,¹ which routed her before, is ready for use; but it is worth while to note the attitude of Protestants towards Miss Cusack, when she denounced Ellen Golding in the following terms:—

"I must say, after many years' experience of convent life, and a far wider experience than any escaped or rescued nun ever had, I never saw anything even approaching the horrible accusations which have been made by Miss Golding. In making this statement I am well aware that I am doing an exceeding rash action, but, as a Christian woman, truth is infinitely dearer to me than popularity or wealth. . . . I know that this statement of truth will still further divide me from the class of Protestants who support only those who say what agrees with their preconceived ideas. If I were to tell you of *what I have been made to suffer* by persons of this class, professing to be Christians, *because I would neither make statements which I knew to be false* nor endorse statements made by others which I doubted, Miss Golding's case would perhaps be better understood."

This is an extract from a letter contributed by Miss Cusack to the *Bournemouth Observer* of Nov. 8, 1893, when Ellen Golding had set Bournemouth by the ears; it is reprinted in *The Truth about Convent*

¹ *Ellen Golding, the Rescued Nun.* C.T.S., 1d.

Life, p. 198, and contains abundant reasons for doubting Miss Golding's statements. Miss Cusack was attacked for having published it by Mr. Walter Walsh, of the *English Churchman* and *Protestant Observer*, to whom her reply is sufficiently trenchant: "Of course I cannot profess to compete with Mr. Walsh's knowledge of convent life. I can merely state what I know of my own personal knowledge, and add my strongest testimony that I know how all these scandalous charges will be brought to the knowledge of those against whom they are made, and thus seriously injure the very cause which the supporters and those who make them have sincerely at heart" (*The Truth about Convent Life*, p. 207).

In another part of her book (p. 189) Miss Cusack tells the result of her plain speaking: "The editor of a leading Christian paper promised to give an advance notice of the present work. This, however, he has suddenly and most unexpectedly refused to do, because I have criticized Miss Golding's statements. I have also received most impertinent private letters on the same subject. Now, surely, whether Miss Golding's statements are proved eventually to be well-founded or otherwise, it is neither Protestant nor Christian to boycott me, and to cause me suffering and heavy pecuniary loss because I have expressed an opinion on the subject. Surely the public has a right to hear every side of such an important question. . . . God knows what I have suffered and am suffering for the truth, but worst of all is the greivous [*sic*] injury which Protestants are doing thereby to the cause which they profess to have at heart. . . . Roman Catholics will never be won when charges are made against them which they know to be false, and indifferent Protestants will never become active helpers in our efforts to save England from the yoke of Rome when they find that *sensational statements are preferred to facts*, and that *those who gratify the public with such statements are supported, considered, and encouraged*, while

those who speak words of warning in soberness and truth are cast aside and persecuted."

EDITH O'GORMAN ON ELLEN GOLDING.

There may perhaps be some who will feel with Mr. Walter Walsh that Miss Cusack's evidence is to be received with suspicion, and that her statements are not "wise," as he gracefully puts it. But no such exception can be taken to the testimony of Edith O'Gorman, whose lectures vie with Ellen Golding's in sensationalism, and who still remains an ornament of the Protestant platform. Miss O'Gorman, having in vain appealed to Miss Golding "not to deviate one iota from the simple truth of her real experience," felt it necessary to denounce her statements as "grossly exaggerated," and "so discrepant as to be palpable to both Protestants and Papists." She accused her of having "invented deliberate falsehoods about murders, poisonings, and gross immoralities in convents." These sentences are extracted from a letter in the *Surrey Mirror* of February 17, 1894. A fortnight later Miss O'Gorman reiterated the charges, and incidentally confirmed Miss Cusack's view as to the hopelessness of trying to warn Protestants against frauds of this kind. "The cause of God's truth," she says, "has been hindered before by similar false testimony in the case of Dr. Keating and F. G. Widdows, the last-named now serving his ten years' sentence in prison, and whom I warned the Protestant public against at the time." It may be said incidentally that the "ten years' sentence" proved no more successful as a warning than Miss O'Gorman's words; Mr. Widdows, on his release from prison, resumed his pastorate of the Martin Luther Church at Hackney, and was recognized as a fellow-worker by Mr. Job Williams and other supporters of the Protestant Alliance.

THE CONFESSIONS OF PENITENTS.

There remains yet another class of evidence which

may be commended to thoughtful Protestants. When the ex-nun comes to die, unless she has entirely fallen away from religion, the thought of the account she will have to give before the God of all Truth comes upon her, and in His boundless mercy the poor wretch finds a place for repentance. This was the case with Mary Windsor, afterwards White, whose death-bed repentance is quoted from an American paper (the *New York Freeman's Journal*) in the *Catholic News* for February 20, 1897 :—

“Mrs. Mary M. White, *née* Windsor, made a statement before a notary public at Annapolis, Md., in which she refuted all she has said about the Catholic Church and the life of nuns. Mrs. White died on the 25th January at the residence of her brother, on West Street, Annapolis. Mrs. White's lecture in Annapolis in 1883, in which she exhibited herself as an escaped nun, attracted some attention at the time. Her death-bed confession was stated by those present to be purely voluntary on her part. It was made to Revs. Thomas Hanley and John Cook, who are engaged in parish work. They had been summoned Thursday morning at her request. Mrs White made complete retraction, and subsequently received the Sacraments of the Catholic Church. She was buried on Wednesday in the Catholic cemetery. During her lecture Mrs. White, who was then Miss Windsor, made serious charges against certain priests; she recalled the names of those she had defamed and exonerated each of them, thus confessing her sin. She had been one of the Sisters of Charity at the convent near Eager and Valley Streets, Baltimore, but was not a nun. She had taken the novice or candidate degree. Notary Public J. Randall Magruder, who took the deposition of Mrs. White, stated that she seemed to be penitent and recognized him as he entered the room. He had asked if Mrs. White was in a condition to make an affidavit, and was assured she was. In administering the oath he asked if she wished to sign or make her mark. She said she

desired to write her name on the document, which she requested to be prepared, as she was too weak herself to write it. Notwithstanding her weak condition, she fully realized her responsibility, and was perfectly competent, the notary says, of signing a valid instrument. Her conversation during her illness, which lasted thirteen days, was chiefly with a desire to make amends. She was thirty years old. Mrs. White separated from her husband several years ago."

Others find a place for repentance even in this life, as we learn from the case of Lucy Mason, otherwise "Florence Hastings," reported in the *Monitor*¹ of Launceston, Australia. Hers was the usual career of an "escaped nun." She lectured in various towns, uttering loathsome calumnies against priests and nuns, and for a time had a good run. But at length remorse seized her, and she retired to a home for penitents in Dublin, whence she wrote to many, retracting the falsehoods which she had uttered during her lecturing campaign. One of her letters runs: "I entreat your attention to the following facts. I deeply regret and seriously deplore the evil influence that ruled over my callous heart. Encouraged by the cruel spirit of revenge, I related to you the foulest and basest calumnies against the Roman Catholic Church, its doctrines, its priests—its most zealous and devoted ministers—and its nuns. I recall every word I uttered. I declare it to be all falsehood of the blackest hue. I was urged on by my wicked passion of revenge. Justice demands reparation before I am called to face the eternal Sun of Justice, who will demand a vigorous account of my shameful, cruel, and unjust calumnies. May my repentance move you to treat all such calumnies as the fruit of evil passions." Surely those who espouse the cause of "escaped" and "rescued" nuns cannot afford to overlook such testimonies as these?

¹ The date is not appended to the printed slip from which I quote.

HOW CASES ARE GOT UP.

I have said that stories are deliberately manufactured for the use of pretended ex-nuns, and I proceed to give evidence which establishes this fact.

1. In the case of Miss Golding, no less a person than Miss O'Gorman deliberately charges Mr. Edward Littleton with fraud. Mr. Littleton, "the egregious gentleman under whose auspices Miss Golding purveyed her fictions,"¹ is the son of a minister, and was, at the time when his name was before the public, the secretary of a body called the North Sussex Protestant Parliamentary Council—a mysterious organization, regarding which it was impossible to obtain any particulars. Mr. Littleton, by means of undue pressure, obtained the signature of Miss Golding's sister to a document written by him, which she subsequently repudiated. Miss O'Gorman (Mrs. Auffray) in the *Surrey Mirror*, to which I have already referred, says that Littleton was "Miss Golding's partner in the business, and shared the profits of her lectures with her." This throws light on Mr. Littleton's enthusiasm for Protestant principles, but it by no means exhausts what Mrs. Auffray has to say of him. She speaks of "the grossly exaggerated statements made by Miss Golding since she came under his very sensational management"; Miss Golding "had not invented the deliberate falsehoods about murder, poisonings, and gross immoralities" until Mr. Littleton "took her up"; since he "became her partner in the lecturing profits" her simple story was advertised by him as "sensational and soul-thrilling"; and Mrs. Auffray concludes by saying, "I utterly condemn the course he has taken, and hold him responsible for most of the discredit brought on the cause."

To this series of charges Mr. Littleton replied that Mrs. Auffray ought to be prosecuted for libel; thereupon Mrs. Auffray said, "Let him sue me for libel if

¹ *Truth*, March 8, 1894.

he dare, for I have proof of all I assert, and for more than I have yet asserted." Mr. Littleton did not accept this invitation. She then accused him of having deceived her, of having "glaringly deviated from the actual facts"; described him as "more interested in his share of the profits than in the cause of Protestantism"; and added, "his deliberate perversion of facts took my breath away."

It is painfully clear from this narrative that Mr. Littleton was the inventor of Miss Golding's personal reminiscences.

2. Miss Cusack does not give us the names of those who wished her to say things that were not true, but she leaves us in no doubt as to her having been asked to do so. "If I were to tell something of what I have been made to suffer by persons professing to be Christians, *because I would neither make statements which I knew to be false, nor endorse statements made by others which I doubted*, Miss Golding's case would perhaps be better understood." Mr. Walter Walsh might well say that this utterance was, from his point of view, not "wise." Again: "As for private lectures to ladies, I might be a rich woman by now if I had consented to give them. I do not know how any one denouncing immoralities in convents could possibly either listen to or give such addresses; it is simply doing what they condemn Rome for doing. *No doubt they think that the end justifies the means*" (*The Truth about Convent Life*, p. 202).

"THE WHITE NUN."

3. No doubt they do; but the "means" seem to require considerable justification, as was shown in the case of the "White Nun," whose brief career in Glasgow, in March, 1894, came to an ignominious ending;¹ not, however, before the customary uproar had been created. The Littleton of this occasion

¹ A full account of the case will be found in the *Glasgow Observer* for March and April, 1894.

was one Evans, a "General" in the Salvation Army; and his method was so simple that it might almost be called crude. The "converted nun" was one Sarah McCormack, a Glasgow mill-girl who became a domestic servant; the convent from which she escaped was stated to be that at Lanark—in which it is perhaps needless to say she never set foot: "I was never in Lanark Convent in my life—never even in the grounds of it!" said the wretched girl, when she was brought to book. Leith and Edinburgh were honoured by her visits, and at the latter place she was arrested by the police on a charge of "falsehood, fraud, and wilful imposition." She was sentenced at Glasgow to seven days' imprisonment, which the Scottish papers agreed in considering a singularly inadequate sentence.

The man Evans, who was also before the court as an aider and abettor, was dismissed with the Scotch verdict "not proven," which means "we cannot say you are innocent, but are not precisely able to find you guilty." There can, however, be little doubt that the responsibility for the business lay at his door; and certainly Evans obtained the funds—amounting to some £60 or £70—giving his tool 10s. a week. It was he who provided the wretched girl with the material on which to base her addresses: "You gave me the books *Maria Monk* and *Edith O'Gorman*, and said, 'Now, Sarah, I want you to study these books, and you must get things out of them for to-night.'" This was the girl's sworn testimony, and from it she refused to depart. Two Catholics went to Evans to protest against the outrage, but, as one of Evans's allies said, "We utterly disbelieved them, simply because they were Roman Catholics, and they will say any lie against a Protestant." The effrontery of such a statement under the circumstances takes one's breath away. Moreover, the delectable pair laid in a stock of *Maria Monk*—a work usually to be found in shops for the sale of indecent literature and in Mr. Kensit's establishment—for sale at

the lectures ! Surely every decent person, Protestant or Catholic, will endorse the words of the prosecutor : " Foolish and wicked though this girl was, the man charged with her was worse than she. He was a direct participator in the fraud. He had used her as a means of gaining money and fomenting religious discord ; and the injury that had been done was not so much to the Catholic Church, not so much to Protestantism, as to the cause of religion."

AN OUTSIDER'S TESTIMONY.

Throughout this pamphlet I have carefully refrained from citing the testimony of Catholics in favour of their nuns. In conclusion I will quote the opinion of an American freethinker, a Mr. Brann, editor of the Texas *Iconoclast*, who is not likely to be unduly prejudiced in our favour. In the course of an article on " Ex-priest Slattery," which appeared in his paper in July, 1895, he offers the following tribute to nuns. The reference with which it concludes is to Slattery, who, under the patronage of the Protestant Alliance, has lately come over to this country, and has been lecturing in Manchester and elsewhere :—

" Who is it that visits the slums of our great cities, ministering to the afflicted, comforting the dying, reclaiming the fallen ? When pestilence sweeps over the land, and mothers desert their babes and husbands their wives, who is it that presses the cup of cold water to the feverish lips and closes the staring eyes of the deserted dead ? Who was it that went upon the Southern battlefields to minister to the wounded soldiers, followed them to the hospitals and tenderly nursed them back to life ? The Roman Catholic sisterhoods, God bless them !

" One of those angels of mercy can walk unattended and unharmed through our ' Reservation ' at midnight. She can visit with impunity the most degraded dive in the Whitechapel district. At her coming the ribald song is stilled, and the oath dies

on the lips of the loafer. Fallen creatures reverently touch the hem of her garment, and men, steeped in crime to the very lips, involuntarily remove their hats as a tribute to noble womanhood. The very atmosphere seems to grow sweet with her coming, and the howl of all hell's demons is silent. None so low in the barrel-house, the gambling den, or the brothel, as to breathe a word against her good name; but when we turn to the Baptist pulpit, there we find an inhuman monster, clad in God's livery, crying, 'Unclean! unclean!' God help a religious denomination that will countenance such an infamous cur!"

I commend these last words to the attention of the Protestant Alliance and its supporters.

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The Immuring of Nuns.

BY THE REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

And now the blind old Abbot rose
To speak the Chapter's doom
On those the wall was to enclose
Alive within the tomb.

(Scott, *Marmion*, canto ii. 25.)

AMONG the treasured convictions which have sunk deep down into the heart of the ordinary English Protestant, there is none more firmly rooted than the belief that all monasteries, but more especially the houses of religious women, are essentially prisons. In a moment of weakness, despondency, or highly wrought enthusiasm (disappointed love seems to be held responsible by the class of persons to whom we refer for about 90 per cent. of vocations to the cloister), the poor deluded victim takes the fatal step and gives in her name to a religious order. From that hour she is bound by adamantine chains. In a more primitive state of society, we are told, the natural result of this system was to lead to grave moral disorders, to convert tender women into cruel fanatics, or at least to destroy in them all independent judgment even of right and wrong. But in some cases the prisoner driven to desperation will break out into open revolt. When this took place, the well-instructed Protestant knows exactly what followed. A solemn conclave was held, the nun who had transgressed her vows was compelled to undergo some terrible imprisonment or torture, and in extreme cases amid a mockery of religious ceremonial she was built up alive into a niche in the wall to perish slowly by hunger and suffocation.

No one can suspect a man like Sir Walter Scott of

pandering to mere vulgar bigotry, and yet this is the legend for which he pledges his credit as a student of history in a well-known episode of *Marmion*. Since his day this monstrous fiction may have fallen a little lower in the scale of respectability, but it is very far from having died out. There is hardly an anti-Catholic meeting of any kind, at which, if the question of convent life happens to turn up, the old charge is not in some shape or other repeated. When the Birmingham Oratory was in course of erection, as readers of Cardinal Newman's *Present Position of Catholics* will remember, something very like a popular outbreak took place excited by the discovery of a supposed series of dungeons in the basement. Still more recently a similar calumny was circulated among the Protestant workmen at Stonyhurst during the first stages of the erection of a ventilating shaft. But to illustrate the shape in which this venerable spectre is continually being resuscitated, I cannot do better than quote a passage from a lecture on *Convents Romish and Anglican* printed only a few months back, and prepared as a handbook to accompany a set of magic-lantern slides. The entertainment thus provided is intended, it seems, for Young Men's Societies and Sunday Schools, and is to be introduced, be it understood, *by prayer*.

"But we have yet another punishment that is probably still in use in the Romish system, and that is, burying the nun alive. It is almost incredible that Satan can exercise such power over men as to make them believe it is right to do this. It is probably borrowed in part from the ancient custom of burying alive the vestal virgin who had committed some crime. In Mexico, owing to the climate, most perfect skeletons of walled-up nuns have lately been discovered in a state of complete preservation in old disused monasteries. Here is a picture of one. Dr. Grattan Guinness has seen such skeletons there quite lately."¹

To illustrate this we have "Slide 30, *Walling up a Nun*," "Slide 31, *Skeleton of Immured Nun*."

Gross as is the calumny involved in a charge like this, it is not always, as some of my readers may have had

¹ Church Association and National Protestant League. Lecture No. 4, *Convents Romish and Anglican*. By the Rev. W. L. Holland, M.A.

occasion to discover, the easiest thing in the world to refute it satisfactorily.¹ The majority of the writers who repeat such statements do not think it necessary to refer to any definite instances in support of their assertions. Of those who make a pretence of proof the greater number confine themselves to examples located in far-off countries, or dependent upon the testimony of persons whose evidence cannot for various reasons be subjected to any examination. There remain, however, a few instances which seem more or less within range, and as these are appealed to with all confidence by the more respectable of the assailants of monastic life, there can be no injustice in taking them as test cases to see the value of the evidence upon which the charges rest. This is what I have tried to do in the pages which follow, and the reader must judge of the results for himself. Space is precious in a pamphlet like the present, so waiving further preamble let us address ourselves at once to the task before us. We may take for our first example a case which illustrates well the spirit in which the inquiry is approached by writers on the other side.

In a work called the *History of the Inquisition*,² by W. H. Rule, D.D., there is given at some length an account of the case of Fra Tommaso di Mileto, a conventual friar of the Order of St. Francis and a "victim" of the Roman Inquisition. The narrative, as Dr. Rule explains, is based upon some authentic records of the Holy Office which have curiously enough found their way into the library of Trinity College, Dublin.³ Friar Tommaso has been found guilty of maintaining certain heretical propositions, denying, among other matters, the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Sacrament of Penance. Final judgment in the case was pronounced by Cardinal [St. Charles] Borromeo, who sentenced the offender to be "deprived of all ecclesiastical

¹ Few Catholic writers, it would seem, have thought it worth while to discuss the question seriously. There is an excellent article, however, on the subject by Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1889.

² Second Edit. Two Vols. London, 1874.

³ I see no reason to doubt the genuineness of these documents. See the paper by K. Benrath in Von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1879, i. p. 254. Cf. the articles by the same writer in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for 1877, and in the *Rivista Cristiana* of Florence for 1880.

dignities and honours," but inasmuch as he was penitent, "absolved him from the censures thus pronounced and ordered that he should receive absolution at once, under condition of returning to the Church and doing penance, the form of which penance is described in every particular, including the *abitello*, or penitential habit with a cross." Dr. Rule then continues: "This, it might have been thought, would have been accounted sufficient for a forgiven penitent, but after it comes the following dreadful sentence, necessary to satisfy the anger of the Church :

"And because it is not convenient and just to be zealous only in taking vengeance for offences committed against princes of the world, and yet not to be concerned for offences committed against the Divine Majesty, and also that crimes may not remain unpunished with bad example to our neighbour, it is our pleasure that you be walled up in a place surrounded with four walls—*che tu sij murato in un loco circondato da quattro mura*—which place we will cause to be assigned to you ; where with anguish of heart and abundance of tears, you shall bewail your sins and offences committed against the majesty of God, the holy mother Church, and the religion of the Father St. Francis, in which you have made profession.'"

And here we may pause for a moment before we allow Dr. Rule to express the emotions with which these horrors have filled him. It should, we might think, have occurred to him that he had possibly misconceived the meaning of the original text. The word *murato*, as any fairly good dictionary will show, does not necessarily mean *walled up* in Italian, any more than the word "immured" necessarily means *walled up* in English.¹ The sentence enjoins that the friar is to be "confined within four walls," until he has had time to think over his conduct and give reasonable assurance of future good behaviour. This is the natural meaning of the words ; the more so as the substantive *murus* in mediæval Latin and all the derivative tongues was very commonly used in the sense of "prison." Moreover, it is borne out by an appeal to any dictionary of authority, like the great work of Tommaseo, as well as by the fact that the

¹ See, e.g., any recent edition of Baretto, where under the word *murare*, we have "to inclose, shut in."

phrase "within four walls"¹ is more or less idiomatic in every European language. The only thing "dreadful" in this matter is the intensity of the prejudice which, against all antecedent probability, jumps at once at the unfavourable interpretation. But we are interrupting the stream of Dr. Rule's indignant pathos. He thus continues: "So within four walls built up around him, but with sufficient space to kneel down before a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, this poor man was to be confined, and out of that place he was not to stir, but there suffer anguish of heart, and shed many tears. There was no order given for any door, but only four walls were to be built up around him; and from what we know of these structures, we may suppose that a small opening was to be left above, for food to be dropped down to him. It was what would be called in England 'a little-ease,' where the prisoner was to be kept to putrify and expire in his own filth."²

The reference at this point to the "little-ease" of dear old England was perhaps slightly infelicitous, and Dr. Rule seems to have had his attention called to the slip. Accordingly in the later edition³ he is careful to guide the minds of his readers into the proper channel by the addition of the words (little-ease) "in the days of Bonner." It is to be hoped that all right-minded Anglicans perusing this passage will fix their attention carefully in future upon the tyrannies of Bloody Mary, and not allow their thoughts to stray by any chance distraction in the direction of our good Queen Bess. But it is rather unfortunate that while the torture of the "little-ease" meets the student at every turn during the persecutions under Elizabeth, it is hardly known to have been used in the time of her elder sister. Finally, after a reference to some human remains seen by a Mr. Witherell in the walls of the Inquisition at Seville, Dr. Rule concludes in evident bewilderment: "By some

¹ The phrase, *tra quattro mura*, is used of any close confinement without free egress, and Tommaseo with his liberalist prejudices cites the phrase, *chiudere tra quattro mura una fanciulla*, as a popular equivalent of sending a girl into a convent. But even Dr. Rule will hardly suppose that every girl that goes into a convent is *walled-up*. Cf. the French *mettre entre quatre murailles*.

² *History of the Inquisition*, First Edit. p. 375.

³ *Ib.* Second Edit. vol. ii. p. 197.

means or other, Fra Tommaso, the Minorite, escaped from his 'place with four walls.' He might have found a loose stone in the wall and broken through, or some one of the servants may have pitied him, and helped him to get out. Be that as it might, his effigy was burnt, according to a sentence read on the 8th of November, 1565."

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to take Dr. Rule quite seriously in all this, but it may be worth while to call attention to two significant facts which do not certainly make in favour of his view of a Roman "immuring." In the year 1578, that is a little more than twelve years after the events here described, there was printed in Rome an edition of Eymeric's *Directorium Inquisitorum*, with a new commentary by Francis Pegna, a learned canonist who had long been connected with the Holy Office both in that city and in Spain. The book was issued to serve as a *manual of procedure for the Inquisitors themselves*. It was dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. and appeared with all sorts of official sanctions. In this work Pegna commenting upon the term *immuratio* which occurs in Eymeric's text, declares that "the punishment of immuring is altogether the same as that of perpetual confinement in a public gaol, contrary to what some people suppose who are ignorant of the antiquity of the latter institution."¹ No doubt Dr. Rule would find no difficulty in believing that this statement was sanctioned by the Roman Inquisitors at the very time that a score of prisoners were still pining away in walled-up niches within a dozen yards of them. But those who understand the nature of Pegna's work will not be able to accept this explanation. The second fact lies in a detail of the sentence passed on Fra Tommaso and others similarly condemned to be *murati*. He was to receive the Blessed Eucharist, if his confessor approved, once a week. Was this also "to be dropped down to him from a small opening left above"? Catholics will not readily suppose that St. Charles Borromeo in passing sentence can have contemplated that.

¹ F. Pegna, *Annotationes in Directorium Inquisitorum Eymerici*, p. 184, Romæ, 1578: "Eandem prorsus esse pœnam immurationis et carceris perpetui, contra quam quidam hujus antiquitatis ignari censeant." It would seem from some sentences of the Inquisition, published by Benrath in the *Rivista Cristiana*, that *carcer perpetuus* is to be understood rather of the place than of the punishment.

But let us suppose that Dr. Rule, and the author from whom he borrows, are perfectly correct in their interpretations—what, we may ask, would follow? Let us suppose that Fra Tommaso was really condemned, as they seem to imagine, to stand patiently in an open space while the stone-masons of the Holy Office solemnly erected four walls around him—what is the peculiar horror of this form of imprisonment? After all he was to receive his daily rations, he had room enough to turn round in, with “a crucifix and a statue of the Virgin,” and as the event showed, he was not debarred from the hope of escape. This is a totally different thing from the ordinary Protestant conception of nuns built up alive into a niche in the wall to starve or to suffocate in a few hours. Heaven forbid that we should seek to extenuate the horrors of any form of perpetual imprisonment in one spot, but whether the sufferer was shut in by masonry or by a door whose bolts were never to be drawn back, could hardly make so very much difference. Yet at that epoch there was scarcely a castle or civil prison in Europe but had dungeons where victims might be and were immured until death came to deliver them. It is shocking and terrible to look back upon, no doubt, but it is no more reasonable to seek to create a prejudice against Catholics on that score, than it would be to condemn the British nation of immodesty because their ancestors went naked.

Now it is precisely this sort of evidence which is largely appealed to in a vague and ill-defined way to support the calumny of the immuring of nuns. In the conception of Sir Walter Scott, and in the mouths of those who shelter themselves behind his authority, a plain and clear charge is made that nuns who broke their vows were not uncommonly built up into niches in the wall. Mrs. Browning, in her *Lay of the Brown Rosary*, uses language that is equally unmistakable :

A nun in the east wall was buried alive,
Who mocked at the priest when he called her to shrive,
And shrieked such a curse, *as the stone took her breath*,
The old abbess fell backward and swooned unto death,
With an *Ave* half-spoken.

Sir Walter is so well acquainted with the whole proceeding that he informs us in a note, which I shall have occasion to quote in full later on, that "the awful words *vade in pace* were the signal for immuring the criminal." Where he obtained his information he does not say; but this much happens to be true, that the phrase *in pace* is used in modern French as a synonym for dungeon or *cachot*,¹ and is applied more or less technically by archæologists to the prison-cells found in some ancient monasteries for the confinement of refractory religious. These cells were in no sense niches in the wall such as Sir Walter Scott has in mind, neither were they walled up, but they were closed with doors like other cells, barred no doubt from the outside by those in charge of the prisoner. That they were often the reverse of luxurious, needs no saying, for they were intended for the punishment of those whose ordinary conditions of life as to food, clothing, and lodging would be regarded with horror by the inmate of a modern convict prison. What the history of the word *in pace* as applied to these structures has been, I have found it impossible to ascertain satisfactorily.² The word has been used in French since the sixteenth century or earlier, but in Latin Ducange offers but a single example, and that under the heading *vade in pace*. Strange to say, it is always to this same example that any modern writers who happen to give references lead us back either mediately or immediately, until the doubt arises whether the use of the phrase for a monastic prison-cell was ever anything more than a local designation in mediæval times, arising possibly in the grim humour of one particular monastery. However, this is quite a subsidiary point. The important fact is, that when the phrase *in pace* is used by continental writers, or when an appeal is made to history to illustrate its meaning, we find that the instances given are simply cases of perpetual imprisonment, and in no instance have the slightest reference to walling-up alive

1

Il faudrait

Dit l'infant Ruy, trouver quelque couvent discret
 Quelqu' *in pace* bien calme où cet enfant vieillisse.

(Victor Hugo, *Ruy Blas*.)

² Little or nothing is to be found on the subject in Littré, Bescherelle, Ducange, Godefroy, or Scheler.

in the sense of Sir Walter Scott. Of course it is impossible to speak quite positively in such a matter. The difficulty of proving a negative is proverbial, and he would be a rash man who would venture to set a limit to the horrors which a mediæval controversialist in a rage was capable of laying to the charge of his adversaries. But this much may be said, that after examining such few references as are quoted by those who declare that the practice of walling-up alive was a fact, I have not yet come across an instance where there was the least reason to suppose that the writer was thinking of the bricking up of a niche in the sense of Scott's *Marmion*. Cases occur undoubtedly of confinement in some cruelly narrow cell. More than once the accusation is made that prisoners were deliberately allowed to starve upon a pittance insufficient to support life. But these instances are all quite different from the "living tomb" of the poet, the idea uppermost in the minds of the lecturers and platform orators who make capital of it to excite the horror of their audience.

For the majority of these gentlemen it is impossible, for reasons already explained, to submit their statements to any investigation; but we may examine, as far as space will permit, the allegations made by some of the more respectable of those who disseminate the tradition. From these we may learn how little to expect of the others.

An American writer, a Mr. H. C. Lea, who enjoys among his own countrymen a considerable reputation for historical research, has published of late years three substantial volumes entitled *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. The author has apparently spent his life¹ in raking together with laborious assiduity every scandal and every gruesome story he could find which reflected unfavourably upon the mediæval Church in any part of the world. "The evil that men do lives after them" we are told on good authority, and the natural result of this accumulation of horrors unrelieved by any attempt to examine the brighter colours of the picture has been to produce in Mr. Lea's mind an extremely strong bias against the Catholic Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the same time

¹ I refer here particularly to the *History of Celibacy* by the same author.

Mr. Lea is a writer of quite a different stamp from some of the fanatics referred to above. He is an educated man who understands the value of documentary evidence, and who would not, I am fain to believe, be guilty of any intentional falsification of his materials. Naturally Mr. Lea has been led to devote a good deal of attention to the religious punishments of the middle ages, and one turns with considerable interest to his pages, feeling sure that any horror or cruelty in monasteries or out of them, for which evidence can be quoted, will not have escaped his diligence. What adds to the importance of his work is the fact that he has incorporated in it all the researches of M. Molinier of Toulouse, who has devoted many years to investigating the MS. records of the Inquisition in the South of France,¹ a region where the cruelties practised against the Albigensian and Waldensian heretics have long supplied Protestant controversialists with a favourite topic of declamation.

That Mr. Lea has plenty to tell about the various forms of imprisonment enjoined by the Inquisition need hardly be said. The technical name for it, at any rate in the South of France, was *murus*, a fact which may be commended to the consideration of our friend Dr. Rule; it was divided into three kinds, *largus*, *strictus*, and *strictissimus*. In the case of the *murus largus*, the prisoner was allowed to take exercise in the corridors; in the *strictus*, he was not allowed to leave his cell; in the *murus strictissimus*,² he was thrust into some dreadful dungeon, chained, it would seem, hand and foot.³ It does not appear that the regulations were always enforced with equal severity, and M. Molinier gives numerous instances of the prisoners obtaining *licentiam*

¹ Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France*.

² The *murus strictissimus* is mentioned by Mr. Lea. M. Molinier, the more trustworthy investigator, speaks only of *murus largus* and *murus strictus*.

³ The stench and filth of some of the Elizabethan prisons, of which we have details too horrible to be set down here, exceed anything recorded of the dungeons of the Inquisition. See, e.g., Father Pollen's *Acts of English Martyrs* or Jardine's *Use of Torture*, &c. We may notice also an interesting parallel to the *murus largus* and *strictus* in the "liberty of gaol" and "close prison" of which we have record in the same reign.

exeundi murum—leave to quit the precincts of the gaol, sometimes for six weeks or more together.

It is important to call attention to the meaning here given to *murus*, because the word seems to have led even some Catholic writers into the belief—as I conceive, an erroneous one—that the offenders condemned to perpetual prison had the door of their cells literally *walled up*, though apertures were left both for light and for the introduction of food. Now Eymeric, himself Inquisitor General, the author of the official handbook of inquisitorial procedure, says in this work: “In some towns, as at Toulouse and at Carcassonne, the Inquisitors have in their establishment prisons, which they call *muri*, because these cells are contiguous to the *walls of the town*.”¹ If this etymology be correct, it has a curious analogy to that of the *piombi* of Venice—the dungeons underneath *the leads*, in which Silvio Pellico, for instance, was confined. But however the name arose, Messrs. Lea and Molinier would be the first to confess that for Eymeric and for other writers of that epoch no blocking up with masonry was implied by the word *immuratio*. That Pegna, a sort of consultor to the Inquisition, and a man who had every means of knowing the truth, wrote in the same sense in Rome three centuries later, we have already seen.

Of course in many cases there was a severity shown which no one could attempt to excuse, except on the ground that it was absolutely universal at that epoch, and lasted, in our own country for instance, until long after Reformation times. On the sufferings of the victim, as might be expected, Mr. Lea dilates with gusto. But if anybody should search his volumes for confirmation of the legend supported by Sir Walter Scott, he will meet very little to reward his pains.

One instance, however, to which he refers has some bearing upon the matter in question, and may be quoted here. Religious, Mr. Lea tells us, convicted of heresy were not confined in the prisons of the Inquisition but in the cells provided in the different monasteries for the punishment of offenders. “In the case of Jeanne, widow of B. de la Tour, a nun of Lespinasse, in 1246, who had

¹ See *Directorium Inquisitorium*, p. 635.

committed acts of both Catharan and Waldensian heresy, and had prevaricated in her confession, the sentence was confinement in a separate cell in her own convent, where no one was to enter or see her, her food being pushed in through an opening left for the purpose, in fact the living tomb known as the *in pace*.”¹

It need hardly be remarked that this case is very far from bearing out the notion of the *in pace* which is found in Sir Walter Scott. There is not a word about walling up, and it is quite clear that the prisoner was supplied with food. But it is particularly interesting because from the prominence given to it both by Mr. Lea and M. Molinier, it is tolerably clear that they have no instance to adduce of greater severity.

But Mr. Lea adds in a note: “The cruelty of the monastic system of imprisonment known as *in pace*, or *vade in pacem*, was such that those subjected to it speedily died in all the agonies of despair,” and then he goes on to cite the appeal of the Archbishop of Toulouse to King John of France to mitigate the severity of this solitary confinement, and the resulting *ordonnance* of the King that the Superior of the convent should twice a month visit and console the prisoner, who moreover should have the right twice a month to ask for the company of one of the monks.² Now it is a curious fact that the one passage here referred to is the only justification I have been able to find of the use of the word *in pace* by mediæval writers in the sense of prison. As already mentioned, Ducange gives only this solitary example, and writers after quoting from one another seem always in the end to be traceable to this. It is fortunate however that the letter defines the meaning of the term so

¹ Lea, op. cit. i. p. 487. It may be worth while to remark that as far as I have been able to examine the abundant Inquisition literature published of late years by Douais, Fredericq, Molinier, Clæssens, M dina, Henner, and others, no attempt is now made by serious students to substantiate against the Inquisition the charge of walling up its prisoners alive.

² The document is given at length in Baluze’s notes to *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. p. 1088. A story sometimes quoted (e.g. by Mabillon, *Ouvrages Posthumes* ii. p. 323) from the *Liber Miraculorum* of Peter of Clugny (ii. 9) about a monk who was buried alive in the ground, seems to me to describe only a device adopted to frighten an impenitent offender, not a punishment seriously persisted in.

that we can see how little it accords with the modern conception. This cruel imprisonment which is called by the monks *vade in pace*, is explained by the merciful Archbishop to be perpetual and solitary confinement in a gloomy dungeon upon bread and water, and he asks the Sovereign to insist upon its mitigation, as it is found that many sufferers die under it. Strict orders for its alleviation, as already mentioned, were at once issued by King John, and indeed there may be found in the Canonists reference to more than one ordinance of the Holy See passing restrictions upon the too great severity of the monastic prisons. To enter into these would take us too far from our present purpose, but it may be sufficient to repeat that neither here nor in the revelations of Messrs. Lea and Molinier is there any suggestion to be found of walled-up niches or of the withdrawal of that modicum at least of bread and water, necessary to sustain life.¹ Such regulations as we do find enjoining the occasional companionship of other monks seem on the contrary to point to a cell that could be entered by a door or at least to one that permitted easy communication with the outside world.²

Somewhat nearly akin to these punishment cells which the French call *in pace's*, and in the delightfully vague

¹ Compare with this treatment the *peine forte et dure* of English Common Law enacted against the prisoner who stood "mute of malice." He was to be "stretched upon his back and to have iron laid upon him as much as he could bear and more, and so to continue, fed upon bad bread and stagnant water, through alternate days until he pleaded or died." (Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law*, i. p. 297.) It was last inflicted as recently as the year 1726.

² One or two other details may be added. Mr. Lea says: "While the penance prescribed was a diet of bread and water, the Inquisition, with unwonted kindness, did not object to its prisoners receiving from their friends contributions of food, wine, money, and garments, and among its documents are such frequent allusions to this that it may be regarded as an established custom." (p. 491.) Again the same writer complains "that *through long years* the miserable inmates endured a living death far worse than the short agony of the stake." We need not stay to inquire whether perpetual imprisonment is worse than death, but it is clear that the prisoners *lived*, which is not the idea of Exeter Hall. Lastly, it is also beyond question, from the evidence both of Molinier and Mr. Lea, that the Holy See from time to time intervened peremptorily on the side of mercy. In 1306, under Clement V., the Inquisitor, a bishop, was deposed.

language of atnti-Popery declamation commonly identified with them, is the *oubliette*. Properly speaking the *oubliette* should be regarded as the adjunct of the feudal castle rather than of the mediæval monastery. By archæologists, who are accurate in the use of terms, the word is used to denote a sort of well or secret chamber constructed under the floor of a room, and so arranged that the victim whom it was desired to get rid of could be precipitated into it through a trap-door or other contrivance. There he was killed by the fall or left to starve. Now, as it cannot be too often repeated, this paper by no means undertakes the defence of mediæval punishments, but still it is worth while pointing out how utterly unreliable in their regard is the voice of popular tradition, and I venture to quote on the subject of the *oubliette* a few words from M. Viollet le Duc, an archæologist whose acquaintance with the byways of mediæval architecture is confessedly unrivalled. There is hardly an ancient castle, says this authority¹ whose words I am forced to condense, where the attention of the visitor is not called to the *oubliettes*, but the vast majority of the pits so designated are nothing more nor less than latrines. I have seen, he continues, in plenty of castles, abbeys, and other ancient buildings, dungeons (*des cachots*) and punishment cells (*des vade in pace*), but I know only three *oubliettes* which have any claim to be considered as such. Of these three the only one as to whose destination he is satisfied is that of the Castle of Pierrefonds. M. Viollet le Duc had himself lowered to the bottom of the shaft, but no trace whatever existed of any human remains, although no visible means of removing them existed if any one had ever been precipitated there. Altogether upon the whole question M. Viollet le Duc finds himself in entire agreement with the hardly less distinguished archæologist, M. Prosper Mérimée, whose words he quotes. "The middle ages are too often painted in extravagant colours, and the imagination accepts much too readily the atrocities which romance writers assign to spots like these. How many wine vaults and wood cellars have been mistaken for frightful dungeons! How many bones thrown away from the kitchen have been

¹ *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française au Moyen Age*, vol. vi. pp. 452, 453.

regarded as the remains of the victims of feudal tyranny!" He then instances the case of these *oubliettes* and concludes: "Without absolutely denying the existence of such things, they ought nevertheless to be considered as very rare and only to be admitted where there is clear proof of the purpose they were intended to serve."¹ As for the walled-up niche which is in question here, I know only one archæologist of repute² who has taken the trouble to investigate the matter seriously. The verdict of this Anglican Archdeacon is that "there never was a time when such things could have been true." For the rest the more respectable writers are content with an appeal to the authority of Sir Walter Scott, or a vague reference to certain "discoveries" which are not found upon examination to rest upon very reliable evidence. I propose to devote the remainder of this paper to the investigation of some of these stories.

When Sir Walter Scott introduced into *Marmion* the episode so often referred to, he added at the same time a note which may as well be given entire: "It is well known that the religious who broke their vows of chastity were subjected to the same penalty as the Roman vestals in a similar case. A small niche, sufficient to enclose their bodies, was made in the massive wall of the convent; a slender pittance of food and water was deposited in it, and the awful words, *Vade in pace*, were the signal for immuring the criminal. It is not likely that in latter times this punishment was often resorted to; but among the ruins of the Abbey of Coldingham, were some years ago discovered the remains of a female skeleton, which from the shape of the niche and the position of the figure, seemed to be that of an immured nun." (Note 2 M.) To which Lockhart in his edition of the poems adds this valuable comment: "The Edinburgh Reviewer, on stanza xxxii. *post*, suggests that the proper reading of the sentence is *vade in pacem*—not *part*

¹ *Instructions du Comité historique des arts et momuments*,—*Architecture Militaire*, pp. 75—82.

² Archdeacon Churton in his paper on *Penitential Cells and Prisons connected with Monastic Houses*, read before the Yorkshire Architectural Society and printed in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, vol. ii. p. 219. I am indebted to Mr. Peacock's article for the reference.

in peace, but *go into peace*, or into eternal rest, a pretty intelligible *mittimus* to another world."

It is a pity that Sir Walter Scott has not made us acquainted with the sources whence he derived this important information. The reference to Coldingham, however, is at least something to go upon, although even that might certainly be more definite. Still Coldingham is not unknown to fame. As early as the beginning of the seventh century, St. Ebba, or Abb, built a nunnery there, which seems to have been of the kind called mixed—*i.e.*, including both monks and nuns under the rule of an Abbess. It was destroyed by the Danes before 880, but in 1098 a priory for monks was founded in the same spot by Edgar, King of Scotland, as an appanage to Durham. In this way Coldingham comes to occupy a very considerable place in Raine's great *History of North Durham*. It receives full attention also in Mackenzie Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, as well as in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, Ridpath's *Border History*, and many other works, so that it seemed not unreasonable to expect that from one source or another satisfactory details would be forthcoming about Sir Walter Scott's immured nun. To detail the various incidents of the quest undertaken in pursuit of this *ignis fatuus* would be highly uninteresting.¹ In the majority of the authoritative works named, and in a number of others, there is no allusion whatever to the discovery. On the other hand, the compilers of modern guide-books mention the episode to a man, copying each other, but of course without references. It will be sufficient therefore to say that the earliest mention of the story I have been able to find occurs in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* (1789), in the following words: "Some years ago in taking down a tower at the south-west corner of the building, a skeleton of a woman was found, who from several circumstances appeared to have been immured. She had her shoes on, which were long preserved in the custody of the minister."²

¹ It may be worth while to mention that a letter addressed to the minister of Coldingham asking if he could kindly supply any details or any references to a contemporary account of the discovery, has met with no reply.

² F. Grose, *Antiquities of Scotland* (1789), p. 95.

It is perhaps not too much to infer from this notice that the discovery must have been made a considerable time before Mr. Grose wrote. The remark that "her shoes were long preserved in the custody of the minister," seems rather to imply that they had then disappeared, and the mention of "a tower in the south-west corner of the building," leaves us to choose between two alternatives, either that the discovery was made in a wing of the priory where it cannot be pretended that nuns ever lived, as the priory was built solely for men, or that the date of the find was so remote that some of St. Ebba's nunnery was still standing. It is probably for this reason that Mr. Grose, a careful antiquary, says nothing about *nuns* or *in pace's*, but speaks only of "a woman who seemed to have been immured." Somewhat fuller details are given by later writers, but for brevity's sake we may content ourselves with the account to be found in Carr's *History of Coldingham*, still the standard work on the locality, composed in 1836 by a resident antiquary who was also a medical man: "On removing a portion of the ruins about fifty years ago, the bones of a female skeleton were discovered enclosed in a niche in one of the walls, which from its position, and the narrowness of the depository, are supposed to have been the remains of an *immured nun*. . . . Two sandals of thin leather, furnished with latchets of silk, were also found lying at the bottom of the recess.¹ Could it be satisfactorily proved that the skeleton was actually that of a nun, all doubt respecting the site of the last of the double monasteries would be dispelled, for as the priory was devoted exclusively to monks, the body must necessarily have been deposited there previous to its erection. In the absence of such evidence, it may be questioned whether it may not have been the remains of a monk who had been buried in an upright posture; there being on record several instances of such a mode of burial practised in the Benedictine monasteries."²

Three extremely interesting conclusions may be deduced from the latter portion of this account. In the first place we

¹ "The sandals were long in the possession of the late Mr. Johnston, factor to the estate of Billy." (Note by Dr. Carr.)

² A. A. Carr, *History of Coldingham Priory*, p. 316.

learn that the site even of the original nunnery of St. Ebb is a matter of conjecture. Strange to say, the argument is not, as we might expect—a skeleton has been found among ruins known to be those of an ancient nunnery, therefore the skeleton is that of a nun. But it runs *ex converso*—human remains are found apparently walled up in a ruin, therefore the ruin must be that of a house of religious women.

Secondly we are reminded, that as the nunnery was finally wrecked by the Danes in 875, the remains, if those of one of the inmates, must have been in the wall for more than nine hundred years, which is a long time for the sandals to have been perfectly preserved in a situation so dubiously air-tight. I say nothing of the fact that the nunnery was destroyed by fire, which might have been supposed to shrivel the leather, even behind a wall.

Lastly, Dr. Carr lets us see that he, a diligent and competent investigator living on the spot, and therefore presumably able to question those with whom remained the tradition of the discovery, had found nothing to satisfy him that the remains were even those of a female.

A complaint was made a page or two back that no satisfactory particulars were forthcoming about this interesting find. Perhaps the reader will after all be disposed to think that the evidence is sufficient—sufficient, that is to say, to show how utterly untrustworthy are all the conclusions based upon it.

Amongst the works mentioned above as conspicuous by their silence respecting the immured nun of Coldingham is Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*. That Mr. Walcott should not have bestowed even a footnote upon the nun in his full account of Coldingham Priory is remarkable—the more so that in an earlier work he shows himself a devout believer in the good old Protestant tradition. In his justly-esteemed *Dictionary of Sacred Archaeology*, under the heading (monastic) "Prison," we find the following statements: "In all cases solitary confinement was practised, and in some cases the guilty were immured, after the pronouncement of the sentence, *Vade in pace*—'Go in peace.' At Thornton the skeleton of Abbot de Multon, *c.* 1445, with a candlestick, chair (*sic*) and table, was found built up within a recess of the wall; and a cell

with a loop looking towards the high altar, remains at the Temple, in which William (*sic*) le Bachelor, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, died."

Here then are two other interesting examples which invite verification. They are placed by Mr. Walcott in the front rank presumably as being the most satisfactory and the nearest home. At the same time we may remark *en passant* that neither the one nor the other in the least realizes the idea of Sir Walter Scott or the Exeter-Hallites. But let that pass. Mr. Walcott unfortunately does not condescend to give references for particular statements. Instead of that, three or four pages at the beginning of his volume are devoted to a general citation of authorities, a practice which is about as helpful to those who desire to check his accuracy as if he had said, "*Vide MSS. at British Museum, passim.*" By a fortunate accident, however, an examination, among other sources, of the index to the *British Archæological Journal* suggested a reference to the volume for 1846, where, in an article by J. H. P(arker) on *Thornton Abbey*, it was easy to recognize the source of Walcott's inspiration on the subject of Walter Multon.

All that is known upon this head may be given in very brief space indeed. William Stukeley, an archæologist of the eighteenth century, published in 1721 a work called *Itinerarium Curiosum*, the purpose of which is sufficiently described by its sub-title—"an account of the antiquitys and remarkable curiositys in nature or art observed in travels thro' Great Britain." Passing in one of his journeys by Thornton Abbey in Lincolnshire, he gives a rapid description of it. I quote the sentence which precedes and follows that which concerns our present subject, to show the casual nature of the reference.

"Along the ditch within the gate are spacious rooms and staircases of good stone and ribwork arches. Upon taking down an old wall there, they found a man with a candlestick, table and book, who was supposed to have been immured. When you enter the spacious court, a walk of trees conducts you to the ruins of the church."¹

Now this brief notice seems to be the only foundation of the story. Mr. Parker cites no other authority, as he

¹ Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 95. First Edit.

almost certainly would have done if he had found anything more satisfactory. A search made in county histories, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and archæological journals, has resulted in nothing further. So we are left for this fact to the casual remark of a traveller at the beginning of the eighteenth century who does not imply even that he believed the story, or saw the chamber, or knew how many years before his time the discovery may have been made. A candlestick, a table, and a book seem rather curious adjuncts for an immured man, and are certainly not provided for in Sir Walter Scott's plan of operations. Amongst the thousand and one accidents that might account for the discovery of a skeleton under such circumstances, the suggestion that the remains were those of an Elizabethan priest forgotten in a hiding-place would at least have something more to say for itself than the theory of the wisecracks of Thornton.

But Messrs. Parker and Walcott are not only satisfied about the immuring, but they know that the victim was Walter de Multon, Abbot of Thornton in 1443. It appears that the compiler of a MS. history of the Abbey¹ writing about the year 1525, says that he had been unable to find any record of the death or place of burial of this particular abbot. Whence Mr. Parker concludes: "It is almost impossible to doubt that this significant passage has allusion to the fate of Walter Multon, who expiated his unrecorded offences by suffering that dire punishment, which, we have reason to believe, the secret and irresponsible monastic tribunals of the middle ages occasionally inflicted upon their erring brethren."²

It ought to be mentioned perhaps that according to Mr. Parker an old tradition exists in the place of an abbot having been immured there,³ but we are not told by whom

¹ MS. Tanner, 166.

² *The Archæological Journal*, ii. p. 593. The "significance" of the passage is probably due to Mr. Parker's manner of translating it. He does not give the original Latin.

³ For the value of tradition in such matters see the story of the "bairns boäns" at Fountains Abbey, quoted by Mr. Peacock, p. 45. The bones in question, supposed by local tradition to be those of children put out of the way by the monks as soon as they were born, were examined by competent medical authority and pronounced to be pigs'!

the tradition was ascertained, nor given any reason to think that this is more than a confused popular recollection of the incident mentioned by Stukeley.¹

The other instance of an immured prisoner which Mr. Walcott cites with all the air of appealing to an ascertained fact as certain as the accession of Queen Victoria, is the case of "William," he means Walter, le Bachelor, whose supposed cell may still be visited in the Temple Church, London. His authority in this case would seem to have been the tolerably well-known work of Mr. Addison, published in 1842. However this may be, Mr. Addison's presentation of the facts is so dramatic that it would be a pity not to allow him to tell the story.

"This dreary place of solitary confinement is formed within the wall of the church, and is only four feet, six inches long, and two feet, six inches wide, so that it would be impossible for a grown man to lie down with any degree of comfort within it. Two small apertures or loopholes, four feet high and nine inches wide, have been pierced through the walls to admit light and air. One of these apertures looks eastward into the body of the church, towards the spot where stood the high altar, in order that the prisoner might see and hear the performance of Divine Service, and the other looks southward into the Round, facing the west entrance of the church. The hinges and catch of a door, firmly attached to the doorway of this dreary prison, still remain, and at the bottom of the staircase, is a stone recess

¹ In a recently published volume entitled *Bygone Lincolnshire*, by W. Andrews, we read: "The Abbot's house on the south is now occupied as a farm-house. In making the excavations was found a tomb inscribed, 'Roberti et Julia (*sic*) 1443,' and in a wall was found a skeleton with a table, a book, and a candlestick, supposed to be the remains of *Thomas de Gretham*, the fourteenth Abbot, who was immured (buried alive within a wall) for some crime or breach of monastic rule. The Annals of the Abbey are somewhat scanty, there being little known of its ecclesiastical or domestic history." (p. 146.) The author of the paper in which this passage occurs, Mr. Frederick Ross, F.R.H.S., in answer to my inquiries, has kindly informed me that he is indebted for this information to Timbs. (*Abbeys and Castles*, vol. i. p. 374.) This looks like an independent tradition; but further investigation reveals that it is nothing of the sort. Timbs simply copies somebody who copies Parker, and Mr. Ross has blundered in reproducing Timbs.

or cupboard, where bread and water were placed for the prisoner."¹

Mr. Addison then continues: "In this miserable cell were confined the refractory and disobedient brethren of the Temple, and those who were enjoined severe penance with solitary confinement. Its dark secrets have long since been buried in the silence of the tomb, but one sad tale of misery and horror connected with it has been brought to light.

"Several of the brethren of the Temple at London, who were examined before the Papal Inquisitors, tell us of the miserable death of Brother Walter le Bacheler, Knight, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, who, for disobedience to his superior, the Master of the Temple, was fettered and cast into prison, and there expired from the rigour and severity of his confinement. His dead body was taken out of the solitary cell in the Temple at morning's dawn, and was buried by Brother John de Stoke and Brother Radulph de Barton, in the middle of the court, between the church and the hall."

As Mr. Addison is good enough to tell us whence he has derived his information² we are able to satisfy ourselves that the facts here narrated are substantially accurate. Certainly the depositions of the Templars at their trial make it clear that Walter le Bacheler had been severely handled in prison (*et bene audivit quod aliquæ duritiæ fuerunt ipsi factæ* are the words of one witness³) and that he had been buried with somewhat suspicious secrecy. We may add from the same source⁴ that his imprisonment had lasted eight weeks, and that he had received the Sacrament of Penance and probably Holy Communion before death. But will the reader be surprised to hear that there is not a syllable to connect Walter le Bacheler with the cell in the tower? That he was not *walled up* there is in any case obvious, the fastenings of the door still remain, and the body was carried out to be buried. But the idea that this

¹ Addison, *The Temple Church*, p. 75.

² Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. ii. Examination of the Templars, pp. 337, 346, 377, 384.

³ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 346.

cell inside the church was ever used for the restraint of unwilling prisoners *in extremis* is a mere conjecture which has against it all the probabilities. Was it intended that the groans of the miserable victim should mingle, through two open apertures, with the praises of God chanted below? Was it likely that he would be confined where his cries would reach the ears of every casual visitor that entered the church? Were they so considerate of his spiritual welfare as to provide that he should have the altar and the ceremonies of Holy Mass constantly under his eyes? What may have been the true destination of this cell, with its commanding view both of the round and the rectangular area which make up the Temple Church, I cannot pretend to say for certain. It remains yet to be proved that it was meant for anything less innocent than a closet to keep brooms in. Possibly it might have been used by a voluntary recluse who was willing, in expiation of some crime, to undergo this unusually severe penance. The outlook upon the high altar is a feature which it has in common with the ordinary anchoret's cell, but of course its dimensions are much smaller than the *reclusoria* of which we have examples.¹ On the whole the probabilities are greatly in favour of the opinion of Father Morris, F.S.A., who was kind enough to accompany me in a visit to the Temple Church. He pronounces confidently that it is nothing but a watching-loft (*excubitorium*) from which one of the brethren unobserved could command the high altar, the round, and indeed the whole building. In the cases of churches with shrines such constructions, though often of much larger dimensions, are very common,² and there seems to be some ground for thinking that they were not confined to noted places of pilgrimage, but may have existed also in other churches where there was no shrine.³ In any case Mr. Addison has

¹ Perhaps we may except the cell of Edington Abbey Church, Wilts.

² They may be observed at St. Alban's, Westminster, Lichfield, Oxford, Worcester, and Canterbury. The same arrangement probably existed at Exeter and Lincoln.

³ Another possible explanation is suggested by a passage in Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, vol. viii. p. 4. "There may still be seen," he says, "in the church of Mas d'Azil (Ariège) a little cell formed in the thickness of the wall in which it was customary to

not a fragment of evidence or analogy to produce for his view, and yet he goes so far as to include in his book a sensational full-page engraving representing two Templars bringing down from this chamber the dead and half-naked body of their supposed victim.

At the same time it should be clearly understood that what chiefly calls for protest in this statement of Mr. Addison's, is not the charge of cruelty against the Templars, but the unscrupulous way in which a highly improbable conjecture is assumed as certain fact. That a prisoner should be so severely treated during his confinement that he survived but eight weeks is an incident for which probably every country in Europe as late as the seventeenth century could have furnished scores of parallels. A grave suspicion, we may readily admit, rests upon the Order of the Templars, that the terrible accusations which led to their suppression were not in all cases without foundation. If so, there could be no ground for surprise if a body of rough soldiers who had lost their religious spirit should occasionally have set the law of the Church at defiance in the cruelty exercised upon offenders against their statutes. But even in the case of the Templars there is no reason for taking such charges for granted without reasonable proof, and neither here, nor in the human remains discovered at Temple Brewer, can we say that anything like a clear case has been made out against them.

It will be sufficient here again to appeal to the Protestant authority already referred to. "In other vaults," writes Archdeacon Churton, "under some of these ruins there have been found heaped together in confusion the remains of bodies of old men and children, and some with broken skulls, as if they had died by violence. This is described particularly as the case at an old ruin of a house of the Templars. Is it not most probable that these may be the bones of persons slain in the Wars of the Roses, or the later civil wars, and thrown into these vaults, as a place

confine a lunatic. This tiny cell only received light and air from the interior of the church. Everything was there certainly that could be needed to turn a sane person into a madman, but whether it was with any hope of curing these unfortunate beings that they were thus mewed up (*chartrés*) is more than I can tell."

where they would be out of the way and none would interfere with them? The Templars were not accused by their worst enemies of making a kind of 'black hole' of any part of their premises. Nothing is more uncertain than a charge founded on the discovery of human bones in disused cemeteries and in unusual positions."¹

The passing allusion that has lately been made to anchorets and recluses, suggests the interesting question how far a confused oral tradition about these voluntary prisoners may not be responsible for the popular belief in the existence of walled-up nuns. People had certainly not forgotten this institution of pre-Reformation days in the time of Shakspeare. It is thus that the player-queen in *Hamlet* alludes to the practice :

To desperation turn my trust and hope,
An anchor's cheer in prison be my scope.

The life, no doubt, of these recluses was a severe one, and what Mr. Cutts calls "the popular idea that they inhabited a living grave,"² was occasionally, though rarely, to some extent justified.³ Bilney, the Reformer, in his *Reliques of Rome* (1563), has a long indictment of the "monastical sect of recluses and such as be shutte up within walls, there unto death continuall to remayne," and we may remark that an interesting verbal parallel to Dr. Rule's bugbear may be found in the phrase used of an anchoret in a note to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle: *Richardus Fraunceys inter quatuor parietes pro Christo inclusus*—"Richard Francis enclosed between four walls for Christ's sake."⁴

We have no space here to discuss the question of recluses at any length, but it may be interesting to note the deep impression which the idea had evidently made upon the mediæval imagination. No book, perhaps, is more truly representative of the habit of mind of that epoch than the *Golden Legend*, and this is how we find the penance of "Thaysis" described in that collection of stories. I quote the translation of Caxton reproduced by Cutts. "She went to the place whiche th' abbot had assygned to her,

¹ Op. cit. p. 314.

² *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, p. 121. ³ *Ibid.* p. 146.

⁴ Edit. Hearne, ii. 625.

and there was a monasterye of vyrgyns; and there he closed her in a celle and sealed the door with led. And the celle was lytyll and strayte, and but one lytell wyndowe open, by whych was mynistred to her poor livinge; for the Abbot commanded that they shold give to her a lytell brede and water." The great number of recluses in England during the middle ages has never perhaps been properly estimated. There seem to have been as many as a dozen living in the city of Norwich alone, all in separate anchorholds. What is perhaps of importance in the present connection is that in some cases this enclosure was enjoined as a penance. The recluse remained a prisoner, but in this sense a voluntary prisoner that she was physically free to leave her cell if she chose. An instance is quoted by M. Viollet le Duc under the heading, *reclusoir*.

In a paper like the present it is almost inevitable that more hares should be started than it is possible to run down satisfactorily. Still there is one allusion which occurs in an extract given in an earlier page which I should be sorry to leave without some further comment, however brief. In the Rev. W. L. Holland's magic-lantern lecture on *Convents Romish and Anglican*, he tells his hearers, it may be remembered, that Dr. Grattan Guinness has "lately seen most perfect skeletons of walled-up nuns . . . in the old disused monasteries of Mexico." It would be interesting to have Dr. Grattan Guinness' own description before us, and with that object I have examined the list of the somewhat voluminous *opera omnia* of that reverend controversialist in the British Museum Catalogue, also the titles of the scarcely less voluminous works of Mrs. Grattan Guinness. However, none of these seem to promise anything about Mexico, and so I am forced to make at a venture a suggestion which may possibly account for this remarkable feature in Dr. Grattan Guinness' experiences.

It is a piece of information which seems to be tolerably familiar abroad, though it may possibly be new to some English readers, that the Capuchin Order in more southern climes have a peculiar custom as to the disposal of their dead. When a religious dies, the body is conveyed to a crypt or mortuary chapel under the church, and there, still clothed in the habit, is fixed upright in a sort of niche,

where it is carefully bricked up. A twelvemonth or so afterwards, generally before the feast of All Souls, the brick partition in front is removed, and the remains, of which by this time nothing is left but the skeleton, are exposed to view. The bones are draped in a new habit, and are then allowed to stand in the crypt side by side with many similar skeletons, where their religious brethren and the faithful come from time to time to pray for their souls. This somewhat ghastly spectacle¹ has been made the subject of a copy of verses by "C. C. G.," written, it appears, in 1830.² I reproduce the last three stanzas:

Amidst the mould'ring relics of the dead,
In shapes fantastic which the brethren rear,
Profaned by strangers' light unhallowed tread,
The monklike skeletons erect appear.

The cowl is drawn each ghastly skull around,
Each fleshless form arrayed in sable vest;
About their hollow loins the cord is bound,
Like living Fathers of the Order drest.

And as the monk around this scene of gloom
The flickering lustre of his taper throws,
He says, "Such, stranger, is my destined tomb;
Here, and with them, shall be my last repose."

Now it is not, I think, too much to assume that if Dr. Grattan Guinness had come upon a cemetery of this description, left probably *in statu quo* in some suppressed Capuchin convent in Mexico, the sight would certainly have presented in his eyes all the features of a horrible tragedy.

But if nuns were never walled-up alive, some reader may say, how is it that the story has come to be so widely believed? The limits of this pamphlet do not allow me to answer the question as fully as it deserves, although we have already glanced at some possible explanations. The etymological confusions of the word *immure*, the voluntary

¹ I understand that both in Malta, where the "baked monks," as they were irreverently termed by the English passengers of the P. and O. steamers, were accounted among the sights of the island, and in the Capuchin convents of Italy, the practice is now forbidden.

² Printed in *The Catholic Keepsake*, p. 80. Burns and Oates.

confinement of recluses, the manner of sepulture practised in some religious Orders, have all probably contributed something to the myth. But there remain many other causes to be taken into account. The upright interment of dead bodies is a practice not unknown even in England since the Reformation.¹ On the Continent burial alive was a common penalty for several classes of offences. More noteworthy still, a curious pagan superstition² survived for centuries in many countries of Europe that to secure the permanence of great structures—bridges, castles, or what not, it was necessary that the body of a child or a maiden should be built up into the foundations. In other cases doorways have been bricked up as the most convenient way of hiding the evidences of a tragedy.³ When such things come to light bigotry has always an explanation ready, and the unknown terrors of the cloister are invoked to account for every skeleton found in an old building in an unusual position. But even could such allegations be proved in individual instances, as assuredly they have never been proved, the fact remains that the whole spirit of monasticism is in flagrant contradiction to them. Sir Walter Scott describes his three judges as

All servants of Saint Benedict
The statutes of whose order strict
On iron table lay.

“It is a pity,” says the Protestant Archdeacon Churton, “that this man of genius had not first read these statutes and seen how totally inconsistent is the spirit and the letter of them with such a doom as he describes.”⁴ This is really the main issue, and I can find no more suitable words than these with which to conclude this essay.

¹ See instances quoted by Peacock, l.c. pp. 50, 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 49, and *The Academy*, July 31, 1886, p. 73.

³ The “secret chamber” of Glamis Castle is said to be a case in point.

⁴ Churton, l.c. p. 312.

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THE MYTH OF THE WALLED-UP NUN.

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IN a pamphlet published by the Catholic Truth Society, in 1892, under the title of *The Immuring of Nuns*, the oft-repeated calumny—that nuns who proved unfaithful to their vows were put to death by being built up living into a niche in the wall—has been discussed at length. The writer of that pamphlet was not so foolish as to suppose that a belief, dear to the heart of every true Protestant, could be destroyed by any force of reasoning or any evidence of facts. Still he ventured to express a conviction that the fable was sinking gradually lower in the scale of respectability, and that the time was not far distant when it would no longer be heard of outside the precincts of Exeter Hall and the meetings of the Protestant Alliance. Prejudice, however, dies hard, and that favourable anticipation has not been justified by the event. During the autumn of 1893 one of the most popular novelists of the day lent his name to a singularly gross and offensive repetition of the libel in question. Seeing that the writer commands a large public, and that it is his pleasant conceit to pose as a man of erudition and a serious student of history, his attack may be considered of sufficient importance to warrant our returning to the subject.

And here it may not be out of place to remark how very patiently, not to say tamely, the Catholic body are content to sit down under so exasperating a calumny. The story which contains it has appeared in one of our leading illustrated newspapers, and is thus spread broadcast over the United Kingdom, and indeed wher-

ever the English language is spoken. There must, no doubt, be many Catholics connected with the publishing offices of *The Graphic*, and there must be thousands of Catholic households into which it finds its way, yet the proprietors apparently have no fear that they will injure their pockets in any way by the publication of this scandalous travesty of history. Whether it be Christian meekness, or whether it be silent contempt, or whether it be the apathy which results from disregarded protests, there is no probability that Catholics will be roused to take serious action of any kind. But one cannot at the same time help reflecting that a less indifferent attitude seems somehow more successful in making itself respected. The Jewish community in England are numerically a mere handful as compared with the adherents of the Catholic Church. Yet no journal with a circulation to lose would accept a novel which contained, as one of its leading incidents, a highly-coloured description of the crucifixion of a Christian child in a Jewish synagogue, together with the public avowal of the author's belief in the reality of these occurrences. If any newspaper were so venturesome, machinery would assuredly be set in motion to make the proprietors repent their rashness.*

I am not in the least concerned here either to affirm or to deny the truth of the alleged Jewish practice of immolating Christian children. Probably nine Englishmen out of ten regard it as a fable. But this may be said with confidence, that the evidence for the Jewish murder of Christian children is simply overwhelming beside any evidence which ever has been adduced or is ever likely to be adduced for the walling-up of nuns. In the former case we have at least full details of names,

* One need not have the least sympathy for the ridiculous exaggerations of Drumont's *France Juive* to be conscious that Jewish influence even in literary matters is a factor not to be neglected. Any one who may have followed in the pages of *The Athenaeum* the correspondence which attended the publication of the second edition of the late Mr. King's *Gnostics and their Remains* some years since, will understand what I mean.

place, and time, we have judicial inquiries, we have the record of contemporary documents, we have the testimony of witnesses on oath.* In the case of the Religious no one pretends to tell us either who, or when, or where. The monastic chronicles themselves are silent, no trace remains in the *comperta* of episcopal visitations, no statutes are quoted from the constitutions of an Order enjoining such a penalty. The boldest attempts to justify the charge do not go beyond a vain appeal to tradition, or the ill-attested discovery of human remains in the walls of some ruined religious building.

But to return to the subject more immediately under discussion. The name of Mr. Rider Haggard will be familiar to most of my readers, as that of a writer of fiction who a few years since achieved a sudden reputation in a somewhat new province of his art. Opinions may differ considerably as to the literary merit of the work he has produced, but his books, though declining in popularity, are still widely read. Mr. Rider Haggard, it would appear, chafes a great deal under the restrictions imposed upon the novelist by English respectability. Being thus limited, as the Schoolmen say, *intensivè* in depth of passion, he seems to have sought consolation *extensivè* in width of range. He has surveyed mankind from China to Peru, at one time unveiling the mysteries of the South African continent, at another depicting contemporary society in England and in the colonies, at another projecting himself into the life of ancient Egypt at the voluptuous court of Queen Cleopatra. For his last excursion Mr. Rider Haggard has chosen a new scene and a new period. He has elected to make his readers acquainted with the condition of Mexico, social, political, and religious in the latter half of the sixteenth century. His novel under the title of *Montezuma's Daughter* ran its course in *The Graphic* in the latter half of 1893, and has since been published in book form by Messrs. Longmans.

* It would be useless to give references. Some idea of the bibliography of the subject may be obtained from Dr. Jessopp's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1893, on St. William of Norwich.

It will not be necessary to follow Mr. Rider Haggard through the various incidents of this unwholesome story. From every point of view it presents abundant matter for criticism, of which, to say the truth, the reviewers have not been slow to avail themselves, but my present attack is directed against the atrocious invention which forms the subject of its ninth and tenth chapters. The hero of the story, Thomas Wingfield, following for the time being the profession of a physician in Seville, receives one night a mysterious lady visitor. She is wrapped in a dark cloak, which after some hesitation she draws aside, "revealing the robes of a nun."

"Listen," she said, "I must do many a penance for this night's work, and very hardly have I won leave to come hither upon an errand of mercy."

The errand of mercy is to procure "a poison of the deadliest," the purpose of which his visitor thus explains.

"In our convent there dies to-night a woman young and fair, almost a girl indeed, who has broken the vows she took. She dies to-night with her babe—thus, oh God, thus! by being built alive into the foundations of the house she has disgraced. It is the judgement that has been passed upon her, judgement without forgiveness and without reprieve. I am the abbess of this convent—ask not its name or mine—and I love this sinner as though she were my daughter. I have obtained this much of mercy for her because of my faithful services to the Church and by secret influence, that, when I give her the cup of water before the work is done, I may mix poison with it and touch the lips of the babe with poison, so that their end is swift. I may do this and yet have no sin upon my soul. I have my pardon under seal. Help me, then, to be an innocent murderess, and save the sinner from her last agonies on earth."

It is hardly worth while to enter further into the preposterous details of this interview. The victim has been condemned to death by those in the Church "whose names are too high to be spoken," but a certain mitigation, *i.e.*, the poison already referred to, has been permitted by them, and it is superintended by "a tall priest whose face I could not see, for he was dressed in the white robe and hood of the Dominicans that left nothing visible except his eyes"! Then there is a

highly sensational description of the closing scene, in which there are "mason monks" mixing a heap of steaming lime, a niche "in the thickness of the wall shaped like a coffin set upon its smaller end," a procession of eight veiled nuns chanting "a Latin hymn for the dying," the erring Sister herself "wrapped in grave-clothes over which her black hair streamed"—the raven tresses were to be expected of course as an artistic necessity, but they must have grown very rapidly since the lady's profession a short time previously—and finally, in addition to the Dominican mentioned above, a black-robed priest, "with a thin half-frenzied face," bearing a crucifix. All this is very harrowing, and it is quite a relief to know that, as the police reports say, the prisoner was accommodated with a chair.

The dread rites proceed, and Mr. Rider Haggard is even kind enough to supply a kind of liturgical formula for the function. "You are doomed," says the Dominican, rehearsing the sentence which had been previously passed upon her, "to be left alone with God and the child of your sin, that He may deal with you as He sees fit."

But the reader will have had enough of this. I will only inflict upon him one more incident, from the gross offensiveness of which even Mr. Charles Kingsley would have shrunk.

Then the black-robed, keen-eyed priest came to her, and holding the cross before her face, began to mutter I know not what. But she rose from the chair, and thrust the crucifix aside.

"Peace!" she said. "I will not be shriven by such as you. I take my sins to God and not to you—you who do murder in the name of Christ."

The fanatic heard and a fury took him.

"Then go unshriven down to hell, you——!" and he named her by ill names and struck her in the face with the ivory crucifix.

Really Mr. Rider Haggard has missed his vocation. As a writer of transpontine melodrama of the "unhand me, ruffian!" type, he would have achieved even greater things than as a novelist.

At the foot of the page upon which all this is found there is appended a note in the following terms :

Lest such cruelty should seem impossible and unprecedented, the writer may mention that in the museum of the city of Mexico he has seen the desiccated body of a young woman which was found immured in the walls of a religious building. With it is the body of an infant. Although the exact cause of her execution remains a matter of conjecture, there can be no doubt as to the manner of her death, for, in addition to other evidences, the marks of the rope with which her limbs were bound in life are still distinctly visible. Such in those days were the mercies of religion !

Shortly after the appearance of this instalment of the story, Mr. James Britten, the Honorary Secretary of Catholic Truth Society, addressed to the office of *The Graphic* a letter of remonstrance. The letter having been forwarded to Mr. Rider Haggard, elicited in due time a reply from that gentleman.

Nothing, he declared, would grieve him more than to give pain to any member of the Roman Catholic faith, but the cruelty of the Inquisition was notorious, and the immuring of nuns in the middle ages was a fact which till then he had never heard disputed. Further, Mr. Haggard adduces, in addition to the Mexican instance referred to in his footnote, first a house near Waltham Cross, formerly a religious building, where skeletons had been found walled-up ; secondly, the Coldingham case, cited in the notes to *Marmion* ; and thirdly, the case of the Abbot of Clairvaux, fined by the Parliament of Paris "for causing the death of a prisoner in an *in pace*."

In answer to this Mr. Britten again wrote, forwarding a copy of the pamphlet on *The Immuring of Nuns* by the writer of this paper, as well as a similar essay on *The Spanish Inquisition* by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith. These papers, upon Mr. Britten's renewed instances, were tardily acknowledged, but Mr. Rider Haggard, while admitting that such cases of immuring were perhaps rarer than he had supposed, reaffirmed his former allegations, laying stress particularly upon the skeletons he had seen in Mexico, and the verdict of the Parlia-

ment of Paris. Since then the novel has been republished in book form without any modification, just as it stood in *The Graphic*.

Now it is very desirable that the reader should have clearly before his mind the precise question in dispute. Mr. Rider Haggard has formulated against the Religious Orders of the Catholic Church a definite charge of walling-up alive offenders against their statutes. He does not merely accuse them of treating with cruelty the prisoners in their punishment cells. No one denies that there were such cells for the confinement of refractory monks and nuns. Neither does he content himself with the statement that these prisoners were sometimes immured for life in dungeons, the entrance of which was partially closed with masonry. This would be a comparatively pardonable inference from certain expressions found in monastic statutes and ancient records, though I must protest, as the result of a tolerably thorough examination of the question, that I have not yet seen any satisfactory evidence for the belief that either monks or nuns or prisoners of the Inquisition were ever really *walled-up*. But the charge which Mr. Rider Haggard does make is that Religious Superiors, whether of monks or nuns, were in the habit of inflicting capital punishment upon their subjects by a death of peculiar atrocity, building them up into a coffin-shaped niche, where life must have been extinct from suffocation in the course of a few hours at furthest.

Now it will not be expected that I should repeat here *da capo* the examination of the general question already undertaken in my former paper. To any one who honestly looks into the matter it will be clear that no statutes of any Religious Order have yet been brought forward which prescribe such a punishment, that no contemporary records speak of its infliction, that no attempt is made to give details of person or time, that the few traditions which speak of the discovery of walled-up remains crumble away the moment they are examined, that the growth of the tradition itself can be abundantly accounted for, that the few historians or

antiquaries of repute, whether Catholic or Protestant, who have looked into the matter, either avowedly disbelieve the calumny or studiously refrain from repeating it.* Hence, though Mr. Rider Haggard may in the first instance have been misled by common report, still, if now, after the evidence was laid before him, he has reprinted his book without correction or modification, he himself ought to be prepared to substantiate his charges. Let us see how utterly inadequate is the evidence he adduces for such a monstrous accusation.

And first of all, we may consider what this writer professes to have seen in the Museum of Mexico—the desiccated remains of a woman and her infant “found immured in the walls of a religious building.” I have written to a friend in Mexico asking for information, but unfortunately my inquiry has not as yet met with an answer.† It is one of the iniquities of such libels as that we are discussing, that even though the falsehood be patent, almost infinite trouble must be gone through before the lie can be successfully unravelled. If some malicious enemy of religion chooses to show a heap of children’s bones to an English traveller, and

* I may note as especially significant the silence of such a writer as Hubert Howe Bancroft. He has written six great volumes upon the *History of Mexico*, as well as four similar volumes largely taken up with its *Antiquities*. He manifests throughout a strongly hostile spirit towards the Church and all things Catholic. Yet he has not a word to countenance the idea that Religious or the Inquisition ever walled-up offenders alive. In vol. iii. p. 700, note, he quotes Zamacois for the statement that only nine persons were burnt alive by the Mexican Inquisition during the 249 years of its existence. On the other hand, writers like Dr. Grattan Guinness, *City of the Seven Hills*, p. 300, pretend that over *two hundred* victims were built up in the Inquisition building at Puebla alone. This ridiculous story is contradicted in the most formal manner by the archæologist, Señor Agreda, the present Director of the National Museum in Mexico. The remains discovered there and in the convent of Santo Domingo, were simply those of the monks who had been buried in a crypt below and behind the High Altar. See letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for Jan. 25th, 1894.

† Since the above was written, I have received replies of the most conclusive and satisfactory character, not only from the friend referred to, but from another acquaintance resident for many years in Mexico and now living in Spain. See footnote, p. 9 and 22.

tells him that these are the bones of infants made away with by the nuns of a convent in some far-off town of South America, what, I may ask, can be done to answer him? You may write to the place in question, if you are fortunate enough to know any one there to whom you can address a letter. If, again, it should happen that your friend can afford to devote time to the inquiry, if he should chance to be a man who is able and willing to make such an investigation, he may go about, he may inquire here and there, and examine such records as are accessible; and even then, after endless trouble, the sum-total of his report will be that he has *not* found any justification for the statement which has been made. For this reason it seems to me that we are warranted in treating all such appeals to what has been seen or done in a country like Mexico, as mere cowardly slander, until the facts alleged can be authenticated in such a way that investigation is rendered possible. If Mr. Rider Haggard had given his readers an extract from the official catalogue of the Museum of Mexico in the original Spanish, or if he had named the authority who vouches for the discovery of the remains, he would at least have done something to shift the responsibility of the libel from off his own shoulders; as it is, it is to him we look for an answer. Now let me set down in brief a few of the points upon which we may reasonably require to be assured, before that which Mr. Haggard alleges he saw in the Museum of Mexico can come into court at all as evidence for the prosecution. Mr. Haggard's bare word cannot give credit to such an improbable tale, while we lack : *

* The suggestions which I have here offered in explanation of what Mr. Rider Haggard averred he saw in the Museum of Mexico are now superfluous, for the matter is cleared up. There are undoubtedly two if not three desiccated bodies exhibited in that museum, and if any words of mine seem to imply that Mr. Rider Haggard is drawing entirely upon his imagination in what he describes, I am happy to withdraw them. On the other hand, concerning the nature of these remains, my Mexican friend made inquiries of the Director of the Museum, Señor Agreda, and received, from him the following information, afterwards published

(1) Proof that Mr. Rider Haggard's memory or imagination is not playing him tricks; in other words, proof that the remains were really there and have been seen by other travellers besides himself.

(2) Proof that Mr. Haggard's knowledge of the language is such as to secure him from misunderstanding his informant, or the ticket which described the nature of these remains. One cannot easily forget Cardinal Newman's story, in his *Present Position of Catholics* of the clergyman who vowed he had seen a price-list of sins in the Cathedral at Brussels. On inquiry, it turned out to be a list of the charges made for the use of chairs.

(3) Proof that, supposing the remains are really there and really profess to be what Mr. Rider Haggard alleges, they were ever found in the wall of a religious building, and that they have not been picked up in an old curiosity shop and ticketed, upon mere conjecture, by the malicious anti-clericalism of some museum official.

(4) Or proof that, granting the bodies were found immured in "a religious building," as the note states, this religious building was a Christian convent, and not an Aztec edifice dating from before the conquest.

Lest this suggestion may seem extravagant, let me explain that there existed an institution in ancient Mexico very similar to that of the Vestal Virgins in Rome. "Young girls," says one of the highest authorities on Mexican antiquities, "devoted themselves by vow to a life of penance or continence for one or more years. They were called Cihuatlamacazque

at length in a leading Mexican daily newspaper, *El Tiempo*, March 6th, 1894.

1. That "there is no foundation at all" for Mr. Rider Haggard's statement indentifying any desiccated body in the Museum with that of an immured nun.

2. That the remains "are kept only to illustrate the phenomenon common and well known in Mexico—namely, the preserving influence of the climate on dead bodies."

3. That these and some other remains preserved there "were found in the common cemeteries of San Diego and Los Angeles, when they were done away with not very long ago."

or Cihuacuaquilli. Any offence against chastity was infallibly punished by death."* I have no evidence that those who broke their vow were despatched by being walled-up, but on the other hand a most reliable historian says of the human sacrifices which were so incredibly frequent, "The greater part of the victims died under the knife, but some were burnt alive, and *children were often buried or immured alive or drowned.*" †

(5) We have every right to ask for evidence that the woman was walled-up living. Mr. Rider Haggard apparently considers that he has such conclusive evidence. The rope-marks on the ankles, he asserts, clearly show that the poor creature must have been immured in a niche living. By what logical process he arrives at that conclusion it beats my powers of analysis to discover. A dead body which had to be propped up upright in a niche might easily have its ankles tied, a living person would be compelled to stand up straight, and the tying of the ankles would only very much increase the difficulty of her keeping herself from falling forwards. However, waiving that point, there are surely other reasons, besides violence before death which might lead to the ankles of a corpse being tied together. What if the lower limbs had accidentally been allowed to stiffen into some distorted position, would it not be natural to tie the ankles in laying out the body? Or again, the marks might be those of fetters worn during life, perhaps for many years.‡ I do not consider therefore, that there is so far any valid ground for supposing that the woman was buried alive.

(6) But, given even the fact that there is evidence of a tragedy and that the body was undoubtedly built up

* Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de Mexico*, vol. i. p. 216.

†. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works: Native Races of America* vol. iii. p. 443, cf. *Ib.* iii. p. 331: and Brasseur de Bourbourg *Hist. Nat.* vol. i. p. 316.

‡ A correspondent, other than the friend above referred to, tells me that the marks are very difficult to distinguish, and that the skin is all shrivelled up and sticking to the bones.

when yet alive, we are still only at the threshold of our inquiry, for there is not a syllable of evidence to show that the remains were those of a nun put out of the way by her fellow-Religious. On the contrary, the very circumstance, which might at first sight seem most suspicious, the presence of the remains of a child in the same niche, is to my thinking, one of the strongest arguments against such a presumption. To take the life of a nun for a grave moral transgression might be conceivably defended as an act of judicial authority, but to include an innocent child in the punishment could never have been regarded as anything else but murder. Moreover, in all these cases the nuns are supposed to have acted under priestly guidance, generally that of Dominicans, and in no country were theological principles more rigidly adhered to than in Spain during the sixteenth century, and among no Order more than among the Friars Preachers. Any participation, therefore, in such a tragedy as Mr. Rider Haggard describes, would have been known to involve irregularity and *suspensio a sacris*. Mr. Rider Haggard is surely aware that even the august tribunal of the Holy Office never claimed power to inflict a death-penalty* by the hands of its own officials. The prisoner was invariable handed over to the secular arm both for sentence and execution. Is it likely that powers would have been left in the irresponsible hands of every convent abbess which were not enjoyed by the Grand Inquisitor himself?

From whatever point of view we regard it, it only becomes more evident that nothing but the clearest evidence, nothing short, in fact, of the testimony of eye-witnesses can justify us in accepting any alleged case of immuring. As I have argued in my former paper, the mere discovery of human remains is utterly untrustworthy. In almost every part of the globe bodies have been found enclosed in masonry in accordance with a world-wide superstition familiar to students of folk-lore.* The imagination of the people

* See Liebrecht's *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 284—296; *Revue Celtique*, vol. iv. p. 120.

amongst whom such vague traditions lie dormant is easily roused to connect them with any unpopular or mysterious object, and though Religious incur the largest share of these calumnies, they do not enjoy a monopoly.

It is not [says a reviewer of Mr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* in *Nature*, June 15, 1871] many years since the present Lord Leigh was accused of having built an obnoxious person—one account, if we remember right, said eight obnoxious persons—into the foundation of a bridge at Stoneleigh. Of course so preposterous a charge carried on its face its own sufficient refutation, but the fact that it was brought at all is a singular instance of the almost incredible vitality of old traditions. The real origin of a story such as this dates from a time when the foundations of bridges, palaces, and temples were really laid upon human victims, a practice the tradition of which is handed down to us in the romance of Merlin, and a thousand other legends, to be finally embalmed for the benefit of posterity in Mr. Tylor's volumes.

More recently a writer in the *Academy* speaks in much the same terms.

It has been a common superstition in almost all parts of Europe that a new building can only be made secure by sprinkling the foundation with a child's blood, or by walling-up a girl alive in the masonry.*

But even this is only half the case, for the practice of upright interment has been familiar at many different epochs and in many different places. Whole families, it would seem in England, have retained this tradition, like the Pagets of Drayton, the Hobarts at Blickling, the Claphams, the Mauleverers,† &c. On the other hand, many of the cases are isolated and apparently motiveless. There is one such burial in an upright position at Breckles chancel in Norfolk,‡ where a nearly circular slab is let into the wall with the motto:

Stat ut vixit erecta.

I have spoken before of the burial customs of the

* *Academy*, July 31, 1886, p. 73, E. Peacock, F.S.A., in *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1889, p. 50.

† See *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. v. p. 249.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 349.

Capuchins, but I cannot resist the temptation of setting down a fuller account of one of these strange crypts, given by a bigoted Protestant at the end of the last century.

This morning we went to see a celebrated convent of Capuchins, about a mile without the city. It contains nothing very remarkable but the burial-place, which is indeed a great curiosity. This is a vast subterraneous apartment, divided into large commodious galleries, the walls on each side of which are hollowed into a variety of niches, as if intended for a great collection of statues; these niches, instead of statues, are all filled with dead bodies set upright upon their legs, and fixed by the back to the inside of the niche: their number is about three hundred. They are all dressed in the clothes they usually wore, and form a most respectable and venerable assembly. The skin and muscles, by a certain preparation, become as dry and hard as a piece of stock-fish, and although many of them have been here upwards of two hundred and fifty years, yet none are reduced to skeletons; the muscles indeed appear in some to be a good deal more shrunk than in others, probably because these persons had been more extenuated at the time of their death.

Here the people of Palermo pay daily visits to their deceased friends, and recall with pleasure and regret the scenes of their past life; here they familiarize themselves with their future state, and choose the company they would wish to keep in the other world. It is a common thing to make choice of a niche, and to try if the body fits it, that no alterations may be necessary after they are dead; and sometimes, by way of a voluntary penance, they accustom themselves to stand for hours in these niches.*

It seems clear from this that not only Religious, but

* P. Brydone, F.R.S., *Tour through Sicily and Malta*. Two vols. London, 1774. Vol. ii. p. 107.

If this was the case in Southern Europe, much more was it the custom in Mexico for the dead in religious houses to be interred in the church walls, or in the walls of the convent itself. As Mr. Wilfrid Amor, a civil engineer, eighteen years resident in Mexico, explains in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* for Jan. 27th, inhumation is difficult in that country because water begins to accumulate in any excavation a few feet below the surface. Hence the dead are buried in niches of masonry work, either horizontal or vertical. Senor Agreda attests that he had himself seen the bodies of hundreds of religious naturally desiccated in the crypt below the church of Santo Domingo, the very place where certain Protestant missionaries afterwards pretended to have discovered the walled-up nuns.

secular persons were often buried in this way. The same thing is attested by another writer in *Notes and Queries*, who tells us that: "Besides the friars and those who have chosen to be buried in the habit, there are members of other monastic societies and ladies in full dress."*

But to return to my more immediate subject. When Mr. Rider Haggard, after perpetrating the libel complained of, learnt, to his great surprise, from the Secretary of the Catholic Truth Society, that Catholics were unreasonable enough to deny and resent such charges, he naturally began to bethink himself how he might justify the accusations he had made. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* is a very convenient storehouse of information, and in an article on "Monachism." by that eminent canon-lawyer and veracious historian, Dr. R. F. Littledale, Mr. Haggard lighted upon some useful references. He found there that in 1763, the Parliament of Paris fined the Abbot of Clairvaux forty thousand crowns for causing the death of a prisoner in an *in pace*. That Mr. Rider Haggard derived his information from this source, appears first from the coincidence that he, like Dr. Littledale, speaks without italics of the "Parlement of Paris:" and secondly, from the fact that, in borrowing his information from Dr. Littledale, he has also borrowed one of those characteristic inaccuracies which invariably attend the citations of that author. The fact is, Dr. Littledale, in his article on Monachism, has borrowed largely, need it be said without acknowledgment, from the article, "Religieux," in the *Dictionnaire Universel* of Larousse. That writer, a bitter enemy of religion, states correctly that the *Abbaye* of Clairvaux was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand crowns for the Religious for whose death the monastery was held responsible. Dr. Littledale has translated the word *Abbaye* Abbot, even in spite of the feminine participle which follows, and Mr. Rider Haggard, suspecting nothing, has copied his mistake.

* 4th Series, vol. v. p. 249.

And here I cannot refrain from a word of comment upon the *mala fides* which has recourse to a writer of the type of Larousse for information about the discipline of the Catholic Church. In this same article, "Religieux," the author, after insinuating the existence of a widespread corruption among the convents of the eighteenth century, goes on to declare that this state of things was by no means new, but had existed among Religious from the beginning. Even in the time of St. Basil, he says, we find him inveighing against the licence of the monasteries; and St. John Chrysostom would have had nuns who broke their vow of chastity not only put to death, but even cut in two or buried alive with the partner of their crimes. Most pious Anglicans, I fancy, will be somewhat shocked to find St. John Chrysostom in company with the fanatical abbots and abbesses who wall-up their Religious alive. But French rationalists are so wanting in discrimination, they never know where to draw the line.

Of course the great orator's words do not really bear the meaning attributed to them. In the heat of his indignation, he undoubtedly says that incontinent Religious *deserve* to be sawn in two, or buried alive, just as a political speaker, or pamphleteer, at the present day may sometimes say of his opponents that hanging is too good for them. But the Saint makes it clear, a few sentences lower down, that he has no more idea of his suggestion being acted upon than the modern politician has. "We cannot act as Phinees did," he says, referring to Numbers xxv. 11, "it is not permitted to us to seize the knife (οὐ γὰρ ἐφείται ἀρπάσαι μάχαιραν) and transfix such offenders with the spear. We endure the same provocation, but we do not take the same action. We find relief for our anguish in other ways, by our sighs and tears."

But to return to the case of the monks of Clairvaux. Mr. Rider Haggard, after being confronted with the Catholic Truth Society's pamphlet, sees it expedient to throw overboard the nun of Coldingham, but he falls back upon the French example. "I dare say," he is

good enough to own in his second letter to Mr. Britten, "that cases of immuring were rarer than is supposed, but that they existed, the instance of the fining of the Abbot of Clairvaux, after due investigation by the Parliament of Paris, seems to prove conclusively."

Mr. Haggard, as I have said, obtains his information about this judicial investigation of the Parliament of Paris from Dr. Littledale in the *Encyclopædia*. Dr. Littledale has borrowed it from Larousse. Larousse in turn has taken his brief account of it verbatim from M. Paul Boiteau, who in his work, *L'État de France en 1789*, writes thus: "En 1763, l'Abbaye de Clairvaux était condamnée par le Parlement de Paris à 40,000 écus d'amende pour avoir *laissé périr* des religieux dans les culs de basse fosse d'un *in pace*."* In other words, the monastery of Clairvaux collectively was fined by the then Parliament of Paris for having allowed some Religious to die, presumably of neglect, or insufficient nourishment, in the dungeons of the monastery prison. Now I am not concerned here to defend in any way the action of the Superiors of the abbey. The neglect which resulted in the death of the Religious confined in the punishment cells, may have been cruel and inhuman in the extreme, or the whole accusation may have been a mere pretext to vex and extort money from a wealthy abbey, while serving the political ends of the Parliament. This at least may be said, that the temper of the Parliament in 1763, the year of the expulsion of the Jesuits, and devoted to one long campaign against the Religious Orders, was such that they would have jumped at any opportunity of raising a scandal. Be this as it may, it is clear that, even on the showing of two rationalists like Larousse and Boiteau, it is not pretended that any monk was walled-up, in the sense of Mr. Rider Haggard. One may feel an absolute certainty that a writer like Boiteau would never use such a phrase as *laisser périr*, if there were any evidence that the murder-

* p. 194. It is noteworthy that in the second edition of his work, M. Paul Boiteau has left out all mention of this case.

ous act had been committed of bricking a monk up in a niche.*

I may add that no walling-up in Mr. Haggard's sense can be inferred from the use of the term *in pace*. This is evident for instance from the line of Victor Hugo quoted in my former article :

Il faudrait
Dit l'infant Ruy, trouver quelque couvent discret
Quelqu' *in pace* bien calme où cet enfant vieillisse

Children do not live to old age in a niche.

Passing over the Coldingham case, already fully discussed in the paper several times referred to, we come

* The hope expressed in a note to the original article that at some future time, through the kindness of a friend in Paris, I might be able to give the true history of this sentence of the Parliament, from documents in the National Archives is likely to remain unfulfilled. The question in fact has been set at rest in a way which would deprive such a history of all its interest.

Through the friend just referred to information has come to me on the authority of two of the "Archivistes aux Archives Nationales" in Paris, Messrs. Legrand and Delachenal, that the original documents of the process either no longer exist or cannot be found, but that all that is known of the case may be found fully summarised in Guyot, *Répertoire Universel de Jurisprudence Civile*, Paris, 1784. vol. xiii. pp. 767-770. I have consulted the work referred to and find:

1. That the case was decided not by the *Parlement de Paris* but by an arrêt of the *Grand Conseil*, a sort of high court of appeal.

2. That it was not a criminal prosecution but a civil suit for damages. The monk who died in prison had run away from the cloister many years before. He had married in the world, but was arrested as an "apostate" in 1750 and died in confinement the next year. The action was brought ten years afterwards by his widow, on the plea that her husband had never properly made his profession, was no true apostate, and consequently had been unjustly imprisoned.

3. That the wife herself had also been imprisoned at the same time, and remained in confinement for three years before she was set at liberty.

4. That damages were awarded in two equal penalties—one presumably for the unjust imprisonment of the husband, the other for that of the wife.

5. That no word in Guyot's summary, from beginning to end, suggests that any unusual severity was shown towards the prisoners, or that her husband had died from any but natural causes.

to the "house near Waltham Cross that was once devoted to religious purposes." "Here," says Mr. Haggard in the first of his letters, "I was shown a dungeon in which, I am informed, the skeletons of two women have been found walled-up, and with them an earthenware pitcher." Now I have taken some pains to see if anything could be discovered about this curious find near Waltham Cross, but I have neither read nor heard of anything which in any way corresponds to Mr. Haggard's description. On the other hand, I *have* come across an account of human remains being discovered at Waltham, about a mile distant, and dissimilar as the facts are to those narrated by Mr. Rider Haggard, I am strongly inclined to believe that his story has no other foundation.

In the month of June some workmen, engaged in excavating for the basement of a building to be erected on the east side of the Harp Inn, Waltham Abbey, disclosed several human skeletons, some of which were buried in so peculiar a manner that I wish to know if any of your readers can give the possible reasons for such a mode of sepulture.

The massive foundations of the south boundary-wall of the abbey grounds abutting on the main road were laid bare, and showed that the Harp Inn and the buildings just taken down were within the boundary of the ancient cemetery belonging to the abbey, the remainder still forming the churchyard About six feet from the foundations of the south wall a perfect skeleton was uncovered, lying nearly due east and west. It was surrounded with lime, retaining its whiteness and friableness. About twenty feet from this spot, towards the abbey, a new well has been dug. When about six feet six inches deep, the workmen came upon three stakes, when, proceeding cautiously, they discovered that these stakes had been driven through three bodies which were lying almost entirely within the circumference of the well, the heads towards the north-west.

The writer gives some further details and adds :

Other skeletons were also found beneath the site of the demolished buildings, and within the boundary wall; but there were no traces of coffins or anything to indicate the period of interment.*

It may seem to some readers rather outrageous to identify the discovery of these skeletons within the

* *Notes and Queries*, September 21, 1867.

precincts of the old abbey buildings with Mr. Rider Haggard's story of the skeletons walled-up "in a house formerly devoted to religious purposes." But great is the power of the imagination, especially the trained imagination of an historical novelist. In any case, if Mr. Rider Haggard feels himself aggrieved, he has an easy remedy.* Let him give references to some trustworthy contemporary account of the discovery—such things do not take place nowadays without getting into the papers and being discussed in the archæological journals. It is not a little surprising that when Mr. Rider Haggard has such a first-class example of immuring under his very nose, so to speak, he should go all the way to Mexico for an instance to justify a scene which after all is supposed to have taken place in Europe. Moreover, I am quite sure that the publication of the details would be very acceptable to many antiquaries who, like Mr.

* In his letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Jan. 17th, 1894, Mr. Rider Haggard denies that the discovery he is speaking of is identical with that described by the writer in *Note and Queries*. Unfortunately Mr. Haggard did not, as I have requested, give references to any published account of the discovery. He simply tells us that the house, he thinks, is known as Cardinal Wolsey's house. "Beneath the building," he continues, "is a very curious crypt built in ecclesiastical style, that from difficulty of access I judged to have been used for purposes of secret worship in times of persecution." To what times of persecution can Mr. Haggard be referring, those of Diocletian, or those under Elizabeth? And if this hiding-place was constructed under Elizabeth, how on earth did the walled-up nuns come there? However, "opening out of this crypt is a darksome hole, where—so I learned locally, and the person who showed me over the place stated—the skeletons and the pitcher were found by workmen who broke through the wall while executing repairs to the fabric. Of course it may be that the tale is false, and no such skeletons were found." Thus far Mr. Rider Haggard. And I will venture to add: It may also be that the skeletons were not those of nuns and were never intentionally walled up. Further investigation indeed makes it clear that there is not a scrap of evidence to suggest that the remains are those of nuns. The house is at Cheshunt it appears, and nearly two miles from Waltham Cross. Part of the basement may be older than the reign of Henry VIII., but it is not suggested that these foundations ever formed part of a religious house of any kind. See Walford's *Greater London*, vol. i., p. 387.

James Parker, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, Archdeacon Churton, and Mr. Peacock, have sought in vain for any more palpable traces of immured nuns than those supplied by the Abbey of Coldingham. Only a few years ago, a question was printed in *Notes and Queries** asking for justification for the belief that apostate nuns were walled-up alive. Among all the collectors of out-of-the-way information who contribute to that periodical, only one answer was sent in, and this consisted in nothing more than a reference to the familiar Coldingham story. Six months later the same correspondent sent a quotation from Lord Malmesbury's *Memoirs*, from which it appeared that some mummified remains had been seen by Lord Malmesbury in "the church at Arezzo," which he believed to be those of a man who had been walled-up alive.† With regard to this, I will content myself with remarking that one would hardly expect immured monks to be exposed for inspection in a cathedral, while, on the other hand, there are well-known instances of desiccated bodies being left open to view in that way—the corpse (*salma*) ‡ of Estore or Astore Visconti, who was killed in a duel in 1413, still standing upright in the churchyard wall beside the Cathedral of Monza, is a case in point.

And here we may leave the question. Enough has been said to show the utter worthlessness of the evidence on which it has been sought to justify a gross and offensive libel. If at any future time new proof should be adduced, the case may then be re-opened, but for anything which has ever been written on the subject by the assailants of nuns, up to this present, it seems to me that their case lacks even that *prima facie* plausibility which entitles them to ordinary courtesy. Mr. Rider

* January, 1886 *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, vol. i., p. 48.

† Vol. i. p. 181, see *Notes and Queries*, July 10, 1886. Lord Malmesbury says nothing about the remains being those of a *monk*, but the correspondent who sends the quotation of course takes that for granted.

‡ See Amati, *Dizionario Corografico dell' Italia*, vol. v. p. 430. A modern traveller describes these remains as a sort of natural mummy.

Haggard, as a teacher of history, perhaps hardly expects to be taken seriously. In Mr. Oscar Wilde's clever paradox on "The Decay of Lying," it is said of him that "though he has, or had once, the makings of a perfectly magnificent liar, he is now so afraid of being suspected of genius, that when he does tell us anything marvellous, he feels bound to invent a personal reminiscence, and to put it into a footnote as a kind of cowardly corroboration."* *Ridentem dicere verum quid velat.* Perhaps this is after all the most charitable explanation of Mr. Haggard's footnote about the Museum of Mexico. Yet, though he hardly expects himself to be believed, he is bound to remember that thousands *will* believe him, and that thousands more will be encouraged in their feelings of bitter prejudice against a class of noble Christian women, the heroism and innocence of whose lives may put us all to shame.

POSTSCRIPT.—This paper appeared originally as an article in *The Month* for January, 1894. Mr. Haggard replied to it in the *Pall Mall Gazette* commenting with great asperity upon the tone and temper in which it was written. For this reason it was thought well to reprint it unchanged (in 1894), with the addition only of a few footnotes, in order that readers might judge for themselves of the fairness of the criticisms made. I make no further alteration now (1895) save to remark that I have in my possession autograph letters from the President of the Mexican Academy (Don Joachim Icazbalceta), and from two other Mexican antiquaries, avowedly liberals in religion, as their published works attest, all of which confirm in every particular the statement of Señor Agreda summarised on p. 10.

Reviewing briefly the correspondence in the *Pall Mall Gazette* which ensued, it is important to note that in the letter which appeared on Jan. 31, Mr. Rider Haggard surrenders the whole position. The object of Mr.

* *Nineteenth Century* (1889), vol. xxv. p. 38.

Britten's original protest to *The Graphic* was "to call attention to the extremely offensive and untrue assertions with regard to the immuring of nuns and the general management of convents," made by Mr. Haggard. That gentleman was put into possession of evidence which proved the alleged practice of immuring nuns to be a myth, and yet, without further inquiry, reprinted his romance and its offensive foot-note in book form, unaltered. The publication of the article now before the reader apparently provoked Mr. Haggard into a general appeal to the authority of antiquaries and students of history, and he now found himself obliged to withdraw his former assertions in the following terms:

"Before passing to this subject, however, I wish to say that I am now convinced that I was in error when I stated in my letter to Mr. Britten of August 9th that I believed the evidence of history to prove that nuns who had broken their vows had been immured in the walls of convents. This opinion I arrived at too hastily after consulting such authorities as I had at hand: but further research and communications that I have received from gentlemen learned in ecclesiastical history, show me that whether or not the taking of 'the life of a nun for a grave moral transgression might be conceivably defended as an act of judicial authority,' as Father Thurston suggests in his article,* there is no proof that so barbarous a punishment was ever enforced at any rate in this country."

* The passage in which this "suggestion" of mine is made, will be found *supra*, p. 12. It is strange indeed to discover myself posing as an advocate of the walling up of nuns. To avoid ambiguity, however, it may be well to state that to myself, as to every other well-instructed Catholic, the idea that superiors of monks or nuns enjoy the power of life and death over their subjects is preposterous and absolutely devoid of foundation. None the less, I can conceive that in a ruder age a stern superior *might* be so far misled by certain examples of severity in the Old Testament, e.g., Numbers xxv., as to believe himself commissioned by God to visit the crime of his subject with capital punishment. I have never seen the proposition defended, and I have no reason to believe it ever was defended, but for argument's sake I am willing to suppose that it might have been.

To those who had paid any attention to what archæologists of repute had previously said on the subject this avowal is hardly needed, but coming from the source it does it is not without its value. Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., tells us in a letter in *The Tablet*, Feb. 3rd, 1894, that his own article referred to above was the result of inquiries extending over many years, and Archdeacon Churton claims for his research the same degree of thoroughness. We trust, therefore, that in future nothing more will be heard in serious literature of the Myth of the Immuring of Nuns.

In the paper printed above, attention has been directed to one only of Mr. Haggard's libellous misrepresentations of Catholic practice. It must not be supposed that no others are to be found in his novel. The statement of the abbess, quoted on p. 4, who "has her pardon under seal," for a crime which she is about to commit, but has not yet committed, is an even more serious insult to the creed of Catholics. But it is impossible to deal with it here.

One last word. Mr. Rider Haggard complains of the folly of "raising so much dust" over things which are supposed to have happened three hundred years ago. It is his own allies in the campaign who supply the answer. One is glad that Mr. Haggard has committed himself in print to the statement that "the horrors formerly perpetrated in the name of religion, not by one party but by all, are happily done with now" (letter of August 9th); but any one who reads this correspondence will see that that is not the idea of Mr. Haggard's supporters. For them these things are going on in convents still. The bodies walled up in Mexico belong to the middle of this century: bodies were found freshly buried alive in Parisian churches in 1871. Mr. Rider Haggard's novel will be quoted by these gentlemen as a true picture of religious life as it was and *is*, and his foot-note will be held to endorse, from his own personal observation, the stories of wholesale poisoning told by "escaped nuns" all over the country.

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A "TRUE STORY OF A NUN"¹

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.

THE "perils that do environ the man who meddles with cold iron" are naturally more obvious when iron becomes steel, and most of all when the steel takes the form of a pen, for it is an axiom that "the pen is mightier than the sword." These perils do not, of course, often deter in their career veterans in that art the decay of which was lamented in one of the most brilliant essays of the latter part of the last century²—an art which found an exponent in the locality where the parish clerk commented on a certain pronouncement which its utterer condemned as hasty—"Eh, David, gin ye had lived in this parish, ye might hae said it at your leesure!" Yet even Dr. Horton has been known to withdraw a charge under threat of legal proceedings—though, so far as I know, under no other circumstances; so that it is not only "into unlikeliest hearts," as Father Faber tells us, but under unlikeliest circumstances, that grace may make it "its boast to come."

But it is not only because writers allow their pens to run away with them that they find themselves in

¹ Reprinted from *The Month*, November, 1910.

² *The Decay of Lying*. By Oscar Wilde.

positions at which they had no intention of arriving. The Catholic Truth Society, for example, when it embarked upon its career, had no conception that it would be appealed to on every possible occasion for publications on every conceivable subject—it was within one week that we were asked to supply a pamphlet showing why all Catholics should vote Conservative, and a biography of the "Manchester Martyrs"; nor did its Lay Secretary imagine that he would be expected to add to his more useful routine work the provision of information on every kind of Protestant literary aberration. But he finds himself in this peril because—to come back to where we started—he has "meddled with cold iron"; the temptation to do something to show up the preposterousities of Protestants was too strong for him; he yielded, and it would appear that he must now "take the consequences of such a situation."

I

So it was that a month ago I received a letter containing a "wondrous history," as the writer rightly called it, of an occurrence in a church in Spain: "I am anxious to get at the root of the enclosed," she said, "and in the light of the 'Holy Donkey,' which I read yesterday, you are clearly *the* person to whom to apply." The *non sequitur* is not quite so striking as might appear, for, as will be seen on referring to the pamphlet entitled *The "Holy Donkey" and Another*, published by the Catholic Truth Society, one of the troubles in allocating the story of the donkey was the non-existence of any place bearing the name "Lighorno," where he was supposed to reside; while, as will appear later, the new "wondrous history," though

in no way connected with the Donkey, also presents a serious difficulty as to locality, although in this case the supposed event happened in many places under varying circumstances.

I am glad to say that the confidence of the writer of the letter was not altogether misplaced, as, although I have not ascertained the "root" of the story, I happen to know a good deal about it, for I have been for over a year endeavouring to ascertain something about the version which was printed by Mr. Max Pemberton in the issue of *Pearson's Weekly* for September 16, 1909—a matter to which I shall return later. Meanwhile, as the "wondrous history" is at once the most recent and the shortest of the versions before me, I will print it in full as a text for my investigations. The story, according to my informant, who of course is not herself in any way responsible for it, was told by the young men concerned in it to Miss X., who told Mrs. Y., who told Miss Z.,¹ from whose lips the narrative was taken down by my correspondent; and Miss Z. signed it as an accurate transcript of what she was told:—

"In a village in Spain two young Englishmen who had been examining something in the church remained there till midnight. Then the church door opened, and a procession came in of priests and nuns chanting psalms. They were dragging a nun, who was alive. They took up part of the floor of the church and let her down, and then they put down the flooring again and went away. The young men went up to the spot and called, and one said to the other: 'I can't stand seeing a woman buried alive.' But no answer was returned. They left the church and went to the Consul (or they may have stayed in the church till the morning; my friend is not sure of the *time* they left), and the Consul said they had better at once leave the country, as nothing could be done. He implied it would be as much as their life was worth to stay."

¹ The names in each case are in my possession.

This account differs from the rest in that the interest partook of the nature of a semi-public function, and in this has more analogy with the popular "walled-up nun" stories than with the private proceedings subsequently to be discussed. In one point, however, all the stories agree; in no case did the witnesses of the outrage call public attention to its occurrence, even when, having had, as in the present case, to save their lives by flight, they found themselves in the freer air of England. In the present instance, however, so impressed was Mrs. Y. when the story reached her, that, my correspondent tells me, she "went to Sir A. B., formerly of the War Office, who told her he was afraid the statement was true, and that if he had been in office he could not even have said so much as that to her." It will surprise no one accustomed to study narratives of this kind that Sir A. B. no longer lives; the Jesuits are, as we know, fully aware of their responsibility in such cases.

II

It was an earlier correspondent who sent me, on its publication, the narrative which stands second in this backward-dated chronology, calling attention to the fact that it was published in a specially advertised and attractive number (the thousandth) of *Pearson's Weekly*, over the name of a well-known Catholic writer, and that these circumstances rendered it more than usually mischievous. A paragraph calling attention to the story was published in *Catholic Book Notes* for October, 1909, and I wrote to the author, Mr. Max Pemberton, to know whether he could obtain any further information from "one of the greatest journalists of this or any

time," on whose authority he based his narrative, assuring him that the story was what is commonly called a "chestnut," and rather a rotten one at that. I didn't use exactly these words, but those I employed put Mr. Pemberton's back up; he resented my complaint, and said that the story would have been even more prominently produced if he had not taken it in hand, but promised to bring the matter before the great journalist—whose name he mentioned, although I do not—it is not difficult to guess—who, he understood, had obtained it from some one in a position at least as important as that of Sir A. B. before he left the War Office. From time to time, as letters before me show, I reminded the author of his promise, but with no result; the journalist was on a journey, or peradventure he slept and could not be awakened to a sense of his responsibility. At last, however, he was interviewed, and on August 11, 1910, Mr. Pemberton, having learnt that "the story was without any foundation whatever," gave me leave to say this in his name: it is his opinion, he tells me, that the narrative appeared originally in a French newspaper, though what its source may have been he is quite unable to say. Mr. Pemberton added that he was "astonished" to find that the tale was baseless; the fact that any Catholic should have regarded it as even possibly true surely affords more legitimate ground for surprise.

I grieve to add that the perils to which I referred at the beginning of this paper became manifest towards the end of our correspondence. What seemed to me a natural expression of regret and surprise that Mr. Pemberton should have left the matter for twelve months unexplained was somewhat warmly resented by him, and he characterized my protest as "untrue."

But as the article appeared on September 16, 1909, and as the managing director of *Pearson's Weekly* tells me he received a communication on the subject from Mr. Pemberton only a day or two before my letter of October 3, 1910, I do not think I was wrong either as to fact or opinion. The managing director, in his courteous reply to my letter, adds that after so long a period had elapsed it was impossible to return to the subject, although he would have been willing to publish a contradiction had he received one earlier, and *his position is quite reasonable.*

It is fair, however, to say that Mr. Pemberton did not publish the story without some kind of disclaimer. He prefaced it by saying:—

"Whether it be a true story or merely a picturesque lie, I know no more than the dead. It was told to me in a Paris hotel by one of the greatest journalists of this or any time. He may have read it in a book and forgotten it. He may have drawn it from his wonderful store, the creations of his own brain. *But it is yet possible—and recent events in Spain would seem to support the assertion that there is a substratum of truth lying beneath it all, and that neither the actors nor the scene are imagined*":

and he adds at the conclusion:—

"A true story? I cannot tell you. But obviously the American Consul believed it to be true, and not only true, but, as he admitted in a subsequent letter, so well understood in certain circles at Seville that its narration would not have caused surprise."

When it is remembered that at this very time the Protestant press was giving wide currency to the story of the "torture chamber" and "bed of torture," said to have been discovered in a convent at Barcelona—ignoring, with characteristic unfairness, the explanation printed in the *Daily News*—and to the attacks upon religion which were then rampant in Spain, the significance of the passage I have italicized will be apparent,

and the value of the disclaimer proportionately discounted.

It is time now, for purposes of comparison with the other variants, to give Mr. Pemberton's version of the story, somewhat abbreviated on account of the exigencies of space which forbid me to indulge my readers with the literary touches that add picturesqueness to his narrative :—

"An American painter entered the great cathedral at Seville to make a copy of one of Murillo's masterpieces. . . . One night the fascinations of his task kept him long at his palette. He had ceased to remember the hours, did not observe the failing light. . . . To spend a night in a lonely chapel did not seem so dreadful a thing, for had he not his Spanish cloak in which to wrap himself, and was there not a carpet upon the altar-steps whereon he might lie? So he slept soundly for some hours—until a woman's shriek aroused him. . . . They were wild shrieks, awful cries of woe, and they echoed dreadfully beneath the great vault. Anon, our painter perceived two men dragging a nun down the side aisle—and the light of their lantern showed him plainly what they were doing.

"Quite near to him there stood a great pillar—a stone of which was swung about at a touch, and a cavity revealed. Into this cavity the assassins thrust the nun, stifling her screams and deriding her appeals for mercy. Then they pushed back the stone into its place, and mortized the cracks, and having done as much they left the cathedral with quick steps. . . .

"They released him at dawn, two vergers who expressed surprise at the misfortunes of an odd Americano. Too wise to whisper a word to them, the painter went first to the pillar to be sure that he had not dreamed a dream—and, finding that his thumb could be filled by the still wet mortar, he hurried to the American Consul and told his story. And what think you the answer was? An immediate intimation that the woman must be saved; the promise of appeal to the Bishop, or to Madrid?

"Nothing of the kind.

"My friend,' said the Consul, 'have you really seen this thing?'

"The painter swore it was true.

"Then,' said the Consul, 'if you would save your own life, leave Seville by the first train you can catch. I myself will see that you go, for I know your peril.'

"It was in vain to protest. The Consul persisted ; the appeals to a common humanity went unheard. In three hours the painter was on his way to the frontier, and has never set foot in Spain from that day to this."

I am quite willing to leave my readers to judge whether the impression likely to be created by this lurid and graphic account, with the details as to the American Consul—who was *particeps criminis*, if ever man was—is likely to be disposed of by the author's qualified disclaimer. As, however, Mr. Pemberton admits that the story—told to him as it was with such precise detail in the hope that he would make a book of it—is "without any foundation whatever," we may assume that the Consul's observations and "subsequent letter" are equally imaginary, and that the event *would* "have caused surprise," even in "certain circles at Seville." I note that the author has copyrighted the article in the United States, and I wonder what the United States authorities will think of the character assigned to one of their Consuls.

Whether Mr. Pemberton's story appeared originally in a French newspaper I cannot of course say ; nor do I know whether he is responsible for its transference to Spain at a time when she was "burning her convents and her churches," and when "recent events seemed to suggest a substratum of truth." But it will be observed that neither of the earlier versions place it in Spain, and its location there in September, 1909, is at any rate a noteworthy coincidence.

III

I now proceed to give the variant which appeared in *The Protestant Woman* for March, 1904, under the heading which I have chosen for this paper. I print it

in full, and would call special attention to the introductory sentence.

"TRUE STORY OF A NUN.

"The following terrible story has just been related to the writer by a minister of the Gospel and his wife, and their authority is unimpeachable :—

"A gentleman travelling in South America visited the cathedral of a city at which he made a stay. Being of an artistic nature, he set to work to copy some carving, or at least something that pleased him. This happened to be in rather a dark and out-of-the-way corner of the edifice. Becoming engrossed in his work, he did not observe that the hour of closing the cathedral had passed, and when he did he was much startled.

"Rapidly gathering up his materials, he made for the great door, but only to find that it was securely fastened up. There was not a soul to be seen, nor in hearing, and after trying the other doors—only to find the same result—he at last made up his mind that he would have to spend the night in the church.

"Making himself as comfortable as he could in the circumstances he lay down upon the floor in his corner and fell asleep. In time he was awakened by a noise, and looking up he saw a door open somewhere behind the high altar—which was covered with the usual Popish accessories—and in the light that shone from the door he saw emerge two priests, bearing between them the agonized and helpless form of a nun, gagged and bound. Mercilessly dragging the half-dead, helpless woman along, they halted at a certain place in the church, and stooping, they raised one of the stones, disclosing a subterranean vault below. **Down into**

this vault they tossed the nun as they would have tossed a bone to a dog, or a dead rat upon a dust heap, and then closing the trap, they went ruthlessly and remorselessly away.¹

"The stranger felt his whole soul rise within him at the pitiless and heartless murder he had just witnessed, and could scarcely refrain from springing upon its heartless perpetrators: but the thought swiftly passed through his brain that he would have no chance with two such villains, and as the poor nun was then beyond all aid, he felt it would be wiser in every way to wait until the morning, and if he could get out without being seen, he would then make his way to the **British Consul**, and have the priests exposed and punished.

"Accordingly, after his release in the morning, he did see the **Consul**, but who, to his surprise, informed him that he *could do nothing*, and advised the stranger if he valued his life to leave the place at once."

"So much then," continues the writer—"M. S. B."—"for Romanism and the conventual system in South America"; and she proceeds in the approved *Protestant Woman* style to talk of Bible-burning, the Good Shepherd convents, Italian nuns—of whom Mr. J. W. Flower stated that a very large percentage go mad before they reach the age of twenty-five: "it is too frightful for words what these poor creatures must endure before reason gives way at twenty-five"—and winds up with a suggestion of various methods by which we can ensure that "the convents must go—that we are determined upon." The whole article is a singularly shocking example of bigotry and ignorance;

¹ The typography is that of the original.

but there is no necessity for me to labour this point, as it was driven home in a telling way by *Truth*, which, on January 6, 1905, published the following article :—

" In March last a paper called *The Protestant Woman*, the organ of the Women's Protestant Union, published a sensational article under the heading 'The True Story of a Nun.' A gentleman, whose wife was a subscriber to the paper, happened to read the story, and deeming it incredible, he wrote to the Secretary of the Union asking whether there was any evidence of its authenticity. This led to a correspondence which only terminated a week or two ago, and which has now been sent to me for notice. At first the inquirer was told, on the authority of the author of the story, that 'it could be fully substantiated if needful,' but that the incident it related 'occurred some while ago' in South America. More precise details as to the date and place were requested, and the Secretary replied that the author of the story had asked her informant for these particulars. No such particulars were ever forthcoming, and it was finally admitted that the lady who wrote the article in *The Protestant Woman* heard the story from a Presbyterian minister, who heard it from 'some people,' who in their turn heard it 'from friends of the man who witnessed the deed' ! This eye-witness could not be traced, and it was explained that his friends would be exceedingly unlikely to give any details, lest they should 'embarrass their relations' with their Roman Catholic neighbours. In fairness to the Presbyterian minister, it should be added that he says that when he told the story 'quite casually' he mentioned that he had no guarantee of its truth. Such was the genesis of 'The True Story of a Nun' with which the members of

the Women's Protestant Union were regaled. Most of them probably swallowed it as gospel, being ready to believe any evil of Roman Catholics. Even when he was being interrogated as to the evidence in support of the story, the Secretary of the Union urged that it should be remembered and passed on 'as a glaring instance of Rome's inhumanity and cruelty.' It seems to me that the affair rather deserves to be passed on as a glaring instance of the credulity and uncharitableness of the Protestant bigots who circulated this cock-and-bull story."

This comment lacks nothing of severity, but it was supplemented in the issue of *Truth* of a fortnight later, in which, after pointing out that the crime took place at an unspecified period in an unnamed city in "South America," the writer says :—

"It now appears that after doing duty in the organ of the Women's Protestant Union, this veracious narrative was reproduced in the *Christian Herald* with the embellishment of a picture representing the monks in the act of casting the nun, gagged and bound, to certain death in a deep vault beneath the floor of the cathedral. The *Catholic Herald* challenged the *Christian Herald* to give a single fact in support of the story, but the only reply was a repetition of the original reckless statement of the *Protestant Woman* that it rested upon unimpeachable authority. There is always a difficulty in overtaking a lie when once it has got a start, and in the case of lies disseminated to fan the flames of religious bigotry the difficulty is insuperable. The purveyors of this so-called 'true story' must know perfectly well that it is a calumnious fabrication, but they have not the honesty to withdraw it, and Protestant fanatics will doubtless continue to expatiate upon the mythical murder by the two monks as an awful example of Catholic wickedness."

I have looked in vain in subsequent numbers of *The Protestant Woman* for any reference to this exposure, or for any attempt to justify the publication of this atrocious fiction. Sad and shocking as are the

evidences of Protestant ignorance and bigotry which are constantly manifested, none is more distressing than this constant refusal to take any steps to remove the false impression conveyed by the ridiculous fictions which are put in circulation, no matter how thorough and how complete may be the exposure of their baselessness. This is intelligible on the part of those who make their living by the business, but it is incomprehensible that men and women of education, of whom Dr. Horton and Mrs. Arbuthnot may be taken as types, should not only promulgate and circulate these lies, but should refuse to withdraw them or even to publish any correction. They seem obsessed by the "strong delusion to believe a lie" of which Holy Scripture speaks, if indeed their consciences are not "seared with a hot iron."

IV

But I must return to our story, the most detailed version of which is that which was given to the world by Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge, published by Kensit in 1891¹ for the "Conventual Inquiry Society"—an earlier name, apparently, for Mr. S. J. Abbott's "Convent Enquiry Society," which forms the subject of a C.T.S. pamphlet.² So elaborate is the narrative and so different its ending that it may perhaps have an independent source, yet its main features seem to correspond with the others. This "*was related to the*

¹ It is not dated, but includes a quotation from a paper dated December 29, 1890.

² It seems possible that Mr. Abbott's Society is not fulfilling the purpose for which it was ostensibly established, or that it no longer inspires confidence—there must be some limit even to Protestant credulity—for I read that a new "League of Freedom for the Inspection of Convents" has recently been established at Hampstead.

lady from whom I obtained it,¹ who is at the present time living at Herne Hill, by a French girl, a native of Metz, some years ago. . . . This girl *never went to confession,*" her father having told her of a girl who, having been directed by her mother to "confess herself," did so, and "HER MOTHER NEVER SAW HER AGAIN, and died soon afterwards." The fate of the girl was, however, revealed through a tourist who once got shut in the Metz cathedral and fell asleep. When he awoke it was dark, so he sat behind a pillar to wait till morning. Presently he heard "a key turning in the lock of the door," and looked to see who it was. "*It was a priest, carrying in one hand a basket containing a loaf and a bottle of water, and in the other a dead lantern.*" Thinking "the good priest" was "going to keep a vigil," the tourist's "heart warmed towards him"; but he went behind the altar, "touched something, and a door flew open." So the tourist followed him to the opening, "and presently he *heard the voice of a weak woman pleading, and soon after the cry of a child.*" "He made a little mark where the spring of the door was," and in the morning called on the Prefect, the chief magistrate, and the Bishop, "telling them he had a *startling revelation* to make," and asking them "to meet him at the high altar." Instead of locking him up as a lunatic, they complied, the Bishop being accompanied by "all his clergy." Then he touched a spring and the door flew open; the Prefect, &c., went down, "but the *Curé of the Cathedral fell down in a dead faint.*" They found "an *emaciated young woman*, apparently in the last stage of decline, and TWO CHILDREN," one poorly clad, and one "mid nodings on." So they

¹ I preserve the Deputy Surgeon-General's italics and capitals which give a pleasingly diversified aspect to his pages.

brought her up and some ladies looked after the children, and the woman told her story:—

"She said the day she had gone to 'confess herself' she found the Curé at the door of the Cathedral. 'Oh! my Father, I am so sorry! I have come to confess myself. I'm too late, as you are leaving.' 'Never mind, daughter, follow me, and I will confess you'; and she followed him up to the altar, when he touched the spring, and *dragged her down the steps*. Here he *had kept her between three and four years*. Two children had been born, and she had received no care but what the priest had given her. She died three months after in a deep decline. *The priest was tried and convicted, and sentenced to twenty-one or twenty-two years at the galleys.*"

"And serve him right!" the Protestant reader will exclaim, convinced of the accuracy of the story by the copious details, and especially by the little touch of uncertainty at the end. Dates and names may be omitted, as they usually are in Protestant fiction; the story may rest on what a Frenchman told his daughter (who told the lady who told Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge) had happened in his youth—most Protestant stories have the structure of "the House that Jack built," and Dr. Horton is quite content with the edifice: but nothing shall induce the Deputy-Surgeon General to deviate into inaccuracy with regard to the punishment meted out to the culprit, although he must have been sorely tempted to insist on the longer period of galley labour. "And those ducks flew so thick," said the American, "that I took my shot-gun, and I killed ninety-nine of 'em." "You might have made it a hundred," said an incredulous listener. "Sir," replied the narrator, "do you take me for the kind of man who would tell a lie for the sake of a single duck?"

Beyond this I cannot trace the story, though I learn that the version which stands first in my narration is well known in the West of England, where it is current

in workshops. It undoubtedly goes much further back; perhaps some reader may be able to obtain the original from some one whose friend may have heard it from a traveller who encountered at Lighorno (where he had been visiting Miss Miller's "Holy Donkey") an artist who told him that a Baptist minister of his acquaintance had met a lady whose husband in his youth had learnt from his grandfather that he once knew a man who said that he had witnessed something of the kind. In that case the narrative, thus authenticated and substantiated, will doubtless find a welcome in the columns of *The Protestant Woman*, and Dr. Horton and Mr. Hocking will probably incorporate it in a future edition of *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*

POSTSCRIPT.—The C.T.S. having decided to reprint the above paper, I sent a copy to Mr. Pemberton, asking him if he had any correction to make of any statements therein. He replied that the pamphlet was "so full of misrepresentations and untrue statements" that he had sent it to his solicitors to take such steps for his protection as seemed necessary. I answered that, as my object in sending it to him was that any errors might be corrected, it was hardly necessary to trouble his solicitors, as I was quite prepared to alter anything that was inaccurate. In his reply, Mr. Pemberton reduced the charge of lying and misrepresentation to two statements: one, that I had suggested that he had not communicated with *Pearson's Weekly* until twelve months after the publication of the story; the other, "the very offensive suggestion" that he read the story in a French newspaper. To this I replied that the manager of *Pearson's Weekly*, to whom I also sent a copy of my pamphlet, saw no reason for taking exception to my statement; and that in his letter to me of Sept. 30th, Mr. Pemberton himself wrote: "It is my own opinion that the narrative appeared originally in a French newspaper." Mr. Pemberton is good enough to say that with the exception of these two points he takes no exception to the pamphlet, so it may be said to have received his *imprimatur*.

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A STUDY IN BIGOTRY ¹

Being an Examination of Dr. Robert F. Horton's
"My Belief."

BY THE REV. JOSEPH KEATING, S.J.

"As Prejudice is the rejection of reason altogether, so Bigotry is the imposition of private reason—that is, of our own views and theories, of our own First Principles, as if they were the absolute truth, and the standard of all argument, investigation, and judgement. If there are any men in the world who ought to abstain from Bigotry, it is Protestants. They, whose very badge is the right of private judgement, should give as well as take, should allow others what they claim themselves. . . . Bigotry is the infliction of our own unproved First Principles on others, and the treating others with scorn and hatred for not accepting hem."—NEWMAN in *The Present Position of Catholics*, "Assumed Principles the Intellectual Ground of the Protestant View," p. 292.

THAT champion of militant Protestantism, Mr. R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D., Minister of the Congregational Church, Hampstead, has long been prominent among the misguided assailants of Catholicity in this country, and readers of *The Month* have had, from time to time, their attention directed to his aims and his tactics.² But his response, hitherto, to criticism and

¹ Reprinted with slight alterations from *The Month*, July, 1908.

² See, especially, *The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist*, by Mr. James Britten, in *The Month* for November, 1898, since reprinted as a Catholic Truth Society penny pamphlet.

correction has left little hope, humanly speaking, of his ever learning what Catholicism really is, and so it is not primarily on his account that we propose to deal with some of the anti-Catholic passages in his latest book, but because they furnish a convenient text for the study of that sad abuse of human reason and perversion of Christian zeal called Bigotry. *My Belief* is not a formal anti-Catholic tractate: its immediate aim is constructive. It is a sort of Protestant *Apologia*, addressed in the first instance to the doubter and the unbeliever, and giving an account of the author's faith, its extent and its groundwork. However, in its three hundred odd pages, the book includes incidentally a good many attacks on the Church. If the benighted Papists are beyond the reach of the Doctor's logic, they can serve at least to furnish "awful examples," to point sundry morals, to act as foils to the lustre of the untarnished truth. If the infidel will not become a Hortonite, he shall at any rate not turn Romanist. The many olive-branches held out to the Theosophist, the Unitarian, and the Agnostic make no pretence of concealing the cudgel ready for the Catholic. Now we are not going to call in question the writer's sincerity in all this: to imagine him in bad faith would be to impute to him a degree of wickedness quite incredible in face of his known character and repute, and the zeal he displays for the faith that is in him. No doubt he is persecuting, as Saul did, the Church of God, but he may plead Saul's excuse—*ignorans feci*; for certainly much of the Catholicism he condemns bears little resemblance to the Catholicism we profess, and he generally mis-

understands what he manages to state correctly. Saul was a bigot and a persecutor because he took for granted—inculpably, it may be, but still without warrant—the absolute truth of his “paternal traditions.” Dr. Horton, we fear, merits the like reproach, because of his similar attitude towards the great Protestant Tradition as to the nature of Catholicity. His book, then, has two aspects: the one, explanatory of the changed relations of Protestantism to the religious problems of our day, the other, indicative of its unalterable hostility to the Church. In the first, we see how, in face of modern difficulties, the claims of Protestantism to be a revealed religion are being gradually abandoned; in the other, we realize that the old bitter spirit is still living and energetic. In the sense of Newman’s definition, quoted above, this spirit is pure and simple Bigotry, and it is to its expression in the pages of *My Belief* that we propose to devote some attention.

No one can deal with the question of Protestant Bigotry without recalling to mind the famous *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, delivered by Dr. Newman in Birmingham more than half a century ago. They are living and actual to-day. Nowhere before or since, we venture to say, has the Protestant position been subjected to such keen and penetrating analysis; nowhere has it met with so complete and crushing an exposure. In these brilliant pages, the humour, irony, and pathos of the great writer, his logical acumen, his sustained eloquence, his variety of style, appear to the best advantage, and we are grateful to Dr. Horton for giving us

occasion to re-peruse them.¹ As to their actuality—we were tempted to call this article “Dr. Newman on Dr. Horton,” so aptly does *My Belief* illustrate (in its anti-Catholic passages) the thesis of the *Lectures*. Did space permit we could easily find chapter and verse therein to substantiate the eight propositions established by Newman, showing the nature of the Protestant view, how it is sustained by Tradition and based upon Fable, how it finds True Testimony insufficient, is inconsistent in Logic, is vitalized by Prejudice, is grounded on Assumed Principles, and, finally, protected by Ignorance. The question before us, as before Newman in 1851, is to inquire “why it is that in this intelligent nation, and in this rational [twentieth] century, we Catholics are so despised and hated by [certain of] our own countrymen, with whom we have lived all our lives, that they are prompt to believe any story, however extravagant, that is told to our disadvantage; as if beyond doubt we were, every one of us, either brutishly deluded or preternaturally hypocritical, and they themselves, on the contrary, were in comparison of us absolute specimens of sagacity, wisdom, uprightness, manly virtue, and enlightened Christianity.”²

At the same time, we are not confronted, as Newman was, with a united and practically homogeneous Pro-

¹ They should be read by every Catholic who feels puzzled and, perhaps, dismayed, at seeing in this country so much zeal and learning arrayed against the Church. The Catholic Truth Society edition at 1s., with Introduction by Canon Barry, is both cheap and well printed.

² *Present Position*: “Protestant View of the Catholic Church,” p. 1.

testant nation. A better knowledge of Catholicism on the one hand, and, we fear, the growth of religious indifference¹ on the other, have combined to limit the range of the above problem. The "disciples of the Elizabethan tradition," in so far as they are active in its maintenance, are now a comparatively small body, found chiefly among the sects of Nonconformity. But, thus concentrated, the spirit of that tradition is no less bitter and intolerant than before, for it draws its life from the same evil root—human pride. And so the position of Catholics which was "present" in 1851 is "present" still, and the question, then so admirably dealt with, has a living interest to-day. Let us, then, examine the workings of that spirit in the volume before us, if only in order to be the better able, should occasion offer, to exorcise it from the minds of its victims. Such will never be an easy task when the virus has early entered the blood and been constantly fed by further inoculations, for the worst and strangest feature of such cases is that the patients are not conscious of their ailment: on the contrary, they often make profession of calm judgement, charitable interpretation, wide tolerance, sober assertion—qualities belied by their every utterance. No other diagnosis can explain the presence, in a book which contains some of the wildest and most outrageous accusations against the Church we have ever met, of the following naïve declarations:

"The old polemic against Catholicism is out of

¹ Dr. Horton asserts (*My Belief*, p. 12), and we wish we could dispute his assertion, that the vast bulk of the people of this country are indifferent to religion.

date; the methods and the tone of it are unsuitable to the modern world. If we are to be Protestants, we must be Protestants of a new type; we must understand the position better. Our antagonism to Rome must be *more respectful, more sympathetic*, and for that reason more firm and more uncompromising.¹

"We hold no brief to disparage *any creed or view* genuinely held by man."²

"What Christians are divided upon, that we should hold with *modesty and deference*, considering that no truth of God is of private interpretation, and that no private view is the foundation of a world-religion."³

There we have the Doctor's professions. *He* is not an old type Protestant; he disparages no man's genuine creed; he views even Rome with respect and sympathy; he is modest in advancing his own private opinions, knowing that they are not infallible. Let us now look at his practice. His thesis throughout, but especially in the chapter on "The Claims of Rome," is that Catholicism is not merely *not* Christianity, but that it is anti-Christianity. He speaks of "that bastard imperialism masquerading as the Church of Christ."⁴ "England saw," he says, speaking of Mary's reign, "that the Roman system is not Christian but anti-Christian."⁵ Again, "Either the Roman Church is true, the voice of God on earth, or it is a blasphemous delusion. The logical alternative here is—Christ or Anti-Christ,"⁶ an issue rather strongly stated, in which, of course, Dr. Horton takes the

¹ P. 16. Here, as elsewhere in these extracts, unless otherwise stated, the italics are ours.

² P. 75. ³ P. 217. ⁴ P. 178. ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ P. 80.

latter view. "There is *no exaggeration*," he exclaims once more, "in saying that spiritually, religiously, as a force in the individual life, and as the moulding influence of society, Christianity is the antithesis of Catholicism."¹

Now let us here remark that so far from Dr. Horton having brought his polemic up-to-date (to say nothing about "respect" and "sympathy") he is merely echoing an age-long taunt against the Church which has done duty in Protestant controversy ever since it took shape in the rebel heart of Luther. Newman has admirably summed up its nature and genesis :

"It was thus a thought of genius, and as I think preternatural genius, to pitch upon the expedient which has been used against the Church from Christ's age to our own ; to call her, as in the first century, Beelzebub, so in the sixteenth [and in the twentieth] Anti-Christ ; it was a bold, politic, and successful move. It startled men who heard ; and whereas Anti-Christ by the very notion of his character, will counterfeit Christ, he will therefore be, so far, necessarily like Him ; and if Anti-Christ is like Christ, then Christ, I suppose, must be like Anti-Christ : thus there was, even at first starting, a felicitous plausibility about the very charge which went far towards securing belief, while it commanded attention."²

This (literally) diabolical device, therefore, of ascribing to Satan the work of Christ is still in active use. Of

¹ P. 85.

² *Present Position* : "Prejudice the Life of the Protestant View,"

course Dr. Horton will not agree with this view of its origin. He is quite confident that his proposition—Rome is Anti-Christ—can be proved by an appeal to history, and to history he accordingly goes in the following fashion :

“And still more if the Roman claim is to be allowed, if John XXIII, Alexander VI, Julius II, were the divinely-appointed vicegerents of God on the earth, if the corruption and cruelty and obscurantism of the Curia were the expression of the Holy Spirit’s work, if the sordid superstitions, the confessional, the pantheon of Virgin and saints, the degraded priesthood and the blind dogmatism which characterize modern Romanism were to be identified with Christianity, no *thoughtful* man would venture to assert the supremacy of that religion. As the weary nations, France and Italy, with untold labour shake themselves free from the destroying tyranny, escaping ruined and degraded from the yoke, they are in no mood to accept a Christianity, which, in their eyes, is Catholicism.”¹

“Now, for the large number of *students* and *thinkers* who know the history of the Latin Church, and observe the workings of that powerful organization in the Catholic countries, Ireland, South America, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium, one point is practically settled : If Catholicism is Christianity, the world must deliver itself from Christianity. The manhood of France and Italy has settled that question. The disastrous effect of the priesthood and the confessional, on the woman and the home : the intellectual obscurantism [and so on and so forth : see previous catalogue] have convinced *thought-*

¹ Pp. 61, 62.

ful people of one thing at any rate: if this is Christ's intention, if the Papacy represents Him, if Catholicism as it is known to us in history, is the best that Christianity has to offer, the world which is bent on liberty, light, and truth must consent to let the dream of Christianity die."¹

It will be seen from the above extracts that to make assertions under cover of hypotheses is a favourite plan with the Doctor; he can thus insinuate charges without the trouble of proof. But he might have spared himself these rhetorical amplifications, his thesis put shortly being: If the "Protestant Alliance" view of "Rome" is right, then "Rome" is wrong—a proposition which, we hope, is self-evident. Less keen-sighted observers than the Doctor may possibly think that the only tyranny that those "weary nations, France and Italy," as represented by their Governments, are trying to shake off, is that of the Ten Commandments. One need not be a "student and a thinker," nor even a very "thoughtful person," to realize that the whole of the indictments quoted above *are* mere assertions, however disguised: in reality all that he gives us is *his* impressions of Catholic doctrine, *his* ideas of the effects of Catholic practices, *his* views of the state of Catholic countries, *his* interpretation of the facts of Catholic history, and, finally, *his* selection of corroborative testimony. So that it comes to this—we must either disbelieve *My Belief*, or reject Catholicism. Painful as the alternative is, we cannot hesitate: Dr. Horton must go. He answers too exactly to Newman's inspired description:

"Such a one cannot afford to be fair; he cannot be

¹ P. 80.

fair if he tries. He is ignorant, and he goes on to be unjust. He has always viewed things in one light, and he cannot adapt himself to any other : he cannot throw himself into the ideas of other men, fix upon the principles on which those ideas depend, and then set himself to ascertain how those principles differ, or whether they differ at all from those which he acts upon himself.”¹

And when he does summon witnesses, as occasionally he does, they are mere echoes of himself. This respectful and sympathetic antagonist of Rome sends us for information about her life and character not to any Catholic authority, but to such books as Conybeare’s *Roman Catholicism as a Factor of European Politics*, Scherer’s *What is Catholicism?* and Dearden’s *Modern Romanism Examined*; the implication being that Catholics, if they have anything at all to say for themselves, either do not understand the workings of their own doctrines, or are in a conspiracy to misrepresent them—fools or knaves, the usual kind alternative.² Now, we are no admirers of Julian the Apostate, but he never, to our knowledge, compiled, for the edification of youthful un-

¹ *Present Position*: “Logical Inconsistency of the Protestant View,” p. 178.

² Another “authority,” on whom Dr. Horton seems to pin his faith, is Professor Gwatkins, of Cambridge, a scholar who in his Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh some years ago displayed such rancour against Catholicism as to move the indignation and disgust of a non-Catholic reviewer (see *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1908, pp. 460 *et seq.*). Curiously enough, Professor Gwatkins also makes a profession of tolerance, in the following singular terms: “It would ill become one, who has been the colleague of Lord Acton, to throw scorn on the Romish layman.” (!) Yet by implication he does little else in his lectures.

believers and perverts, a catena of passages from pagan writers and apologists describing Christianity. And yet it would have been so easy. From Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, from Celsus, Autolycus, Cæcilius, and Porphyry, a picture could have been painted of the early Christians quite as lurid, and fully as trustworthy, as Dr. Horton's sketch of modern Catholics. "If Christianity is an *exitiabilis superstitio*," we can imagine the Emperor writing in his best rhetorical style, "if Christians are inflamed with 'a hatred of the human race,' if they devour infants at their banquets, if they practise magic, if they indulge in unnatural lust and plot against Cæsar, if they worship the head of an ass, if Christ was a 'crucified sophist,' and Paul 'a conjurer and impostor,' then surely Christianity is unworthy of educated men, and must be suppressed in the interests of the Empire." Julian might have written thus and quoted abundant authorities—magistrates, historians, philosophers, statesmen—but Julian, if he had done so, would not have been quite honest. The fellow-student of St. Gregory knew better. Dr. Horton's honesty, however, can be saved, but only by emphasizing his ignorance. It is, in truth, abysmal, because it embraces first principles. All that parade of "facts," which we have read, only proves that the power of clear perception and right inference is denied him. He blunders like a blind man describing a landscape.

We have now seen how widely astray bigotry leads Dr. Horton in his estimate of Catholicism as a system; of its effect on the inner life of the individual he is just as incredibly and perversely ignorant. Here he has no "history" to guide him, but must proceed *a priori* or by

generalizing from his necessarily limited and wholly external observation. Yet he never falters: no prophet could be surer of his message.

"The clearer sense [as Newman says] we [Catholics] have of our own honesty, of the singleness of our motives, and the purity of our aims—of the truth, the beauty, the power of our religion, its exhaustless fund of consolation for the weary, and its especial correspondence to the needs of the weak—so much the greater may well be our perplexity to find . . . that facts, and logic, and good sense, and right and virtue, are all supposed to lie in the opposite scale."¹

Dr. Horton, at any rate, is convinced that they do, and he advances his tenets with his wonted "modesty and deference." All through his book occur preposterous remarks like these:

"For Catholics, and *those who mean by religion submission to authority without reasoning*, the Credal belief [in Christ's divinity] is enough. They accept the dogma readily, just as they believe, by a very similar act of intellectual humility, that the whale swallowed Jonah: *but the belief has no vital relation to them.*"²

"The effect of submission to [the Roman system] will be discernible in the decay of Catholic nations, and in the *deterioration of individuals*, who take the fraudulent authority as divine, and bow to it as they do to God."³

"Men return to the Catholic fold, and have a sense of peace: the warfare is accomplished; rest is reached. They do not notice, *what is obvious to the observer*, that

¹ *Present Position*: "Protestant View of the Catholic Church," p. 2.

² P. 95.

³ P. 79.

they have surrendered ; they have not found truth but only renounced the search ; they have not escaped the responsibility of their reason in religion, but only seared and crushed it. The Roman Church has great attractions, if once the sense of truth and moral responsibility is surrendered.”¹

“Of course there are Catholics who believe in the infallibility of the Church. . . . But . . . the belief is maintained not only without evidence, but in the teeth of evidence, *by the sheer exertion of credulity* which refuses to look at the facts.”²

“The power to shorten its duration [that of Purgatory] is claimed by the Pope and *sold for money or penance*. To call this irreligious is far too mild a term. It is substituting dreams of the madhouse for truths, and the result appears in the *tyrannical power* of the clergy, and the *degraded superstition* of the people.”³

“Nothing kills religion so quickly as a closed creed or *an infallible authority*.”⁴

“In Catholic countries the appeal to reason is irrelevant ; and amongst ourselves there are many *women and effeminate men* to whom the sacrifice of reason is a positive delight.”⁵

“She [Rome] has led men to think that Christianity only proposes to save men from the punishment of their sins, and not from the sins themselves. The Roman method is to save men not from but in their sins. . . . It is the complete ignorance and denial of this truth [apparently, that the forgiveness of sin means return to Christ] in the Roman Church, which renders that Church at once so attractive to sinful men *who desire to*

¹ P. 86.

P. 113.

³ P. 165.

⁴ P. 29.

⁵ P. 106.

continue in sin, and so destructive of Christianity, the whole object of which is to deliver men from their sins.”¹

Thus far our sympathetic and respectful critic, who “holds no brief to disparage any creed or view genuinely held by men,” nor, presumably, the men who hold them. We might fill pages with the like enlightened comment, but enough has been quoted to illustrate Newman’s definition: “Bigotry is the infliction of our own unproved First Principles on others, and the treating others with scorn and hatred for not accepting them.” For mark, Dr. Horton’s argument is here mainly deductive. His assumed (and unproved) First Principle in that Catholicity is anti-Christian in teaching and practice, and from this he argues to the characters of those who profess it; to this he traces the decay of Catholic nations and the necessary deterioration of individuals. He is thus independent of facts, he can paint in bold outlines. Romanists are either knaves or fools, converts are men of weak character and feeble minds, ex-Catholics need no other recommendation for wisdom and probity and veracity than the fact that they have left the Church. It is useless to ask such a man how he manages to read the conscience, it is useless to point to Catholics of good life and high intelligence, to the saints and doctors and fine flower of our faith—these are strange exceptions, whose existence cannot invalidate logical inferences from absolute First Principles. So, with his eyes tightly shut, Dr. Horton makes the astounding assertion that the Catholic’s belief in Christ’s divinity has no practical effect on his

¹ Pp. 272, 273.

life! Where in the wide world, if not in the Catholic Church, has the conviction that Christ is very God a practical effect on conduct? Bigotry, we see, not only drives out charity but saps intelligence as well. By some strange and long-continued process Dr. Horton has persuaded himself that Catholicity is as manifestly wicked and mischievous as, say, the devil-worship of some heathen tribe. A recognition of this fact will go far to explain his mental vagaries and help us to be patient with him. He knows no better; and as we would not blame a missionary for rapidly concluding that there was no good in devil-worship, and that those addicted to it need not be asked to justify it, and that, in view of the fact that they worship the devil, they were presumably guilty of other less grievous immoral practices, so we may extend to Dr. Horton the charity he refuses to us, and say that herein he is neither fool nor knave, but the victim of a delusion. One might, indeed, as reasonably be angry with a gramophone whose "record" was inscribed with the great Protestant Tradition in all its fulness—and foulness.¹

It is noteworthy, however, and consoling to us as emphasizing one of the Marks of the Church that the Doctor's bad language is reserved for Catholicism. Towards all other beliefs, unbeliefs, and misbeliefs he is nothing if not considerate. The real anti-Christians on the Continent are to him, as we have seen, "the manhood of France and Italy." He implies that a thinker, if candid, must regard Theosophy as a possible new

¹ Cf. Newman's long and able description of the Prejudiced Man in *Present Position*: "Prejudice the Life of the Protestant View," pp. 243-9.

Evangel.¹ He has a good word to say for Unitarianism: "A view which commends itself to a great thinker like Martineau and a great scholar like Harnack, men of undoubted Christian life and conduct, must be treated with respect."² He is so reluctant to speak unkindly of Calvinism that he involves himself in a contradiction—"Calvinism, *with all its strength and beauty*, is regarded, and regarded *justly*, as an evil dream."³ Again, "Judaism is only superior to other [contemporaneous] religions, owing to the receptivity of these gifted men [the Prophets]. Plato's religion is loftier and nobler than any single Israelite's."⁴ Another sentence in the same page reveals the reason for that startling remark: "We do not venture now to say that Christianity is distinguished from other religions by the fact that it is revelation and they are not."⁵ Even the atheist Haeckel is praised by implication: "Haeckel has not, perhaps, as much influence in his own country as he has among our *enlightened and pure-living* working people."⁶ Must we not logically infer that the more enlightened and pure-living we are the more we shall come under the influence of Haeckel?⁷ Finally, apostates from the

¹ P. 14.² P. 94.³ P. 127.⁴ P. 57.

⁵ Note in the same connection: "No Christian *with the modern temper* would venture to say that Christianity is the final revelation" (p. 60). It gives us an insight into the bearing of Modernist views to find that they are those of Dr. Horton.

⁶ P. 12.

⁷ The reader will have noticed how frequent is Dr. Horton's use of what Jeremy Taylor calls "question-begging appellatives." He is indeed a past master in the art of arguing by innuendo; he can (and does) make an epithet do duty for a treatise. But sometimes, as here, the habit plays him false. Elsewhere he states, "*Thoughtful and intelligent* Europe is now non-Christian" (p. 251), whence

faith have, as we might have supposed, a warm welcome from Dr. Horton.

"I confess [he cries] that if the evidence of the Divinity of Christ were [such as Rome presents], I should not for a moment believe: I should join the ranks of the *thoughtful and instructed men* who in Catholic countries have *sadly* renounced Catholicity."¹

A mind like this, we may readily suppose, falls an easy victim to the stories which feed its bigotry and prejudice, and *My Belief* contains a number which suggest *My Credulity* as a fitter title. As those who deny all religion are often most given to superstition, so our author, who seeks to distinguish himself from mere Papists by asserting, "For my own part I believe only what seems to me certain,"² by a fitting nemesis lends easy credence to the silliest of anti-Catholic fables. He quotes, for instance, "from thousands ' of its like, the usual Evangelical tale of the "Catholic converted by reading the Bible." This particular "brand" was doing time in Durham Gaol for attempted murder. Providence, we may conjecture, brought it about that he should enter himself as a Protestant, though his immediate object was to gain "certain supposed advantages" attached to that profession. Thus he came across a New Testament, and one day, when reading it, it occurred to him: "If this book is true, the priest is not. *I can pray to God myself.*" So he knelt and asked for forgiveness, and in time became a preacher, and is

we must conclude that Christian Europe remains so only in virtue of its stupidity and want of reflection! There are many such instances of generalization gone mad.

¹ P. 96.

² See Preface.

now a missionary in India.¹ We presume that Dr. Horton accepted this tale, as he gives no other evidence, on the grounds of its intrinsic verisimilitude, it being the well-known custom of priests to forbid all direct intercourse with God! Another equally well-established doctrine of Rome, viz., that heresy should be repressed by force and all heretics, as far as is possible and politic, exterminated, is illustrated by an incredibly fatuous legend of the "Maria Monk" class. He prepares the ground by an *ex parte*, imperfect, and thoroughly unfair statement of Catholic teaching in regard to the right of the Church, as a divine society, to punish her rebellious subjects, quoting Padre Marianus de Luca, who, our readers will remember, figured largely in that *cause célèbre*, "Vaughan v. *The Rock*."² As the teaching of the Roman theologian was then explained to the satisfaction of a British jury, we need not refer to it further, except, perhaps, to recall, as Father Vaughan did, Cardinal Manning's declaration that since the disappearance of a united Christendom, persecution for those who hold religious opinions different from ours would itself be a crime and a heresy. We have little hesitation in saying that if what Dr. Horton would call "the spirit of Torquemada" is alive to-day, it is to be found in those like himself, who applaud the persecuting French Government, and who here in England would penalize Catholic education on the ground that this is a Protestant country. But let us come to the story which is supposed to justify Dr. Horton's piece of false and fanatical bluster:

¹ *My Belief*, pp. 119, 120.

² See C. T. S. penny pamphlet with that title.

"The Roman Church therefore claims the right to torture, burn, and kill all who will not accept her doctrine."¹

"It will be said [he exclaims] that in the modern world there is no danger of Rome ever exercising her right of putting heretics to death. Well, I have before me an article which appeared in *France et Évangile* of January, 1905, on 'La Curie Romaine.' The writer is M. du Belloy, who was present as a secretary at the Vatican Council of 1870. He gives an account of the working of the Congregation of the Inquisition to-day. It employed, in 1870, two hundred thousand agents all over the world, from royal princes down to domestic servants. But let me quote."

Unhappily for him, no friend was there to stop the Doctor from quoting; and as a result we have an exhibition of infantile credulity almost painful in its excess. We have to remind ourselves that the retailer of this narrative is an Oxford M.A., till recently a Fellow of a distinguished College there, and holds, moreover, the pastorate of a highly respectable Nonconformist congregation, when we read the mixture of absurdity and malice he here presents to us. We will let him quote from M. du Belloy :

"On the morning of the second Tuesday of every month, the president of the tribunal of the Inquisition, who is a Cardinal, receives from the secretary, who is always a *Dominican*,² the correspondence of the preceding month. After studying it, he sets aside the reports which contain nothing of importance, and classifies the others. In the evening he submits the

¹ P. 81.

² See note 1, p. 20.

latter to a committee of eleven *Dominicans*,¹ who sit with him in judgement upon them, and mark their decisions by affixing one or other of three seals on each document—a white one for Insanity, a grey one for Seclusion, and a red one for Death. The tribunal is secret: there are no archives.”²

Not even yet has Dr. Horton any suspicion of his informant. M. du Belloy has the recommendation of being an unfrocked priest, and what he says about Rome is so antecedently probable, and serves so to illustrate the Doctor’s contention and confirm his views, that he might go even further without awaking doubt. And, indeed, he does go further, to the following effect. Dr. Horton, we presume, is synopsizing his article:

“M. du Belloy was present at a conclave of Inquisitors in the Convent of Minerva [*sic*]. ‘I remained,’ he says, ‘two hours at no small risk, for had I been discovered I should never have been seen again.’ He tells us that the three seals mean that the agent is to proceed against the person whom he has denounced, either by getting the man incarcerated, or committed to an asylum, or assassinated. ‘I remember,’ he writes, ‘the case of a statesman in Santa Fé of Bogota, whose daughter had become a Protestant. The unhappy father was sent a red seal, and was obliged to give effect to the sentence.’ Woe betide the agent who fails to execute the order! The red seal awaits himself. ‘I have good reason for

¹ Italics in original. For once, we are interested to note, the Jesuits are not at the bottom of these Romish iniquities.

² Pp. 82, 83.

saying,' adds M. du Belloy, 'that the Roman Inquisition at the present time is much more terrible than in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, when it worked for the most part in the light of day. Nothing escapes that tribunal. As Cardinal Guidi, one of its former presidents, declared, it is Mistress of the World.'"¹

Under these circumstances, such being his belief, should we not admire Dr. Horton's courage in printing the above? If the anonymous statesman and reluctant murderer in Santa Fé of Bogota could not escape receiving the "Black Spot" (in this case, to be sure, a Red Seal), surely, Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, is not secure. The incumbent must know that there are real live *Dominicans*, and doubtless a branch office of the Inquisition, within five minutes' walk of his church. Any day or any hour some Catholic acquaintance may receive one of the three seals above mentioned, and be forced to proceed to fulfil the command. It is a poor consolation, but the best we can offer, to assure this fearless assailant of the Inquisition that only the White Seal is likely to be sent to Hampstead. We trust that, although we have assumed Dr. Horton's zeal and good faith, we may be forgiven for smiling at the ridiculous figure he cuts. We cannot be expected to pity a man who in trying to make us knaves makes a fool of himself. Now, as to the story, why, Dr. Newman described and discounted it half a century ago :

¹ P. 83. More about the egregious du Bellay and the *provenance* of his story as it appears in *My Belief* may be read in *The Month* for August, 1908, pp 188-191.

"Sometimes [he says] the crime charged on us is brought out with such startling vividness and circumstantial finish as to seem to carry its own evidence with it, and to dispense, in the eyes of the public, with the references which in fairness should attend it. The scene is laid in some fortress of the savage Apennine or in secluded Languedoc, or in remote Poland, or the high table-land of Mexico [or in Santa Fé of Bogota]; or it is a legend about some priest, of a small village of Calabria, called Buonavalle, in the fourteenth century; or about a monk of the monastery of S. Spirito, in S. Filippo d'Argiro, in the time of Charlemagne. Or the story runs, that Don Felix Malatesta de Guadelope, a Benedictine monk of Andalusia, and father confessor to the Prince of the Asturias, who died in 1821, left behind him his confessions in manuscript, which were carried off by the French, with other valuable documents, from his convent, which they pillaged in their retreat from the field of Salamanca; and that in these confessions he frankly avows that he had killed three of his monastic brothers of whom he was jealous, had poisoned half a dozen women, and sent off in boxes and hampers to Cadiz and Barcelona thirty-five infants; moreover, that he felt no misgivings about these abominable deeds, because, as he observes with great *naïveté*, he had every day, for many years, burnt a candle to the Blessed Virgin; had cursed periodically all heretics, especially the royal family of England; had burnt a student of Coimbra for asserting that the earth went round the sun; had worn about him day and night a relic of St. Diego; and had provided that five

hundred Masses should be said for the repose of his soul within eight days after his decease.”¹

These anti-Catholic fictions, be it observed, keep faithfully to type, and so long as the soil is provided by such as Dr. Horton, the crops will be sown by such as M. du Belloy.² We do not doubt that Newman's tale would have been transferred bodily to *My Belief* if it had first appeared in *France et Évangile*. Our author's childish acceptance of the Inquisition tale of Rawhead and Bloodybones shows with what bias he approaches the study of history, and accounts for his strange misreadings of it. But if that story indicates how easily he can be deceived, we are rather at a loss to describe his connection with the following, illustrative as before of the persecuting spirit of Rome:

“Professor Huxley playfully rallied George William [*sic*] Ward, the most learned and sincere of all the tractarian converts to Rome, on his readiness to put a stake in his garden and burn his Protestant guests. But Ward defended his conviction [*i.e.*, that such

¹ *Present Position*: “Fable the Basis of the Protestant View” (pp. 93, 94).

² “Du Bellay” seems to be the real name, which, by the way, does not appear in any of the lists of Vatican Council officials we have consulted. We have Dr. John Clifford's authority that he was once a Catholic priest. Dr. Clifford quotes him in a letter to the *Daily News* (November 6, 1902) as disclosing the plan entertained by the Council of monopolizing higher education, “in order to secure a succession of young men trained by the Church of the Vatican for service in the army.” (!) We notice that accuracy in names is not a strong point of Dr. Horton's. The nearest approach he can make to that of the late Papal envoy at Paris is “Mgr. Marignani” (p. 224).

conduct was justifiable], and said that he only abstained from putting it into practice because it was not politic, not because it was not right."¹

Now we have the best authority for stating that the remark attributed to Dr. Ward is an absolute fabrication. We do not say, because we do not know, who fabricated it. Like all these stories, it is quoted without exact reference to sources, and Dr. Horton has shown himself in the past careless beyond measure in dealing with second-hand authorities. His previous exploits, too, in the art of what he calls "conflation," justify us in mistrusting any quotation of his which cannot be immediately verified.² "Conflation" is the process of detaching various passages in an author from their context and putting them together as if they were written thus, so that they receive a new and generally sinister meaning from their juxtaposition. As a matter of fact, the above anecdote happens to be an excellent specimen of the art, and, thanks to references kindly furnished us by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, we are able with practical certainty to discover the originals. Let the reader then compare the above story with the following three extracts from *William George Ward and the*

¹ P. 82.

² For ample proofs of these assertions, see *The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist*, passim. Though challenged ten years ago by Mr. Britten to substantiate his assertion that he had "met with the term 'Our Lord God the Pope' in [his] reading, both of the renaissance and mediæval German literature," he has never yet been able to quote a single instance. See also *Dr. Horton on Catholic Truthfulness*, by the Rev. Sydney Smith, S.J., which deals very effectively with another polemical work of the Doctor's, entitled *England's Danger*.

Catholic Revival.¹ Huxley speaks in the first, Knowles in the second, and the third contains Tennyson's testimony.

1. "It was not long after we had reached this stage [of friendliness] that, in the course of some truce in our internecine dialectic warfare, . . . Dr. Ward took me aside and opened his mind thus: 'You and I are on such friendly terms that I do not think it is right to let you remain ignorant of something I wish to tell you.' Rather alarmed at what this might portend, I begged him to say on. 'Well, we Catholics hold that So-and-So and So-and-So (naming certain of our colleagues whose heresies were of a less deep hue than mine) are not guilty of absolutely unpardonable error; but your case is different, and I feel it unfair not to tell you so.' Greatly relieved I replied, without a moment's delay, perhaps too impulsively, 'My dear Dr. Ward, if you don't mind, I don't,' whereupon we parted with a hearty handshake; and intermitted neither fighting nor friendship thenceforth."

2. "This [personal kindliness] was the more remarkable because many of us used to say that were the Inquisition re-established, we heretics would rather take our chance of escape from Manning than from Ward. We felt that Ward's relentless logic would stick at nothing, not even at the protests of his most amiable and gentle nature. I recollect Huxley going with me to dine at your father's house one day. The first thing he did was to go and peer out of the window. Dr. Ward asked him what he was doing, on which he said, 'I was looking in your garden for the *stake*, Dr.

¹ Pp. 315, 316, 399 respectively.

Ward, which I suppose you have got ready for us after dinner.'"

3. "They were, latterly, close friends and on almost playful terms. Tennyson loved Ward's plainness of speech, even if his sentiments were intolerable. He told me that in the days when the question of persecution was debated at the Metaphysical Society he said to Ward: 'You know you would try to get me put in prison if the Pope told you to.' Ward could not say no. Lord Tennyson added, 'He only replied, "The Pope would never tell me to do anything so foolish!"'"

The process will now be clear. Given a hazy recollection of these three passages, and an extreme readiness to believe evil of Catholics, and it is an easy matter to make Ward defend in earnest a remark uttered by Huxley in jest, and to turn Tennyson's evidence of Ward's repudiation of persecution into a declaration of his willingness to persecute.¹ Just as Dr. Horton was persuaded that he had "met with

¹ Dr. Horton is particularly unfortunate in his references to Dr. Ward. In one of his letters in answer to Mr. James Britten, he quotes, "William George Ward, by far the most distinguished writer on Roman Catholic doctrine in England," as being in the *habit* of saying: "Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper." The *facts* in this case are (1) Ward, on the *one* occasion he was known to have said those words, was still an Anglican; (2) He was merely stating, in his whimsically emphatic way, the doctrine of many sound Protestant moralists as distinguished from the more delicate consideration shown for the claims of veracity by Catholic theologians. (See *The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist*, p. 20, and *Dr. Horton on Catholic Truthfulness*, pp. 21-25, where the whole question is exhaustively discussed.)

the term 'Our Lord God the Pope' in his reading of renaissance and mediæval German literature," so, doubtless, he felt sure that his anecdote occurred in substance in the *Life of Ward*. We cannot, as he does so often, jump from likelihood to certainty, and so we are quite willing to believe that not he, but some expert of his school, concocted that silly story, in which case his honesty is again saved at the expense of his intelligence.¹

Much more remains to be said, were there need of saying it, about Dr. Horton's indictment of Catholicity. He employs most of the weapons in the ultra-Protestant armoury, weapons we are wont to see wielded, not by educated Oxford men, but by the Kensits and the Collettes, the Le Lievres and the Porcellis. Absolution, of course, is sold for money, priests are necessarily corrupt and degraded, convents full of scandals, &c. At one time the Catholic reaction is attributed to men's desire to go on sinning and yet be saved;² at another, to the fact that "the genius of Newman dazzled the imagination of England; the practical zeal of Manning softened the heart."³ But we must draw our study of Bigotry to a close with one final illustration.

A main contention of Dr. Horton's is that Catholic countries necessarily deteriorate in material and moral civilization and Protestant countries make progress

¹ His habit, however, is so strong, that he "conflates" even his *Virgil*. Readers will find the originals of

*O terque quaterque beatos
Agrícolas, sua si bona norint*

(quoted on p. 234) in *Æneid*, I. 94, and *Georgics*, II. 458-9.

² Pp. 87, 272.

³ P. 78.

under the influence of their respective creeds.¹ We shall not delay to point out that this argument, so far as it is debatable at all, makes material prosperity at once the test of divine favour and the measure of real civilization, and is, moreover, contradicted by many instances, present and past. We merely wish to show that under this conviction our author's religion, for all its profession of life and liberty, takes on a bitterness and narrowness that recalls ancient Judaism. He comes nigh to identifying Christ's world-wide religion with the possession of English nationality.

"England [cries our patriot] can only become Roman by ceasing to be English. There are many converts to Rome, but they are perverts from England; they lose the national spirit, their sympathies fall away *from all that makes England great*. The Irish and the French-Canadians are the clearest evidence that Papists cannot be English. They are *tolerated aliens* in a vast Empire which is built up on the Bible, on individual freedom, on the truth of man's direct relation to God, which they as Papists cannot even comprehend."²

Were we not right when we implied above that if you scratched Dr. Horton you would find Torquemada? This loud-mouthed professor of tolerance, nay, of respect

¹ Yet throughout his book he bewails the decay and disappearance of Protestantism. "Germany has little more than an official belief in religion" (p. 12), "the vast bulk of the [English] people are indifferent to religion" (*ibid.*). "Thoughtful and intelligent Europe is now non-Christian. The working-classes of Europe are anti-Christian" (p. 25). "Doubtless, it [Continental Protestantism] is largely Unitarian, but it is also largely dead" (p. 93). Are we to ascribe the present prosperity of Protestant nations to their having shed their Protestantism?

² P. 179.

and sympathy, clasps to his brotherly bosom, as fellow-subjects in an Empire "built up on the Bible," millions of Hindus and Mussulmans, and devil-worshippers, and the like, but the Irish and the French-Canadians are but "tolerated aliens," tolerated, we presume, only because it would not be politic to destroy them. "Bigotry," let us remind ourselves, "is the infliction of our own unproved First Principles on others and *the treating others with scorn and hatred* for not accepting them." Here, surely, we have it at its worst. But Dr. Horton will tell us he does not speak without experience of these "tolerated aliens."

"I was present once [he says] at Mass in a Wicklow village. The chapel was crowded with the people high and low. Nothing could be more edifying, until one looked into their faces. (!) The priest explained from the altar that it was Sunday, and that they must do an extra act of religion, read a pious book, or perform a good deed. But the easiest way to discharge the obligation was to stay for the Rosary, which would only take twenty minutes. This, he explained, consisted of the Lord's Prayer, which was the best of prayers, and must be said thoughtfully, not gabbled over, and of the *Hail Mary*, for when they came to die they would want the Blessed Virgin with them, and how could they expect her to come if they omitted the Rosary. So many *Pater noster*s, then so many *Ave Marias*, then more *Pater noster*s, and then more *Aves*, and so on for twenty minutes. After this edifying exposition the Rosary began. The priest and the acolytes rattled off the prayers at such a rate that no words were audible, and the thing was through in less than a quarter of an hour.

"I watched the people as they came out. There was no gleam of light, no trace of worship. Dull, listless, unintelligent, they had done what the priest had told them."¹

We confess this spectacle of smug Nonconformity from Hampstead passing judgement, on such slender grounds, on the state before God of people who, with all their faults, are generally held to be amongst the most spiritually-minded in the world, fills us with a sense of loathing. Did Dr. Horton mutter, "Thank God, I am not as the rest of men," as he watched these poor peasants coming from prayers, which he cannot even describe correctly, without those visible haloes that decorate the congregation at Lyndhurst Road? Why, we have a right to ask, does he not himself observe his admonitions to others? He is emphatic in urging his readers to abstain from trying to judge the soul-state of their neighbours. "The spiritual experience of another person cannot be known to you from the inside,"² he says, and he naïvely illustrates the fact by declaring that he himself is not nearly so good as many people think him.

"Knowing, then, how completely I am misread by others, and even by those who have the fullest opportunity of knowing me, I settle it with myself that I can never expect to know in any real sense the experience of others."³

Except, of course, that of Papists and devil-worshippers

¹ Pp. 180, 181.

² P. 222. "From the *outside*" would have made his meaning clearer.

³ P. 223.

and other abandoned creatures, whose spiritual experience can be estimated quite *a priori*.¹

But our readers must now feel that they have had quite enough of Dr. Horton. Bigotry is one of the worst of mental and moral diseases, and the study of it is sure to be unpleasant. However, it is necessary, if we are to understand the forces which Catholicity has here to contend against. Reasoning is of little avail, and even the argument of a good life, which we all can and ought to advance, is powerless against such perverse misinterpretation.

We had intended to say something about the constructive side, so to call it, of Dr. Horton's book, but we have little space left and no inclination. It would not be quite fair to judge its value by what we have seen of its attitude towards Catholicism, for it contains true and eloquent passages on the value of Prayer, on the necessity of Religion, and on the Supernatural in Christianity. Nay, one chapter dealing with the relations of Christianity to Social Order, might almost, if purged of its anti-Catholicism, be printed as a C.T.S. tract. But what the author explains and defends is so obviously merely subjective, that we fear it has little value as an *Apologia*. The very first sentence—"I

¹ For the most part Dr. Horton confines his abuse of Catholicity to the system or to individuals in the vague. But we are bound to notice that on one occasion his bigotry makes him so far forget what is due to Christian charity, not to say the elementary instincts of a gentleman, as to impute unworthy motives to a living person. On p. 78 we find it insinuated that "an English Princess renounced her Protestant faith *to marry the Spanish King*." That this grossly uncharitable assertion, which, from the nature of the case, is incapable of proof, was common amongst his class, does not excuse Dr. Horton for giving it further vogue in his book.

could never bring myself to any admiration of the schoolman's famous formula, *Credo quia impossibile*"—containing, as it does, two gross blunders,¹ is at once characteristic of the author's habits of mind, and ominous of what is to come. It is enough, then, to point out that the apologist is a Christian only in the City-Temple sense, that he is an extreme individualist in religion, with no conception of a Church, and no belief in a Bible except in so far as his inner experience bears it out, that his philosophy, as far as it is intelligible, is a sort of pantheism, that he rejects creeds and dogmas as fetters of the intellect—in a word, that "His Belief," in ultimate logical analysis, is Belief in Himself.²

¹ The phrase should be, *Certum est, quia impossibile*; it was used in a passage describing the Divine paradox of the Incarnation by Tertullian (*De Carne Christi*, 5: see *The Month*, July, 1906, p. 94), who, of course, was not a Schoolman, and, at that time, not even a Catholic.

² If the reader has any further desire to study "Hortonism"—after all, the Doctor is an interesting, if unlovely, type of mental disease—he may be referred to a clever and trenchant criticism of *My Belief* which appeared in *The Academy* for May 16, 1908, entitled "Dissenting Logic."

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The distribution of the two pamphlets above named will enable the impartial reader to judge how far Mr. Hocking is to be credited with veracity.

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EDITH O'GORMAN AND HER BOOK

BY G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER

Organizing Secretary, C.T.S.

.AN effort is being made to enable Edith O'Gorman (Mrs. Auffray), the "Escaped Nun," to bring out another edition of her book, *Convent Life Unveiled*. One Protestant paper, the *Christian Herald*, is particularly active in the matter, holding it to be "an unspeakable loss to the cause of Christ" that Mrs. Auffray's works are practically out of print. It may be well, therefore, to consider some facts about this book by which people will be able to judge how much or how little credence should be given to its statements.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to write an elaborate treatise by way of refuting Edith O'Gorman's charges. The English people are, nowadays, sufficiently acquainted with convent life on their own soil, at close quarters, to be secure against believing extravagant stories of conventual horrors from places beyond the seas. The white *cornette* of the Sisters of Charity is too well known and too much respected in England to-day to be regarded, as Miss O'Gorman would have it regarded, as "presenting a very uncouth and repulsive appearance"; and the average Englishman, on being told that such women beat

little children black and blue, eat bugs and worms, and in other ways revolt our senses, would have no difficulty in finding a word to express his opinion of the statements. The following pages are therefore for the most part confined to the examination of two editions of *Convent Life Unveiled*—the first edition (then called the *Trials and Persecutions of Miss Edith O'Gorman*), issued at Hartford, Conn., U. S. A., in 1871, and the edition published in London in 1901. It will be seen, from comparing these two editions, that the Edith O'Gorman of 1871 had become much more bitter in her denunciations in the course of thirty years: and a number of significant changes, by omissions or added matter, make it of some importance to press home the differences between the two accounts. These discrepancies, which include the altering or "cooking" of a letter and a newspaper cutting, are enough of themselves to put the whole book out of court: they present us, moreover, in regard to the central episode of the "escape," with two versions which differ as to the date, place, and circumstances of that event.

We may even ask: Did Edith O'Gorman write the book at all? In the 1871 edition there are references over and over again, extending to quoted documents and a chapter-heading, to "Hudson City": she is in a convent at Hudson City; her brother writes home that "she is in Hudson City, N. J."; page after page is headed "My Profession and Mission to Hudson City"; one incident after another relates to Hudson City. All this is altered, in the English edition of 1901, to "Jersey City!" The two places are a hundred miles apart, and we can hardly suppose that when writing her book Edith O'Gorman had forgotten whether the most moving events of her lifetime took place in Jersey

City or Hudson City! The inference is—and it is borne out by other evidence—that the narrative was written by somebody else, who made a bad blunder by putting Edith into the wrong place, and that the American edition came out before the blunder was detected. In that case we may safely relegate the texture of the work, its scorn, self-consciousness, and pious rhapsodizing, to another hand. The confusion between Hudson City and Jersey City is too frequent to have been due to a printer's or transcriber's error; it was evidently in the original manuscript, which seems to show that this was not the work of the "Escaped Nun."

CONVENT EXPERIENCES

Now to the story. Edith O'Gorman was born in Ireland in 1842. When ten years old, she tells us, she was taken by her parents to America, where the family took up their residence; she was brought up as a Catholic, but sent to Protestant schools. There is no reticence as to her spiritual worth: "I was inclined to prayer and piety from my early childhood." . . . "I longed for something better than the fleeting follies of Society, than the empty vanities of a sinful and ungodly world." . . . "Earthly pleasures failed to fill the void in my heart." In spite of all this she went to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1861, and there "sought forgetfulness of religion among the gay and giddy throng in pursuit of worldly pleasure." It is fair to say that the lapse was only temporary; Edith realized that she was "created to be something more than a mere votary of fashion and folly," and the upshot of it was that on 2nd October 1862 she went to St. Elizabeth's Convent of the Sisters of Charity, at Madison, New

Jersey, a "whited sepulchre so fair and beautiful without, but within full of corruption."

Here she was three months on trial. She was "deeply wounded by the least unkind look or word"—a fact which in itself shows imperfect vocation—and she writes complainingly of various humiliations alleged to have been put upon her. Nevertheless, on 1st January 1863, after three months' experience of the whited sepulchre, she presented herself to be clothed as a novice. Three days later she was sent to St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, Paterson, N.J., of which place she writes harrowing stories of cruelties to the children, such as used to freeze the blood of Protestant audiences in mid-Victorian days. Her own blood was frozen, it seems, but in the wrong direction: "Oh, what a temptation was this to my crushed and bleeding heart to forsake the gloomy convent! . . . but the very idea froze my blood, and an invincible terror paralysed me." So she stayed on.

In January of the following year, 1864, her sister Gertrude visited her at the convent, whereat she had great joy. In the course of conversation, Edith was asked by her sister whether she was happy, to which she replied that she was. We shall see as we go on that this is what she told other of her relations in turn, either implicitly or in so many words. In the 1901 version of this incident a statement is added, apparently as an afterthought to put the convent in a more unfavourable light, that Gertrude was only allowed to see her by threatening the Sisters with the law of the land. Six months afterwards (16th July 1864) Edith O'Gorman—in religion Sister de Chantal—went to the mother house of the order, at Madison, New Jersey, and made her final vows; she then had a few weeks' holiday, after

which she was sent to establish a convent "in Hudson City"—that is to say, not in Hudson City but in Jersey City, as already explained.

At this stage of the narrative we may pause to emphasize the extraordinary circumstance that the longer Edith O'Gorman experienced, according to her own statements, the horrors of a religious order in which cruelty and duplicity contended with other vices for the mastery, the more determined she seems to have been to remain in the order. Her experience began in October 1862; after three months of it she is so far from shrinking back that she becomes a novice. Fifteen months' work among women whom she portrays rather as fiends does not deter her from the path of her vocation; she hides all her loathing and distress of mind from her sister, telling her instead that she is happy; she goes through another six months of the life, and is then ready for—the police station? No, but for her final vows! Was there ever a story less calculated to convince anybody possessed of ordinary commonsense!

WHAT HER BROTHER SAID

An even more striking instance of Edith O'Gorman's ability to dissemble what she would have us believe were her real feelings throughout this period, is supplied by a letter which her brother, who visited her on 20th November 1867, wrote home to their parents. It will be observed that she has now had a further three years of the conventual life. The letter is not of direct bearing throughout; but as it is not very long, and as it might arouse suspicion to omit anything, the text shall be given in full:—

ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL,
NEW YORK, *November 20th, 1867.*

DEAR PARENTS,—I wish to inform you that I have seen my sister. She is in Hudson City, N.J. I went to Paterson, and the sisters told me she had gone from there three years ago. I had considerable difficulty in finding her, but I was repaid an hundredfold for the trouble—the very sight of her would have been sufficient reward. She is the very image of happiness and contentment. She was overjoyed to see me; kissed and embraced me, and I did the same; and why should I not? My own dear sister! my beautiful sister! She is really happy. She is Superior there, and the people think everything of her; they venerate her; and who could do otherwise? I was not aware that I loved her so much. I found it a task to come away with a heart at all. I had the pleasure of her company for three or four hours, and we talked volumes in that time. They were the happiest hours of my life. I gave her Gertrude's picture, mother, and my own. O! I cannot paint the scene that took place when she saw mother's picture. Dear parents, she looked as beautiful as ever, with her large deep blue eyes, bright golden hair, and holy, mild expression. She is looking as hearty and rosy as ever, and there is nothing feigned—it is all so real. Oh, how affectionate and kind! she carries an indescribable charm with her. I am told that the women of the place, when they meet her, kneel down and ask her blessing. Let it be remembered that our interview was witnessed by no third person. Please send this letter to Gertrude, in Boston. She wishes to see Gertrude, and wants her to come and see her, or else write to her. Direct to Sister Teresa de Chantal, St. Joseph's Convent, Hudson City, N.J. She sends her kindest love to all. If nothing happens, I sail to-morrow. Good-bye, and pray for your affectionate son,
JOHN SARSFIELD O'GORMAN.

The temptation to Edith O'Gorman to print this letter can be well understood: it is a testimony to much virtue. But the difficulty is that it testifies too much in other respects. This seems to have been realized, for Edith writes, after quoting it, as follows: "From the tenor of this letter it is plainly seen how well I succeeded in deceiving him, and how completely I hid from him my true condition." But more than verbal deceit was accomplished; she was able also to look "as hearty and rosy as ever"

for the occasion, whatever may have been her hidden springs of feeling.

The brother's remark as to his sister's bright golden hair might almost make us doubt whether he wrote the words. Anyway, here again it was seen that there was something wrong, so the matter gets adjusted, in the 1901 edition of *Convent Life Unveiled*, by the simple process of altering the text of the letter! This time he is made to say that "her long, bright golden hair, of which we were all once so proud, is cut off short and hidden under her veil." This convent practice with regard to the hair works most inconveniently for another part of the story. We read that an infuriated sister had dragged her "along the hall by the hair of the head"; in the later edition this becomes "the short hair," but even so it would be altogether too short for that performance!

How Edith O'Gorman spoke of her state of mind to her brother is told in her own words: "He questioned me about my happiness, which I assured him was complete in being the spouse of Christ, and that nothing on earth could exceed the joy I experienced as the bride of the King of kings." She adds that she despised herself for such dissimulation. Dissimulation is a long word; a short word will do quite as well. But why did she lie to her sister, and to her brother, and afterwards to her parents—"With that prevarication which I had learned in the convent, I hid everything from my parents"—and tell them of happiness which in her book she asks her readers to believe was really misery? Whether one prefers, in the Protestant view, to accept her own motives for the lying, or, in the Catholic view, to find the lying elsewhere, Edith O'Gorman stands self-confessed as an apt prevari-

cator. It may be added, by the way, that the later edition of the book omits from her brother's letter the passage referring to their interview having been without the presence of a third person ; this was certainly an awkward statement in face of Edith's own remarks elsewhere as to constantly prying eyes.

THE SCANDAL AND ESCAPE

We come now to the principal incidents in Mrs. Auffray's book—the circumstances and manner of her leaving the conventual life, and the scandal which she speaks of as the chief reason for this step. In regard to the latter, it may be pointed out—and all fair-minded people will agree—that just as one swallow does not make a summer, so the fault of an individual does not reflect upon the religion he has failed to live up to. In dealing with Edith O'Gorman's story, we will take it and test it by what she herself says in the two editions of her book. We will go no further than her own pages to demonstrate that whatever the substratum of truth may have been upon which she builds up her story of a moral tragedy, there are circumstances about it which contradict the inferences and raise considerable suspicion as to the facts. The chronology must be interrupted, as occasion requires, to bring in other evidence or quotations, but otherwise the story shall be told in its proper sequence of events.

It begins in April 1867, when a young priest, Father Walsh, came to the convent. He was presented to Edith O'Gorman, who says she "experienced an unaccountable shrinking from contact with him." The reader is requested to bear these words in mind. Before very long, she states, this

cleric made professions of love to her, which she virtuously resisted, despite his fascinating manner and persistent addresses. The English Protestant public, reading the edition of 1901, are told how, after a retreat, Edith O'Gorman went on her knees to Mother Xavier, the Superior, and implored her "not to send me back to Jersey City, because Father Walsh had made the most ardent professions of love to me." But this is not what she said in the American edition thirty years earlier. There Mother Xavier is begged "not to send me back to Hudson City, because Father Walsh loved me and I loved him"—an avowal of mutual affection, deliberately suppressed in the later edition of the book, which we are entitled to take into consideration in regard to everything else. Similarly, at a much later period of the narrative, she told Father Walsh she would go to a cousin in Ireland "if he would supply me with the means, and if he truly loved me he would not refuse." This appeal to the man's love is struck out from the 1901 edition; in its place we read that "I consented that Father Walsh should pay my expenses to Ireland, for I was anxious to get away as far as possible from him." Again, at page 139 of the earlier book she speaks of having felt it to be her duty to avert scandal in connection with "an anointed priest and a man I once had loved, and whom I had forgiven." In the 1901 edition this becomes (p. 126) "an anointed priest who had fallen into temptation, but whom I had forgiven." All this admitted affection for Father Walsh, it must be remembered, began within a very short time of that first meeting when, as she asks us to believe, she experienced "an unaccountable shrinking" from him!

Mrs. Auffray further alleges that on Sunday,

19th January 1868, this priest made an attempt to drug her, under pretext of giving her a cordial ; that the attempt failed of its purpose, as she retained strength and consciousness enough to fly from him into the convent ; that thereafter, for several days, her mind was a blank ; that the shock she received was followed by temporary insanity ; finally, that this attempt drove her to escape, which she did before the month had closed.

Here it is necessary to compare the 1871 book with that published thirty years afterwards, summarizing in each case the dates and other details given. The two accounts may be labelled respectively A and B.

A (1871)

1. "All is a blank from the time I rushed out of the church until Saturday the 25th of January, when I came back to consciousness.

. . . Compelled to stop at the Orphan Asylum at South Orange ; and it was there that I found myself on the 25th."

2. "On the following Monday [27th January] Mother Xavier came from Madison to see me, and finding me apparently well, she said," etc.

B (1901)

1. "All is a blank in my memory . . . until Tuesday the 28th of January, when I came back to consciousness.

. . . Compelled to stop at the Orphan Asylum at South Orange ; and it was there I found myself on the 28th."

2 "On the Monday January 27th Mother Mary Xavier came from Madison to see me, and the next day, finding me apparently well," etc.

. . . "Wicked woman, she takes me back again to Jersey City."

3. "On Tuesday the 28th Father Walsh had the audacity to come into the community room."

4. She sends a message to the Superior that she wishes to be taken away. "I also appealed to Father Venuta, who told her to take me to Newark for two or three weeks.

. . . Accordingly, on Thursday the 30th Mother Xavier left me in Newark, where I was to remain until I should become 'more tranquil.'"

5. "The next Friday morning [31st January] I was sent to teach in St. Patrick's Parochial School, some little distance from the Newark convent. . . . Wild with excitement I donned my bonnet and shawl, appointed a monitress over my class, and turned my back on convent life for ever. On the porch of the school-house I met Rev. George Doane."

3. "On Thursday morning [30th January] Father Walsh had the audacity," etc.

4. Nothing about any visit to Newark, but an *immediate* resolve to escape there and then, *i.e.* on the Thursday morning.

5. "It was about ten o'clock in the morning—all the nuns were engaged in teaching—I, the Sister Superior, might not be missed until noon. Therefore, wild with excitement I donned the bonnet and cloak which the nuns wear when they go in the street, softly unlocked the doors and gates, and turned my back on convent life for ever."

Thus we get two entirely different and irreconcilable versions of Edith O'Gorman's escape :—

A. It occurred on Friday morning, 31st January,

from a parochial school-house in the city of Newark, N.J., she being at that time subject to Mother Xavier, who was her Superior.

B. It occurred on Thursday morning, 30th January, from a convent in Jersey City, she being at that time herself the Superior.

The two accounts differ, as will be seen, in every single particular. One of the differences is fundamental, viz. as to the place of escape. Jersey City and Newark are the two largest cities in the State of New Jersey, separate and distinct though not far-removed places. The variant of the story prepared for English consumption, with its picture of the escaping nun softly unlocking the convent doors and gates, is the one much more in keeping with the Protestant tradition; it is a tame affair to find a school-teacher, in bonnet and shawl, quietly leaving a school-house in another town, and perhaps offering "Good morning" to the priest on the doorstep. In any case Edith O'Gorman cannot have it both ways, and the school-house story was the first form of her revelation; but in the light of these two utterly different versions, sensible people will probably limit their faith in either of them.

FURTHER ADVENTURES

However, convent or school, Newark or Jersey City, Superior or not Superior, the lady is now in an extra-mural position: she is outside the walls. We have to follow her in her further adventures, and the more we follow her, the more surprises await us. If we are to assume that what she has said about Father Walsh may possibly have had some foundation, we naturally expect to find that her indignation will lead her to avoid him in every

way. Instead of that, he comes into the picture again in a *rôle* which it is hardly an exaggeration to say is that of a friend. She forgives him for the sins of the past; she asks him for money to pay her passage to Ireland; when he is in trouble he writes to her, and she goes to his aid; and beyond all this she writes a letter to the New York *Tribune* in his exculpation and defence!

But this is anticipating. When she left the convent, or school, at the end of January 1868, Edith went to confession to Bishop Wood, of Philadelphia. In the 1871 book she says that "Owing to the fact that Bishop Wood had been brought up a Quaker he treated me kindly; and he tried to persuade me to go back to the convent, or else retire into one in his diocese." Thirty years afterwards the "Escaped Nun" has become more matured in her anti-Catholic outlook, so that in the 1901 edition the Bishop's kindness has entirely disappeared, and instead he becomes a bully: "Bishop Wood did all in his power to induce me to go back to the convent; he coaxed and he threatened."

The Bishop handed her over to a Father Schnuttgen, who introduced her as an orphan, on 8th February, to a lady from Boston. The purpose of the introduction makes strange reading; it was "in order that I might give her instruction in the Catholic Decalogue, as she was about to join the Catholic Church." The term "Catholic Decalogue" is another proof of uninstructed authorship; but apart from this, the spectacle of Edith O'Gorman, a disaffected ex-religious who by her own avowals had more than once doubted about fundamental articles of faith, being chosen to instruct a would-be convert, is decidedly piquant. It is not surprising that this incident is omitted from the 1901 edition.

To the Catholic reader it is not only inconceivable that a nun who had left her convent without dispensation should be selected to impart religious instruction, but a further point will be noticed which casts additional suspicion upon this part of the narrative. Edith O'Gorman makes no mention of any question having been raised, either by Bishop Wood or Father Schnuttgen, as to her own religious status at this time. By canon law she was a fugitive religious who had broken her vows and was *ipso facto* excommunicated. There is no record that during the remaining period, when she suggests she was still a Catholic, she ever applied to be dispensed from her religious obligation; yet she speaks of continued relations with bishops and clergy, and offers of Catholic employment, as if no canonical impediment existed!

Three weeks after leaving the convent, she was taken seriously ill at her lodgings, and raved about a Father Walsh in Hudson (or Jersey) City. The landlady, a Mrs. Willt, accordingly sent for Father Walsh, who came; and we are told that, opening her eyes one day, the sick woman found him standing by her bedside. "I will do this man justice," she writes, "when I say that he never acted other than in the most tender, chaste, and respectful manner afterward, never ceasing to deplore his attempted wrong of me—and I forgave him" (page 119). This is repeated in the 1901 book, so it is clear that nothing had taken place in the interval to alter her favourable judgement. How, then, does Edith O'Gorman justify a disgusting letter which, in an added chapter to the latter edition, she says she sent to Father Walsh on 20th August 1887, after an accidental meeting? It is in the best Protestant style, full of violent language

and reproaches. The priest is told that he is "growing fat in idleness. . . . You are now a perfect type of a Popish priest, whose mind for twenty-four years, through the cesspool of the confessional," etc. etc. (1901 edition, page 191). What did she know of his mind during these years? She had not seen him; she believed he might be dead. It is for her to square this venomous outburst with her previous utterances, to reconcile these words of hatred and denunciation with her forgiveness of a man who had become "tender, chaste, and respectful" towards her.

To return to the story. The next event of interest in 1868 is Edith O'Gorman's trip across the Atlantic and back. As we have seen, the money for this was supplied by Father Walsh, who arranged for the passage and whose housekeeper bought the ticket. Before leaving, she visited her parents and concealed from them everything connected with her alleged wrongs and her escape. Her inventive genius supplied an explanation for the position: she was about to try a more austere convent in Ireland! On arriving at Liverpool, however, and after she had applied to two Catholic bishops, Bishop Goss and Bishop Porter, she seems to have contemplated the necessity of having to live, at any rate for a time, in one of the convents of that city; from this fate she was saved by the generosity of a Presbyterian steward on the boat, who supplied her with a ticket by which she returned to America.

THE LETTER IN THE *TRIBUNE*

Shortly after her return, she was made aware of a prosecution of Father Walsh at the instance of her sister Gertrude; the latter "was not a Christian."

Gertrude laid an information against the priest, we are told, in Edith's name and without her authority, and he was arrested. Father Walsh at once wrote a letter to Edith: "Come, dear sister," he says, "and tell me what you want me to do" (p. 138). In the 1901 edition (p. 125) there is no scruple about altering this to "Come, dear love," etc. She went with the bearer of the letter, had a few straight and direct words with Gertrude on the subject, and declined to have anything to do with the case, which seems to have been settled by the payment of a sum of money to the lawyers—probably for costs, as the matter was never brought to trial.

These proceedings, to Edith O'Gorman's annoyance, got into the Press. She remained in friendly relations with Catholic priests, among them with Father Walsh, as the following extract shows:—

"They all returned together to the house, and Father Walsh showed me a mutilated and very inaccurate report of the case which had got into the newspaper. In self-defence, and for the sake of common truth, honesty, and justice to all concerned, I was compelled to write a letter, pointing out the false and scandalous character of many of the allegations which had found their way into the *Tribune*, sent it to the editor of that journal by the Rev. Father Sheehan, and it appeared on the morning of September 25th, 1868."

This is from the English edition of 1901. The text of the letter which appeared in the *Tribune* is not given—nor do we wonder, for it is a letter in which the "Escaped Nun" practically knocks the bottom out of her own case! The surprising thing is that she ever printed it in her book at all. We give it in full from the American edition of 1871 (p. 145), the italics being ours.

THE CASE OF THE REV. MR WALSH, LATE OF
HUDSON CITY

To the Editor of the *Tribune*.

SIR,—In a Boston dispatch headed “Remarkable Suit in a Boston Court,” you say that the Rev. Mr. Walsh has been suspended from priesthood on charge of seducing Miss Edith O’Gorman, otherwise Sister Teresa de Chantal, while she was an inmate of the convent of Notre Dame, Hudson City, N.J. I, the alleged victim, Edith O’Gorman, formerly Sister de Chantal, am prepared to swear that every charge in said article is untrue from beginning to end. It is a foul calumny that I have ever been seduced in my life by anybody. It is also untrue that the Rev. Mr. Walsh was my spiritual adviser. It is untrue that he ever followed me to Philadelphia except by, as I then thought, my dying request.¹ It is false that he ever sent me to Liverpool except by my own earnest request. I left the convent unknown to my superior, and all whom I esteemed in this world. I went to Ireland of my own account. I have no sister married, and hence “Gertrude O’Brien,” mentioned in your article, cannot be my sister. I have a sister named Mary Gertrude O’Gorman, living at No. 48 Essex Street, Boston, who has brought a great deal of misery upon me. I have never written to Messrs. George C. Starkweather & Sheldon, on any business whatever. Whoever has given such scandal to my character must hold himself responsible for his conduct. I have never enticed the Rev. Mr. Walsh to Boston. This awful charge might never have come to my notice except through the goodness of a friend. No matter how opposed I am to appear in public print, *I consider it a duty I owe to myself, to the holy community to which I belonged, and to the Rev. Mr. Walsh, who has been injured on my account, to send you the above statement*, and I beg that this contradiction will be copied by all the papers that have circulated the grievous scandal.

EDITH O’GORMAN,
alias SISTER TERESA DE CHANTAL.

There is little need to comment upon this letter ; it speaks for itself. In effect it is a refutation, from her own hand, of the grave charges contained in Edith O’Gorman’s book. It was not extorted under

¹ This would seem to show that it was she herself, and not her landlady, who sent for him.

pressure : had this been so, there was plenty of time between 1868 and 1901 to correct the impression, whereas we see that at the latter date she still accepts responsibility for the letter, although its text is withheld. All the convent cruelties and other horrors go by the board in a sweeping tribute to "the holy community to which I belonged." Her memory of Father Walsh's conduct—"the unutterable injury this man tried to inflict on me, and the cruel persecution and heart-wrung sorrow he has occasioned me" (p. 93)—gives place to a recollection of "the Rev. Mr. Walsh, who has been injured on my account."

ATHEIST, THEN PROTESTANT

For the best part of another year Edith O'Gorman, still ostensibly a Catholic, seems to have gone from one priest or bishop to another, so long as there was a chance of getting help from any of them. At the end of September 1868, "My money nearly all gone, I wrote to Father M'Gahann." She tried to poison herself in Jersey City by taking laudanum. A priest there sent her to a Mrs. Ford, a poor widow, who "in my sickness was very kind to me." From there she was taken—"abducted" is her name for it—to a Good Shepherd convent. The fact that a Mrs. Rooney, of Hudson City, who was visiting her at the time, went with her to the convent, is conveniently omitted from the later edition of her book. Another example of the way in which the anti-Catholic screw gets an extra turn is with regard to the conduct of the Superior. The 1871 book says: "When the superioress heard of this [*i.e.* that Edith was being treated the same as the ordinary penitents] she took me to her own room and treated me with great

kindness until I recovered." The 1901 version is : "What my fate would have been I dare not think—if God in His mercy had not touched the heart of the Lady Superior."

The Lady Superior's purse, as well as her heart, was touched, and Edith O'Gorman left the Good Shepherd home with a gift of ten dollars. We next find her calling on the Rev. Dr. H. Mattison, who was "the first Protestant minister with whom I had ever conversed." Dr. Mattison wanted her to give up the Catholic religion : "I told him if there was no truth in the Catholic Church there was not any truth, neither was there a God." She seems herself to have accepted this double negative : "At the time I saw Dr. Mattison I did not believe there was a God or eternity." The English edition is deprived of both these statements of her belief at this time.

Disbelief in God or eternity did not, however, stay her footsteps towards the presbyteries. She applied to Archbishop Spalding, "whom I had always heard extolled as a model of Christian charity." The 1901 book transfers this eulogy to Bishop Wood ; anyway, Archbishop Spalding would only offer her a teaching place in a convent, which she indignantly refused, so he talked to her like the villain in a melodrama, and she came away.

This was the last straw. Before very long she has reconstructed a religious position in the opposite camp. "The day of the Lord dawned for me on the 29th of August 1869," — henceforth Edith O'Gorman professes herself a Protestant. But she cannot allow her English admirers to suppose that Rome gave her up without a struggle. A Jesuit priest, "a great controversialist," was sent for to persuade her to remain in the Church ; he was with her until ten o'clock at night, but in vain. This

interesting episode does not appear in the American edition of 1871, at a time and in a place that would have made it easy to check the statement.

A "COOKED" NEWS-CUTTING

Here, for all practical purposes, the examination of *Convent Life Unveiled* may end. Edith O'Gorman's subsequent career in the rôle of a Protestant lecturer is outside the scope of this inquiry,¹ which is only concerned with the credibility of her book in regard to her life and adventures in the Catholic Church. But before summing up, it will not be out of place to quote one more instance of the way in which she has not hesitated to alter the text of other people's writings, letters, and documents, when it has seemed politic to leave something out or to put something else in. We have seen how this has been done with her brother's letter and also in the case of a letter from Father Walsh; we are now to find a more glaring instance—the wholesale alteration of a newspaper report, and the printing of the altered version within quotation marks as a faithful transcript of the original!

It appears that the New York *Sun* of 25th April 1870 published a statement to the effect that Edith O'Gorman had obtained money under false pretences from two Catholic firms in New York—Sadlier & Co. and Turgis & Co. On 27th April the *Evening Journal* had a rebutting article, headed: "Miss O'Gorman's Slanderers—Their Charges Refuted." This article is reproduced on page 205 of the 1871 edition of her book. When we turn to the 1901 edition, page 168, we find it again, quoted as from

¹ Her lectures are referred to in a postscript.

the *Evening Journal*, but this time the report has been extensively "doctored." All references to Turgis & Co. are omitted; "both houses" becomes "Sadlier & Co."; "At both places the result was" becomes "The result was"; "these two firms" becomes "the firm," and so on throughout. The Protestant editorial pencil has been at work all over the report; nevertheless it is printed with the prefatory remark that it is what "the *Evening Journal* of April 27th truthfully details." The alterations have the effect, of course, of eliminating all knowledge that the *Sun* had said anything about Turgis & Co. A similar practice of emendation has prevailed with a letter alleged to be quoted from the *Journal* of Jersey City for 21st April 1879¹; the text has been altered in the later edition, though the alterations are not important. But if the reader cannot even trust the accuracy of quotations from newspapers and letters,—if, as we have seen, these are deliberately altered to suit Edith O'Gorman's ends—is she likely to be more scrupulous when it is a case of her own unsupported statement?

CONCLUSION

It may be claimed, therefore, that this work of comparing the Edith O'Gorman of 1871 with the revised Edith O'Gorman of 1901 has shown conclusively that the woman is not to be relied upon in regard to a single important particular of her story. The things in it which constitute really grave charges, viz. as to the cruelties perpetrated in the convent and the priest's attempted outrage, are in the first place unsupported by any shred of evidence, but depend entirely on her own statements, and in

¹ A misprint for 1870.

the second place are discounted by the letter which she wrote to the *New York Tribune* in September 1868. Any human affection which, in a weak moment, Father Walsh may have entertained for her, was by her own admissions bestowed also by herself upon him. If she bids us remember that it was an anointed priest who made ardent profession of love to her, let it be remembered also that it was a Sister under vows who told Mother Xavier that "Father Walsh loved me and I loved him."

As to the episode by which she became an "escaped nun," what are we to think of it? Two separate accounts with no single point of agreement, differing as to the date on which it took place, the institution from which it took place, and even the city in which it took place! Alterations in her own story, time after time, are supplemented by altering letters and newspaper reports. Inferences in one place are contradicted by the facts of other places; nothing is reliable. Months after she has fled from the terrors of a pursuing affection, she is accepting aid from, and writing in defence of, her pursuer! Years after she has been sickened at the sight of writhing children under the cruel lash, she offers testimony to "the holy community to which I belonged"! The whole book is a mass of suspicion and a monument of inconsistency, and Edith O'Gorman herself gives the lie to the wild charges of the "Escaped Nun"!

POSTSCRIPT

Although, as has been said, the foregoing pages make no attempt to deal with Edith O'Gorman as lecturer, it should be mentioned that her statements on the platform, especially in the lectures which she gives "for ladies only," are as extravagant and as unsupported as those in her writings, with the added attraction, for a certain type of mind, of being a good deal nastier. Thanks are due to those Catholic ladies who have been willing, when asked to do so, to face the ordeal of listening to some of these addresses in order to obtain evidence of the kind of thing that is said at them. Judging from copious notes of the lectures which have been supplied in this way, it is clear that people who believe what Edith O'Gorman tells them from the platform about the priesthood and the confessional are prepared to believe anything. Her lectures to mixed audiences repeat the general outlines of her book, with some venomous additions in the way of anti-Catholic tirade; but in the addresses confined to her own sex she indulges more openly in foul innuendo and knows how to tickle the palate to which such things are agreeable.

It is a matter for satisfaction that the class of people who are nowadays found associated with Edith O'Gorman and her campaign represent a dwindling Protestant interest both as to quality and quantity; in particular it may be remarked that it is comparatively rare to find a clergyman lending his presence to her crusade. Nevertheless, the survival of the grosser forms of anti-Catholic prejudice among persons and bodies otherwise respectable is seen in the action of papers like the

Christian Herald, and in the fact that in recent years this woman has been able to lecture under local auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association and the British Women's Temperance Association; it is due to the latter body, however, to state that a Catholic protest to headquarters produced an immediate disavowal of any sympathy with the meeting, and complete dissociation from the action of the local branch. The presence and support of two Army officers at another of Edith O'Gorman's lectures resulted in representations to the War Office; but the offenders were no longer on the active list, and the Army Council could therefore only express its regret at being unable to take action.

From all this it will be seen that the "Escaped Nun's" meetings are not exactly occasions for the uplifting of the people; and it is a pathetic illustration of the condition to which folk are reduced by fiction that Edith O'Gorman should be set up again in her old age to repeat her bigotry to the rapidly diminishing Protestants of the country. For them, as well as for Catholics who are confronted with her calumnies, this examination of her narrative has been undertaken.

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Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.

THE RECORD OF AN IMPOSTOR

BEING THE STORY OF
THEODORE VON HUSEN

BY
A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE



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THE RECORD OF AN IMPOSTOR

BEING THE STORY OF
THEODORE VON HUSEN

BY A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE

I

ALTHOUGH the old Protestant tradition that represents the Catholic Church as the embodiment of all evil has lost so much of its power over men's minds, it would be a mistake to conclude that it has entirely disappeared. It is moribund but it is not yet dead. It still influences many, and it has not a few zealous votaries who devote no small amount of persistent energy to keeping it alive, and occasionally find means to galvanize it into a fit of spasmodic activity within a limited area.

It was once a powerful factor in English life. A little more than two centuries ago a gang of impostors with Titus Oates at their head traded on it so effectually that the whole nation was driven into a mad panic and much shedding of innocent blood. We can measure the distance we have travelled in these

matters by noting that such an exploit of mendacity would now be impossible. But we have still in England two or three organized groups of the adherents of this old tradition of hatred for all that is Catholic, and these men are always ready to find an audience for retailers of strange and wondrous stories against their Catholic fellow-Christians. If they had lived in the seventeenth century they would doubtless have been ready to arrange a lecturing tour for Dr. Titus Oates and to print his stories of what he heard and saw when he was at St. Omers and Valladolid.

One does not regard them as typical Protestants. There are to be found everywhere Protestants whose fairness of mind and spirit of Christian charity is in striking contrast with the narrow bigotry of this type. The champions of an evil tradition represent a small and dwindling minority of our Protestant fellow-countrymen—a minority not yet emancipated from the miserable bigotry of past days when Catholics were denied the rights of citizens and Catholic priests the mere right to live. These men are haunted by old nightmares of plotting Jesuits and convent dungeons. They are so ready to believe any evil of their Catholic fellow-Christians that they have lost the power of distinguishing fact from fiction. They are blind to all that is good in the Catholic Church. They have eyes only for those isolated scandals which, as our Lord said, must come so long as human nature is what it is. They are so eager for scandal that they accept lies as well as truths. They are like Bunyan's "man with the muck-rake" who was "bowed down" so that he

could not see the stars, but only the garbage he was raking together.

And they have a strange appetite for garbage, and an unbounded credulity in those who profess to be renegades from the Catholic camp, ready to enlighten audiences of "women only" or "men only" on the "horrors of convent life" and the "immorality of the confessional." Credulity is the badge of all the tribe. One after another the kind of people they bring forward on their platforms as brands snatched from Rome, and anxious to recite weird stories of her ways, are shown to be arrant impostors or strange jugglers with truth and fiction. But they never seem to learn the lesson of caution. Even if one of these "No Popery" organizations discreetly drops a discredited lecturer or pamphleteer, the chances are that another will be found ready to act as his or her patron. Sometimes the exposure is so damaging that the "escaped nun" or the "converted monk" disappears for a while from the platform. But as often as not there is a reappearance in the same character when the lapse of a few years suggests that perhaps the exposure is forgotten.

While the "No Popery" lecturer is carrying on the campaign it is part of the work of Catholic defence to examine the statements made and appraise them at their true value in the light of facts. The Catholic Truth Society has in this way collected the *dossiers* of several of these propagandists of anti-Catholic calumny. Their stories have a curious vitality. To take one instance among many, Maria Monk's thrice-refuted tale of foul and impossible horrors is still used as a weapon against the Church by some of

the baser sort of anti-Catholic propagandists, some of whom, it would appear, are actuated by financial rather than by religious interest. It is therefore necessary in the interests of truth to put on public record the refutation of even the wildest stories of the anti-Catholic lecturer while the facts are still recent and can be easily verified by living witnesses.

This is why one more has to be added to the series of refutations of the stories told by "escaped nuns" and "converted monks." It is that of a lecturer who posed as an "ex-priest and monk." His first appearance in public of which we have any report was in the summer of 1912. His campaign lasted till the autumn of the present year (1913). He has now been relegated to enforced retirement by a sentence of imprisonment, but he may perhaps be brought into action again by supporters even more credulous than his earlier patrons.¹

¹ The credulity of the people who are ready to welcome these anti-Catholic calumnies is unbounded. Exploded fictions are brought to the front again and again in utter disregard of the most complete disproof of them. Thus Maria Monk's foul libel on the nuns of Montreal is still circulated, though shortly after its first publication it was investigated and rejected as an absolute fiction by a committee of Protestant citizens at Montreal. Nevertheless, I myself have been asked at an anti-Catholic meeting, "If it is untrue, why was it never refuted?" W. T. Jefferys' *Narrative of Six Years' Captivity* at the Cistercian Monastery in Charnwood Forest, published in 1849, was in that same year investigated by a Protestant Committee including the publishers of the story, and they were convinced of its falseness and published an apology and retraction. Jefferys admitted it was a fabrication, and was sent to prison for three months as a "rogue and a vagabond" on his own confession of the fraud (Handsworth Petty Sessions, June 30, 1849). One would think that this would have killed this budget of lies for ever. Nothing of the kind. It has just (1913) been republished in the *Vanguard*, a monthly magazine that describes itself as "Scriptural, Christian, and Protestant," and is edited by "Pastor W. H. Rawlings." It is hard to find words in which to characterize this traffic in exploded lies. A full account of the Jefferys fraud, its exposure and its impudent revival, will be found in an article by Mr. Britten in *The Month* for October 1913.

It is interesting to note that in this case it was the organization of the Catholic Truth Society for dealing with such attacks that enabled the investigation of the impostor's statements to be carried to a successful issue.

II

It will be simplest to follow the order of time in setting forth the record of this latest of false witnesses against the Catholic Church.

In June and July 1912 Mr. Kensit's Wickcliffe Preachers were carrying on a campaign against "Ritualism and Romanism" at Teddington. The "bright particular star" of the platform on this occasion was one Theodore von Husen, who was introduced as an "ex-priest." At the meetings held in the open air, Mr. von Husen (or "Father von Husen," as he was sometimes called), according to the report published in the *Surrey Comet*, "made a vigorous attack on Romanism in general, and the confessional in particular." He also addressed a meeting of "men only" in a local schoolroom on Monday, July 15. His subject was "The Confessional and Convent Life."

The *Surrey Comet* (July 20, 1912), in a brief report, says that "Mr. H. A. Baker of Hounslow, who has charge of the Kensit Crusade in this district, was in the chair, and there were from sixty to seventy men present. Some startling statements were made by the speaker."

From a report of the proceedings at the monthly meeting of the local Council of School Managers

published in the same issue of the *Surrey Comet*, it would seem that—to put it mildly—Mr. Theodore von Husen's supporters were hardly straightforward in their application for the use of the school. In reply to an inquiry of the Clerk to the Council, a Mr. Perry, who applied for the use of the room, wrote that the lecture would be on "Ritualistic practices in the Church of England." In a resolution adopted by the Council, regret was expressed that there was a deviation from the object of the lecture as stated in Mr. Perry's application.

At the open-air meeting held on Sunday, June 30, Mr. von Husen's statements were challenged by a Catholic, Mr. Magner. Once more let the *Surrey Comet* tell us what happened:—

"He was challenged by Mr. T. Magner to give proof that he had, as he asserted, ever been connected as a priest with Cologne Cathedral and the Brompton Oratory, and celebrated Mass. Mr. von Husen, who had given a fairly detailed history of his career during his speech, declined to furnish Mr. Magner with any further particulars, referring him to Cardinal Bourne, who, he said, knew his whole history. If, he added, Mr. Magner would get the information sought from that source, he would meet him at that spot a fortnight hence, and discuss the matter with him."

This seemed all fair and above-board, and no doubt Mr. von Husen's appeal to the Cardinal duly impressed his audience.

During the fortnight that followed, Mr. Magner made his inquiries various; and at the meeting held at Sunbury on Sunday, July 14, according to

the report published in the *Surrey Comet* (July 20, 1912)—

“Mr. Magner produced letters, and read them, from the authorities of Brompton Oratory and of Cologne Cathedral, the purport of both being that Mr. von Husen was unknown to them; but the writer from the Oratory, South Kensington, added that if Mr. von Husen said ‘he had offered the Holy Sacrifice in our church, that may, or may not, be true, seeing that all the year round we have as many as twenty Masses a week, said by priests travelling through London, and therefore it is just possible he may have been one of these priests.’”

An important omission in the report was supplied by a letter from Mr. Britten (which appeared in the *Surrey Comet* of July 27). Mr. von Husen had said he was well known to Cardinal Bourne. Mr. Britten forwarded a copy of a letter from the Cardinal’s secretary, which had been produced at the Teddington meeting, and which ran as follows :—

“ARCHBISHOP’S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
“*July 10th, 1912.*

“DEAR MR. BRITTEN,—Here nothing is known of von Husen. The first we heard of him was from a cutting identical with that I return.—Yours sincerely,
A. JACKMAN.”

To return to the meeting of July 14, 1912. Mr. Magner having thus taken up Mr. von Husen’s appeal to Cardinal Bourne, and produced such complete evidence against him from Archbishop’s House,

Westminster, Cologne Cathedral, and the Oratory, declined to discuss the matter further. Mr. von Husen reiterated his original statements, and told his audience that priests would deny anything. This seems to have satisfied his hearers.

But Mr. Magner now made through the columns of the *Surrey Comet* a proposal that Mr. von Husen should produce—if he could—proof that he had been a Catholic priest, submitting his documents and statements to a jury of six Protestants and six Catholics presided over by a Church of England clergyman. Mr. Magner said he was ready to abide by the judgement of such a committee.

This challenge Mr. von Husen refused to accept. He wrote to the *Surrey Comet* a letter dated August 5, which appeared in its issue of August 7, 1912. In this letter he once more asserted that he was a duly ordained Catholic priest, and gave the dates of his ordinations: these will form the subject of investigation later on. This closed the Teddington episode.

III

In his letter of August 5, Mr. von Husen made a number of statements as to his career. Instead of discussing these it will simplify matters if we take the much fuller autobiography which he gave in a lecture before a meeting of the Women's Protestant Union at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, on November 20, 1912, which was advertised in the *Protestant Woman* for that month as preceded by "a prayer-meeting presided over by

the Lady Agnes Anderson." The lecture is reported in the issue of the *Protestant Woman* for February 1913, pp. 35-36, under the heading, "The Story of a Jesuit's Conversion."

In this the following are points worth noting. Mr. von Husen said :

"My father fell in the Franco-German war, and my mother, broken-hearted at the loss of her husband, consented at last to give me, when only four and a half years old, into the hands of her brother, who was a Franciscan father at the monastery in Steil."

He then proceeded to tell of his education at Steil (Steyl in Holland). He told how the monks would lie prostrate in prayer before "little idols of the Virgin Mary." This prostrate prayer was at times continued "from five o'clock in the morning until five o'clock at night"—a very likely story about a Franciscan friary! There was an indulgence of a hundred days for kissing the statue of our Lady. "I was a boy, and boys will play tricks, but for a kiss to Mary all sins were forgiven," said Mr. von Husen. Then he continued :

"At the age of sixteen I took the vow as a monk, and finished my studies at the University of Bonn. Bonn is mostly a Roman Catholic University. Some time later I was ordained as a priest. Now, every priest has to go through three ordinations. The first was bestowed by Bishop Smith, the second by the late Cardinal Paul Melchers, and the third priestly ordination by Archbishop Dr. Kremenetz."

No dates are given, but we have them in his letter of August 5, 1912, which we shall examine later.

But before critically examining his story let us give the rest of it. He goes on to say :

“I was sent from Cologne Cathedral back to the monastery to lead a quiet life for six weeks ; then I returned to pursue my studies. I made up my mind I would take part in the work of winning back old England to the power of Rome. In every town or village we knew exactly where a Ritualistic priest was to be found. I was sent to England at the time of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee, and as we passed St. Paul’s Cathedral we said, ‘Another twenty years, at the most fifty years, and this cathedral will be a Roman Catholic cathedral.’ I remained for a week at the Oratory, then I was sent to various little places for further training.”

Queen Victoria had two Jubilees, in 1887 and 1897. From what follows it is clear that the Jubilee here, referred to must have been that celebrated in June 1887. In June 1887, therefore, Mr. von Husen was by his own account a zealous Catholic indulging in dreams of the early conversion of England. He continues :

“At the age of nineteen and a half I was sent back to Cologne, where I was to receive instruction for diplomatic purposes. The things which I had seen in the meantime, and the mode of life in the monastery where I was, made me disgusted with monastery life.”

And now came his “conversion.” He says he was always fond of children, and one day he had a talk with a little boy, who said to him, “Well, sir, I do love Jesus.”

“‘What, you love Jesus?’ I said. ‘You must

love the Holy Mother of God and the holy saints.' He said, 'I know nothing about them, but I do love Jesus Christ.' 'Are you not a Roman Catholic?' I asked. He pointed away behind the High Street to where there is an Episcopal Church of the Methodists. There this boy had been taught to love Christ. What I felt God knows. I knew nothing about Jesus. No man dares to come to Christ."

After this wild story of a Catholic priest and a Franciscan friar hearing for the first time of the love of Christ from a Protestant boy, Mr. von Husen tells how he had further meetings with him :

"He told me how he prayed for me that I might love Jesus too. One day I arranged to meet him after dusk. I had permission to go to the theatre that night. Instead of going I met the boy, and for the first time heard how he had received Jesus into his heart."

Note, by the way, the absurdity of a Franciscan getting out of his monastery for the evening on the pretext of going to the theatre ! Mr. von Husen continues :

"That was a beautiful hour for me. When I got to my room I went down on my knees and asked God, if the Church of Rome was a Church of lies, that He would lead me to the fountain of truth. For some time I went on halting between two opinions. Then I started reading the great writers to try and find out God. For two years I was a complete infidel."

He went away from Cologne for a while. On

his return he met his boy friend at the railway station :

“He was by my side at once, and told me again that he loved Jesus. That evening, for the first time for two years, I opened the Bible and read : ‘The blood of Jesus Christ, God’s Son, cleanseth us from all sin.’ I drank it in that night. By this time I had private rooms, so that I had a little more freedom. My brown clothes were covered now by the long black Franciscan cloak.¹ I had a nice little back room and a big front room, just behind the Protestant Church. At the top there was a little round window, through which one could see right down into the church. One evening I saw a little group of young and old people gathering round an organ, and then came in a middle-aged gentleman. They shook hands in such a friendly way together, that it really braced me up. Then they knelt down, and afterwards they sang that beautiful hymn, ‘There is a Fountain filled with blood.’ The words sank deep into my heart. Later on they sang the hymn, ‘Beneath the Cross of Jesus.’ During the singing of that hymn my soul was saved. I shut that window and I wept, wept bitterly, as I asked God to open my eyes. After that I was eager to read the Bible. Yet all the while I was preparing to become a fully-fledged Jesuit. It was just a fortnight before Easter Sunday when God changed my heart, and I received Jesus Christ as my personal Saviour. I began to pray

¹ Franciscans do not wear black cloaks. This is a sample of the blunders on matters of everyday detail that this clumsy impostor was continually making.

that He might, in His grace, give me an opportunity to break away from Rome. I told my uncle, and he gave me such a thrashing that for a week I could not move my arms, but I prayed that I might have grace to overcome.

"I prayed continually that I might not disgrace His Name. On Easter morn in 1888 I received power to tear off the vestments of Popery from my body, and after two years of travel I officially left the Church of Rome."

IV

Now let us examine this remarkable story by the simple test of chronology. We have seen that by his own statement Mr. von Husen was a zealous Catholic at the date of Queen Victoria's Jubilee of June 1887. On "Easter morn 1888"—*i.e.* Sunday, April 1, 1888—he "threw off the vestments of Popery." The change from the zealous Catholic to the convinced Protestant was therefore a period of about nine months.

But after his visit to London for the Queen's Jubilee he had gone for further training to "various little places." Then he returned to Cologne "to receive instruction for diplomatic purposes." There he met his boy teacher. After some time he became, not a Protestant, but an infidel "for two years"—all this time apparently pretending to be a good Franciscan. Then he went away again from Cologne, and on his return came once more under the influence of the Protestant boy; that evening "for the first time for two years" he opened the

Bible again, and after further experiences he threw off the vestments of Rome at Easter 1888.

Now all this cannot by any imaginable process be fitted into those nine months between June 1887 and April 1, 1888. The alleged two years of infidelity and abstinence from Bible reading are alone enough to show this; and this also is enough of itself to settle the question of Mr. von Husen's credibility.

But if we carry our tests a little further we shall have still more startling results. We have seen that in his lecture at Denison House Mr. von Husen said :

“ My father fell in the Franco-German war, and my mother, broken-hearted at the loss of her husband, consented at last to give me, *when only four and a half years old*, into the hands of her brother, who was a Franciscan father at the monastery in Steil.”

The Franco-German war began on July 19, 1870, and ended with the armistice signed on January 28, 1871. We are not told how long the widow hesitated before sending her son to Steyl. Let us take it that it was in 1871. If there were longer delay, the argument is all the worse for Mr. von Husen.

Well, then, in 1871 Theodore von Husen was four and a half years of age. But in his letter to the *Surrey Comet* published in its issue of August 7, 1912, he gave the following dates of his alleged ordinations :

Subdeacon	.	.	2nd February 1880
Deacon	.	.	9th March 1882
Priest	.	.	1884

(Month and day not stated in this last instance.)

It follows that, giving him the fullest age possible, he was ordained subdeacon just nine years after going to Steil as a child of four and a half, and his ordination ages would be :

Subdeacon	.	.	1880,	age about	13½
Deacon	.	.	1882,	„	15½
Priest	.	.	1884,	„	17½

Let us note that a man cannot receive subdeacon's orders till he is twenty-one or be ordained a priest till he is twenty-three at the very earliest. But apart from these canonical regulations, does any sane man believe a story of a schoolboy of thirteen and a half being ordained subdeacon in any Church in Christendom?

Mr. von Husen obviously has not a good head for figures. When, in the same lecture, he talked of being an infidel for two years during the process of his "conversion," and stated that this period began after June 1887 and closed before April 1888, he did not realize that he was stating an outrageous impossibility. So when, after Mr. Magner had denounced him as an impostor at Teddington, he tried to bolster up his case by stating the alleged dates of his ordinations, he did not see that he was giving away his whole case by claiming to have been ordained in his schoolboy years.

V

But there is still further evidence—further evidence from the wretched man's own mouth. Before passing on to produce it, it is interesting to note

that his credit with his supporters was still so good that on January 20, 1913, he was one of the speakers at a meeting held at Hampstead Town Hall to inaugurate a new society for promoting the inspection of convents.¹

In the circular convening the meeting it was announced that the chair would be taken by the Rev. Prebendary Webb Peploe, M.A., and that the speakers would be Principal Garvie, M.A., D.D., Mrs. A. H. Cook, and Mr. von Husen. The speech of Mr. von Husen was so highly flavoured that it was too much even for the advocates of convent inspection. They apologized for it to two Catholics who were present, and all reference to it was suppressed in the published report of the meeting. But notes of it taken at the time are in my possession. It was a tissue of indecencies and absurdities—one of the latter being that the Inquisition held a session every Friday afternoon in the crypt of Westminster Cathedral!

Less than three weeks after he made this exhibition of himself there came a disastrous evening for Mr. von Husen.

On Ash Wednesday, February 5, 1913, he lectured at Dunmow Hall, Barnes, S.W., the subject announced being, "Why I left the Church of Rome." He was no longer under the patronage of Mr. Kensit, but had been taken up by the "East London Protestant Association," of which the leading spirit is the notorious "ex-monk Widdows."

¹ An account of the proposed movement will be found in *Convent Inspection*—an "open letter" addressed by Mr. Britten to Miss M. E. Spaul, the convener of the meeting (C.T.S., 1d.).

I attended the Barnes meeting at the request of the Catholic Truth Society. Mr. Widdows took the chair, and introduced the lecturer as "Father von Husen," an ex-priest. In his address he repeated much the same story as he had told on previous occasions. It would be too long to enumerate all the absurdities which he gave his audience as incidents of his alleged experiences as a Catholic. One or two samples may be given. He spoke of himself vaguely as a "Franciscan" and a "Jesuit." Asked how he could describe himself as a Jesuit, when, by his own account, from the age of four and a half he was with the Franciscans first as a pupil and then as a member of the order, he explained that he was "a Franciscan in training to be a Jesuit"! He told how he was taken by his guardian and uncle, a Franciscan father, from Steyl to Rome in 1875 (when he would be about eight and a half years old). He said that in Rome he received his first Communion from the hands of Pope Pius IX., who dedicated him to Our Lady of Lourdes and put a surplice on him. "So," he went on, "I became, I might say, a boy-priest with power to perform certain priestly duties, like the famous boy-priest, the Franciscan St. Aloysius." To the obvious objection that there were no such things as boy-priests, and that, by the way, St. Aloysius was never a priest, and was a Jesuit and not a Franciscan, Mr. von Husen replied by saying that St. Aloysius *was* a Franciscan and a priest, "and that was why in his pictures he was represented wearing the surplice, which he wore day and night." It is not easy to argue with a man who gravely talks this kind of nonsense, and such

absurdities are only mentioned here as indicating that the man was never even a Catholic.

The purpose for which I attended the lecture was to expose Von Husen's claim to have been a priest. When he came to tell of his alleged ordination, I handed him and the chairman a brief memorandum showing that according to statements made on previous occasions by Mr. von Husen he must have been ordained subdeacon at the age of thirteen and a half and priest at seventeen and a half, though the lowest age for the former ordination was twenty-one and for the latter twenty-three. He was asked to explain. He said with some warmth, "I never said I was a subdeacon at thirteen and a half." The chairman then interposed, and pointed out to him that it was not alleged he had said so in so many words, but that this was a deduction from the statement as to his age when he went to Steyl, given in his lecture reported in the *Protestant Woman*, and the dates of his ordinations he had given in his letter to the *Surrey Comet*. After a puzzled stare at the paper in his hand, Mr. von Husen explained that the Pope had given him a dispensation by which he could add three years to his age for ordination. I then pointed out that even if this were true, it would not help him, as when he was ordained priest, by his own account he was several years short even of the age for the subdiaconate.

The chairman then suggested that this point should be left aside for the present, and that the lecturer should go on to the real subject of the lecture, "Why he left the Church of Rome." Mr. von Husen then proceeded with his story, and in a few minutes had,

all involuntarily, given the most decisive proof that he was never a priest.

He told his audience that he began to doubt Catholic dogma when he saw the evil lives of some of the priests. "I asked myself," he said, "if it was possible that such men could hold a piece of bread in their hands and make it the Body of Christ by pronouncing over it the mystic words, '*Corpus Christum meum tuum.*'"

I at once rose and said, "That man was never a priest. No priest could forget the words of consecration. They are branded into his mind. These are not the words. They are not even good Latin. They are unmeaning nonsense. Mr. Chairman, you know these are *not* the words. He was never a priest. He has settled the question."

Von Husen became very excited, protested that he was being called a liar, declared he was really a priest, and, making another wild guess, said the words were, more fully, "*Corpus Christum meum factum tuum.*"

I interposed and said, "You are making things worse and worse. I don't believe now that you even know Latin; translate that if you can," and handed him a page from a notebook with a few words of Latin written on it.¹ Von Husen crumpled up the paper and flung it on the ground, shouting out, "To hell with it! I will not translate it!"

"Because you cannot," I replied. Then, to help the Protestant audience to grasp the significance of

¹ The words were those of one of the prayers of the Mass after the Agnus Dei—*Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi*, etc.—written out before the meeting to be produced in refutation of von Husen's statement that Catholics did not pray directly to the Saviour.

what had happened, I suggested to them that if a man came there to lecture on the British army and told them he had been an officer and knew all about it, and then blundered hopelessly in repeating an every day command—spoke, for instance, of giving the order, “Arms at the shoulders!” when everyone knew it was “Shoulder arms!”—they would quite rightly say, “This man was never an officer, never even a soldier.” But Mr. von Husen’s blunder was a thousand times worse.

After this there is no need to examine the minor blunders of the lecture. Strange to say, Von Husen did not himself realize the force of his self-exposure. After the lecture he came up to me in the body of the hall, and in angry mood protested that he would not be called a liar, and that the words he had given, “*Corpus Christum meum factum tuum*,” were correct!

VI

Let us now sum up our evidence that Theodore von Husen, self-styled Father von Husen, alleged “ex-priest,” and a foul-mouthed calumniator of priests and nuns, never was a priest.

(1) He appealed for confirmation of his assertion to Cologne Cathedral and Archbishop’s House, Westminster. From both these places came the statement that nothing was known of him.

(2) He made statements as to his age and the dates of his alleged ordinations, which would mean that he was ordained subdeacon, deacon, and priest between the ages of thirteen and a half and seventeen and a half—that is, in his schoolboy years.

(3) He could not produce one scrap of documentary evidence as to his alleged ordinations.

(4) He gave as the words of consecration an unmeaning formula which was not even Latin, of which language he appears to be ignorant.

There is no need of piling up further proof, but it might be added that he showed at every turn ignorance of elementary matters of common knowledge even to lay Catholics, and contradicted himself in the most flagrant way as to dates and details. The inevitable conclusion is that the man is not only an impostor but a very ignorant, blundering, and stupid impostor at that. Yet he found believers and patrons, not only among East End Protestants but also in the respectable suburb of Hampstead.

After the exposure at Barnes his name was no longer advertised as that of a "star performer" at anti-Catholic meetings. But one of his patrons, "ex-monk Widdows," the chairman of the meeting at which Von Husen had been so clearly shown out of his own mouth to be an impostor, remained faithful to him. A letter received by the Catholic Truth Society from a Protestant correspondent in North London is our authority for saying that during the summer Von Husen preached as an "ex-priest" in the "so-called church run by ex-monk Widdows," and addressed a crowd in South Hackney Broadway, with Mr. Widdows in the chair.

VII

But now Theodore von Husen's career as a charlatan denouncer of convents and confessionals

and retailer of foul scandals against both has come to an end, at least for a while. On September 5 of the present year (1913), at the South-Western Police Court, he was committed for trial on a charge of indecent conduct at Battersea Park. On Wednesday, October 8, he was tried at the Central Criminal Court. The jury found him guilty without leaving the box, and he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

When under arrest Von Husen was very reticent as to his antecedents. It was from his wife that the officers in charge of the case first heard he claimed to have been a priest. As they collected his *dossier* they found that this was one of his many misstatements. They learned that he had been married at Dusseldorf about twenty years ago. He said he was born in Heligoland some forty years ago. As the island was British till 1890 this would throw doubt on his story that he was the son of a soldier who fell fighting for the Fatherland in the Franco-German war. He was sometimes known as Van Huisen. If his name was really Van Huisen this would fit in very well with the statement that he was from Heligoland. But he contradicts himself so much in the various narratives of his career that it is hard to be sure of anything except that he was never a priest. Probably he was never even a Catholic.

For the last two years he worked for a West End firm as a painter and decorator. His employers were puzzled at seeing that he sometimes at the end of the day's work changed into semi-clerical attire, and in reply to a question he said he sometimes went to a "religious meeting" after work. It

appears that he was for a while connected with the Salvation Army, but to the credit of the "Army" it must be said that they have no use for anti-Catholic lecturers. Then we find him associated with Mr. Kensit's Wickliffe Preachers; and finally he drifted to Mr. Widdows's organization.

His record for the present ends with the conviction at the Old Bailey—one more revelation of what is not unfrequently found to be the real character of those who pander to bigotry and other evil passions by bringing to the anti-Catholic platform their budgets of indecent calumnies against convent and confessional. I say the record ends *for the present*, because long experience has proved that such impostors only too often have the effrontery to appeal again to the same kind of audiences, and find as credulous dupes as before.

The more reputable of those who were associated with Theodore von Husen must now bitterly regret that they were so misled. But the strange thing is that even otherwise level-headed men and women seem to throw all caution to the winds and exact no credentials, no proof of good faith, from any adventurer or adventuress who volunteers to testify against the errors and misdeeds of "Romanism." They welcome such with open-eared credulity, and even the most absurd blunders on what should be matters of common knowledge do not discredit the foul-mouthed reviler of the faith of the greater part of Christendom.

Von Husen's record is one more warning against the folly and worse than folly of this reckless credulity, this readiness to believe all evil of Catholicity.

[OVER

NOTE.—The foregoing account of Theodore von Husen's career as an anti-Catholic lecturer, with the exception of the last section, was ready for the press when he was arrested and committed for trial at the beginning of September 1913. The publication was deferred on the news of the arrest. But it will be seen that the case against his pretensions was quite convincing without this final incident. The record of his conviction has been added to complete the story of his lecturing campaign and its final collapse.

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BEING

THE STORY OF WILLIAM JEFFERYS

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.,
Hon. Secretary Catholic Truth Society

"ONLY two years have I been here, and each of these two has been signalized by accusations against Catholics, the same in the disreputableness of their authors and in the enormity of their falsehood and in the brilliancy of their success, as this of Maria Monk. Two years ago it was Jeffreys,¹ last year it was Theodore. You recollect how Jeffreys acted his part, how he wept, and prayed, and harangued, and raised a whole population against an innocent company of monks, and how he was convicted of fraud and confessed his guilt, and was sent to prison; you also recollect how an impostor, called Theodore, declaimed such shocking things, and wrote such indecent pamphlets against us, that they cannot have been intended for any other purpose than to afford merriment to the haunts of profligacy and vice; yet he was followed for a time, was admitted into Protestant places of worship, and honoured as a truth-telling oracle, till at length he was plainly detected to be what from the first every one would have seen he really was, were it usual to do the same common justice to Catholics which every Protestant considers his due."

This passage, from the lecture delivered by Newman at Birmingham in 1851, under the title "True Testimony unequal to the Protestant view," and since forming part of his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics*,² had often attracted my attention, and I had wondered whether any record of the

¹ Newman prints the name thus, but the correct spelling is Jefferys.

² It should not be overlooked that the Catholic Truth Society publishes a shilling edition of this work, and that each of the lectures contained in it may be obtained for a penny.

careers thus summarized had ever been made accessible. It was not until last year that I found among the pamphlets at the Institute of St. Charles at Begbroke, one containing a full report of the investigation which resulted in the close of Jefferys's career: and the whole story seemed to me so typical an example of the kind of thing which even at the present day obtains credence among a certain section of Protestants, that I made an abstract of it for future use, should occasion demand. The *Narrative of Six Years' Captivity and Suffering*, on which the proceedings against Jefferys were based, is not in the British Museum Library, but I was fortunate in obtaining the loan of a copy from the monks of Mount St. Bernard's.

This *Narrative* is now being reprinted in monthly portions—two have already appeared, and the continuation is promised—in a monthly magazine called the *Vanguard*, which may be regarded as the most offensive of its class, not even excepting the *Protestant Alliance Magazine*. Like the last named, it is largely subsidized by the "Hope Trust" of Edinburgh, but for which support, as is not obscurely hinted by its appeals for help, it would probably long since have perished of inanition.¹ As

¹ [In the *Vanguard* for December, 1913, the Editor writes, commenting on this statement, "Mr. Britton [*sic*], one of Rome's champions in the land, and Secretary of the so-called Catholic Truth Society, has recently published all over the land the statement that the *Vanguard* could not exist, only that it is sustained by a certain Protestant society. This is absolutely false. There is neither a society, nor a person on earth that is at our back sustaining us." In answer to this *démenti*, it is sufficient to say that, according to the *Protestant Alliance Magazine* for September, p. 140, the Hope Trust circulated during 1912 "700 copies of the *Vanguard*."]]

might be expected, Baron Porcelli and Mr. A. Le Lievre are amongst its most constant contributors; the September number also includes communications from Mr. Henry Varley and Miss Elsie Sander, who believes she is "*the* only Protestant believer working absolutely by faith without salary"—a claim which, assuming it can be sustained, she is, I think, quite justified in making. The magazine, which claims to be "Scriptural," as well as "Christian and Protestant," and is certainly the last, is edited by Pastor W. H. Rawlings, who would doubtless describe himself as a Christian minister. In a notice at the head of his magazine, the Pastor invites contributions from "any servant of God entrusted with the gift of writing such articles as are in keeping with the spirit of the *Vanguard*," and the insertion of Jefferys's *Narrative* makes it sufficiently clear what that "spirit" is.

The method in which this tissue of lies—admitted to be such by its wretched fabricator—is printed by the *Vanguard* calls for remark. It appears as an original communication, and is headed "Six Years' Captivity and Suffering among the Monks of St. Bernard, Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire. By William T. Jefferys." There is nothing to differentiate its status from that of the communications of Baron Porcelli or Mr. Le Lievre; and the omission of any reference to its previous publication would lead the reader to suppose, as Pastor Rawlings doubtless intended it should, that the occurrences recorded formed an original contribution from the person whose name appears at their head. It would

be an affectation of charity to assume that the omission was accidental, as the *Narrative* must have been set up from a printed copy, and such copies bear the date 1849 on their title-page. Such omissions, moreover, are frequent in the garbage which Pastor Rawlings delights to rescue from the sewers and gutters of anti-Catholic controversy—*e.g.*, in the "Horrible Convent Revelations" of Miss Bertha Mackey (or Mackay—he has both spellings)—which are printed in the *Vanguard* for June. It may be that these "revelations"—of American origin and a concentrated variant of "Maria Monk"—proved too disgusting even for the strong stomachs of Pastor Rawlings's readers, as the promise "to be continued" has not been fulfilled.

So much for Pastor Rawlings's editorship: let us now turn to the *Narrative*, which, presenting as it does the features common to all stories of the kind, also possesses others peculiar to itself. For example, in most cases of "escape," as in one which recently obtained notoriety, the "escaped monk" had at any rate at one time been an inmate of the institution which he attacked; but Jefferys had never even been inside the community walls within which his "captivity of six years" was alleged to have taken place, his only acquaintance with the monastery being that of a visitor to the guest-house, whose hospitality he afterwards so scandalously abused.

The other noteworthy feature of the case, as gratifying as it is unique, is found in the full retraction and ample apology of those who patronized the wretched impostor, at whose instance, indeed,

he was subsequently prosecuted and sentenced. Sixty years ago there was far more excuse for ignorance than there is at present: the time was one of general anti-Catholic excitement, and religious orders were strange and unpopular; and there is no reason to suppose that Jefferys's supporters were not acting in perfectly good faith—this, indeed, is evident from their statements as well as from their subsequent action. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to extend this palliation to those who, at the present day, in face of constant exposures, not only propagate similar charges, but, when these are proved to be baseless, never utter a word of regret for having made them.

The *Narrative* is introduced by the usual references to "the bondage and tyranny of Rome" from which the writer had lately "escaped," and the usual cant as to "doing good by bringing to light the hidden things of darkness," and invoking "the blessing of God on this little publication." Then comes the account of his sufferings, again of the familiar (and impossible) type. Taken to the monastery by his father, "a rigid papist," at the age of fourteen, "the vow" was submitted to him for signature; this he refused, but his clothes were taken from him and he was "arrayed in the dress of the Order." He then went through "the ceremony of purification," which "lasted one week"; he was then examined by the priests and "led by them to the font and baptized."

"The name given to me was that of St. Cecil, by which name I was afterwards known to the Order, and a book was given me

which contained the life of my patron saint. After reading a portion of it, I thought it contained such nonsense that I lighted the fire with it early one morning."

His father had also joined the community, but he could not speak to him: "the Church of Rome destroys all natural ties, sympathies, and affections between parents and children."

After this St. Cecil—the members of the community always prefixed "St." to their names—was ordered to "attend the rite of confirmation," and was subsequently "requested to prepare for confession"; this he refused to do, nor did he ever "go to the confessional." Then things began to happen. A lay-Brother escaped in a carriage sent for him by a gentleman as the result of the visit of the latter to the monastery. Another young man attempted to escape, but

"he was pursued, and after being absent a considerable time he was at last kidnapped. When he was brought back he had his mouth muffled so that he could not speak; his arms were tied and he could offer no resistance. What became of him—what they did with him and how they disposed of him—I know not. I never saw him afterwards."

The yearly revenue of the Order at this time amounted to £32,500, of which £20,000 was given to the poor. Then come pages of the usual clap-trap: "St. Cecil" became convinced of sin and of forgiveness, and was so elated that he was "constrained to shout 'Glory' in the chapel, surrounded by those present."

"For this offence I was placed in solitary confinement, in a room where there were only two small windows. In this room I was kept for about six weeks, and had only one meal per day allowed, one of bread and water. They thought this would be

a punishment for my heretical outburst in the chapel; and so it was to the body, but it was a season of enjoyment to the soul—”

and so on. Then he “was so transported with heavenly joy” that he went on hunger-strike, and they let him out.

Then Father Augustine was taken ill, and “St. Cecil” visited him, and pointed out, *inter alia*, that he “could place no reliance on the Virgin.” The Superior ordered “the Sacrament” to be administered to him, and “the greater part of the brethren assembled in his room, each one having a lighted taper in his hand,” but Father Augustine “refused the consecrated elements.”

After infringements of the rule, and consequent punishments, “St. Cecil” was “summoned to appear before the tribunal at 12 o’clock at night.” There he found

“the Superior seated on a throne, beside him were the priests, and around him were the lay and choir brethren. All present were covered from head to foot, their faces with their cowls, and I could only see their eye-balls.”

Then he was put through an examination, after which he was cursed and “doomed to solitary confinement and one meal per day of bread and water.” Meanwhile he had formed a “secret friendship” with “St. Aloysius,” who “had a prepossessing appearance and a noble disposition”:

“he abominated Popery and he would not join in the Popish worship; neither would he go to the confessional.”

These congenial spirits resolved to “escape,” and, the porter having conveniently left the key in the

door, "St. Cecil" went out, but was "pounced upon" by the Superior, who, "with the assistance of the under-cook," drew him back and put him in solitary confinement. "St. Aloysius" was more fortunate, and although "five of the Order were sent after him," eluded pursuit. Finally "St. Cecil" got over the wall, exchanged clothes with a poor man, and went to Birmingham, where he found many friends.

Among these friends was Thomas Ragg, a printer of Birmingham, who published the *Narrative*, and Mr. S. Nayler, of Wednesbury, who induced him to do so and actually wrote the manuscript from the statements of Jefferys, who himself only supplied the preface. Their testimony to the truth of Jefferys's story, dated May, 1849, is appended to the *Narrative*: each testifies also that he "bears about on his body the marks of very severe punishment and cruelty" which he said had been inflicted on him by his own father, who was a monk in the monastery. The written testimony of "an eminent physician" that his illness was "produced by insufficiency of diet" is cited by Nayler, who sees in the *Narrative* "a testimony to the operation of the power and influence of the *word* and *spirit* of God, in a chapel too where both were dishonoured," and who concludes his letter with a "hope that this little book will find its way into our Sunday and day schools, that the children instructed therein may be taught," etc. A postscript states that

"Land has been purchased in this town for the purpose of erecting a Roman Catholic chapel thereupon: this timely ex-

posure of the practical workings of Popery will, I trust, have its intended effect upon the inhabitants by showing them what the Popish system really is that is to be introduced into this parish."

The *Narrative* was at once copied into the *Protestant Watchman*—the organ of a Protestant Association connected with the Established Church of the country—and the story promptly obtained a great circulation. The Prior, writing on June 21 to Ragg, who had already had reason to doubt the truth of the *Narrative*, says that it had

"found its way to Whitwick, within a mile and a half of the monastery, and has raised a tremendous storm among those who differ from us in religion, especially the colliers and stockingers; some of whom have threatened to burn down the Catholic school and blow up the monastery, which they now call a little hell."

It was not until events had arrived at this juncture that it occurred to Ragg that it was desirable to ascertain whether Jefferys's story was true. That it "was not and could not by any possibility" be so was pointed out to him by one Richard Cooper, who had been a choir-brother in the monastery and had left.¹ Ragg, who seems to have been perfectly sincere, at once saw that either Jefferys or Cooper was "a most impudent falsifier," and on June 19 wrote to the Prior saying that he felt "bound to use all legal means to prove which of them speaks truth," and meanwhile had withdrawn the *Narrative* from circulation. The proposed legal inquiry was strongly opposed by Nayler and by other of Jefferys's

¹ Nayler, in the course of the inquiry, referred to Cooper as having "escaped," but was induced to substitute for this that he departed "in a clandestine manner, but he could have gone out at the door with a sovereign in his pocket, but he did not wish to encounter the weeping of the brethren."

supporters, but their objections were overruled, and Jefferys was practically coerced into being present thereat. His conveyance to the monastery in company with Ragg and others aroused the indignation of

"an immense multitude who followed them to Mount St. Bernard; the Rev. Mr. Cole had to address the people three times on the road, restraining their anger and promising a full inquiry."

Of the result of the inquiry,¹ which took place on June 26, the summary given by Nayler and Ragg in the public apology, of which four thousand copies were circulated at their expense, is sufficient for the purposes of this paper; but a few of the incidents attendant on the investigation may be worth quoting. At the very beginning of the proceedings, Jefferys rose and said, "I declare before Almighty God and this assembly every word in that book [the *Narrative*] to be fact." The account by the guest-master of his visit should be read in full; his entry of his name in the visitors' book as "Francis Augustus Arkwright" led to the identification of his writing with that of the preface to the *Narrative*. It is noteworthy that in his private book Br. Alexis wrote after "Arkwright's" name "a finished impostor," and that a fellow-guest "was so apprehensive of him that [he] secured [his] bedroom door." The failure of the

¹ This was published as a twopenny pamphlet by Mr. Maher, 8 Congreve Street, Liverpool, with a title, too long to transcribe, beginning "A Full Report of the most extraordinary investigation." The copy before me is not dated, but is of the sixth edition. A very telling refutation of Jefferys's charges, more comprehensive in detail than the report of the inquiry, was issued by the Prior as a four-page leaflet dated June 21st.

unhappy man's attempt to identify the Brothers by name and the various rooms of the monastery is what might be expected from one who had never been in the building: the room he identified as the place of his solitary confinement had "one window in place of two and that without any fastening, and a thin door without either lock or key"; his bedroom he did not even attempt to identify. Every statement which he made was examined and proved, to the satisfaction of the most hostile of the commission, to be without a shadow of foundation.

The conclusion of the proceedings was at once so dramatic and so touching that I must quote it in full: Nayler, having said, "He is without exception the most consummate impostor that ever lived," turned to Jefferys and added:

"I now ask you, once and for all, to kneel down and humbly acknowledge your guilt, and ask pardon of the Rev. Father.

"THE REV. FATHER [Abbot]: I will forgive him, and if ever he comes in distress we will relieve him.

"THE REV. MR. COLE: You have carried yourself through this investigation with a hardness of heart unparalleled, and now you feel a reluctance to bend that body of yours, which, if God was just towards you, might be given up to perdition.

"MR. NAYLER: I now again ask you, in the name of all that is sacred, to kneel down for my sake, who have been a good friend to you, and humble yourself.

"Jefferys at last, bursting into tears, threw himself at the feet of the Rev. Father, who, with tears rolling down his cheeks, and with an air of benignity, said aloud, 'May the Lord God of Heaven and earth forgive you: from the bottom of our hearts we forgive you.'

"JEFFERYS then said, while leaning his head on the Rev. Father's hand, 'It is all false,' or words to that effect."

The affair, however, had not yet ended. A vast concourse of people was congregated without, and Nayler, from the window of the room in which the

inquiry had been held, addressed them in language which did not lack in force. "The villain," he said, "has been down upon his knees to acknowledge his guilt. . . . I have been most shamefully imposed upon by that wretch; thousands of others have been imposed upon by him. The Fathers have opened their books, thrown open every room, allowed us to see every Brother, given us every facility to ascertain the truth, and the truth has come out." He was followed by Ragg, who pronounced Jefferys "the most vile and consummate villain living," and said "he has been proved guilty in every way"; and another man who had endorsed Jefferys's statements made similar acknowledgements. The wretched man was then conveyed to Wednesbury, "where, at his own request, he was lodged in prison, rather than face those benevolent persons whom he had deceived"; and, on Saturday, June 30, on the prosecution of Nayler, was sentenced at the Handsworth Petty Sessions to be committed to gaol as a rogue and vagabond for three months with hard labour. A passage from the account of the proceedings is so characteristic of the attitude and action of the Naylers of the present day that it almost demands quotation.

Nayler, having given his evidence, Mr. W. Matthews, the chairman of the magistrates, asked certain questions, in answer to which

"Mr Nayler said that he himself drew up the pamphlet; he did so at the suggestion of others, but he would rather not mention their names. Before he sent the manuscript to the printer [Ragg], he did not write to the principal of the monastery to know whether the statements were true or false. He and his friends acted upon their own belief in the matter. The prisoner came to them,

having all the appearance of a person who had escaped from a monastery, and was placed under the care of a surgeon [the "eminent physician" of Mr. Nayler's printed letter?] whose opinion was also favourable to his statement. He had not heard anything to the prejudice of the monastery before."

Whereupon Mr. Matthews remarked that

"he certainly thought it would have been much more prudent if Mr. Nayler had made inquiries at the monastery before consenting to the publication of such a pamphlet. He ought, in his opinion, to have ascertained the truth or falsehood of the statements before circulating them. He hoped Mr. Nayler was sufficiently acquainted with the law of England to know that it would be impossible for any man to be confined as a prisoner for six years in any such monastery":

especially, one might add, when, as is usual in such cases, it is so perfectly easy to get out.

The following passages from the very complete retraction which Messrs. Nayler and Ragg "felt it [their] bounden duty to publish to the world," as has been already said, sufficiently summarize the result of the investigation, although the full report will amply repay perusal. Having stated the complete credence which they had attached to Jefferys's story, and their desire that its accuracy should be tested, the writers "testify and declare"

"That for the purpose of the investigation, we, in company with the Rev. Mr. Cole, of Wednesbury, and a gentleman deputed to accompany the undersigned Thomas Ragg by the Birmingham Protestant Association, took William Thomas Jefferys over to Charnwood Forest on Tuesday, June 26, 1849. That after he had vainly endeavoured to find the house where he said he had left his monk's habit and obtained a change of clothes, we took him into the monastery, where he was fully identified as one who had been entertained in the guest-room for a few days, in the month of January last, when he had written his name in the guest-book as Francis Augustus Arkwright. That on being more closely questioned as to the statements contained in his narrative, he showed his entire ignorance of everything beyond what he had previously learned in the guest-room. He

did not know the monastic name of any of the brethren ; he did not know what they ate or what they drank, nor where, nor how they slept. On being asked to point out the room in which he had been placed in solitary confinement, he pointed out one whose door never had a lock upon it, or any other outside fastening ; on being asked to point out where he slept, he wandered to and fro about the place without being able to find his way into the dormitory ; and at length returned into the open square, where, after repeated appeals to confess his guilt before God, he acknowledged it by falling on his knees before the Reverend Superior, and bursting into tears.

"We therefore do hereby declare our deep and solemn conviction that the Narrative of the said William Thomas Jefferys is a tissue of the grossest and most unwarrantable falsehoods ; and having taken him safely to prison, to suffer the punishment due to his misdeeds, we feel it our bounden duty to publish this statement to the world, as some little reparation for the injury we have been the innocent means of inflicting on the Community of Mount St. Bernard ; and we hereby, in conclusion, express our heartfelt thanks to the Reverend the Abbot, the Reverend the Prior, and all the Fathers and Brothers in the Monastery, for the surpassing kindness with which we were received, the readiness with which they lent us every aid during the painful investigation, and the genuine hospitality with which we were entertained after the investigation was over."

And now it only remains to ask what reparation for the injury he has been the—I cannot say "innocent": indeed, I demur to the assumption of the term by Messrs. Nayler and Ragg—means of endeavouring to inflict on the Catholic community the Editor of the *Vanguard* intends to offer, and whether he proposes to continue the publication of what he at any rate now knows to be a libel repudiated both by its unhappy perpetrator and by those who put it into circulation. And it would be interesting to know what Baron Porcelli and Mr A. Le Lievre think of the convicted liar and scandalous abuser of hospitality whose name stands side by side with their own on the wrapper of the *Vanguard*.

POSTSCRIPT.

A copy of the foregoing article was sent, on its publication in the *Month* for October 1913 (from which it is reprinted by permission), to the Editor of the *Vanguard*, and this was followed by a demand for an apology from the legal representative of St. Bernard's Abbey, Coalville—the scene of Jefferys's alleged imprisonment. The apology, such as it is, is printed in the issue of the *Vanguard* for December 1913, and runs as follows:—

“THE NARRATIVE OF WILLIAM JEFFERYS

“In our Aug., Sept., and Oct. numbers we published in good faith matter which we received from a correspondent under the above heading, which purported to state the experiences of a resident at the Monastery of Mount St. Bernard, Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, many years ago.

“Our attention has since been drawn to the fact that the narrative had been previously published, and was completely refuted years ago by the parties chiefly concerned. We also find that a further inquiry was held into the matter and a report made that the allegations were absolutely untrue.

“This being so, as we are always desirous of correcting any inaccuracy that may be called to our attention, we have to ask our readers to regard the articles in question as being based on uninvestigated facts, and as our correspondent who sent the articles to us cannot furnish us with anything stronger than the articles themselves, we desire that they shall be

treated as withdrawn, and if any offence has been given to those connected with the Monastery in question, we tender our apology."

It may be pointed out that, unless the "correspondent" who sent the bogus account to the *Vanguard* took the trouble to transcribe the whole of it from the printed copy, Pastor Rawlings can hardly have been unaware that it "had been previously published." But, allowing for the remote possibility of his ignorance, it is certain that the correspondent himself must have known that he was perpetuating, without having taken the slightest trouble to substantiate them, most serious charges against a body of men who, but for the action of the Catholic Truth Society, would have remained in ignorance of the attack that had been made upon them. The whole transaction is so characteristic of the attitude of a happily decreasing section of Protestants, that it has been thought well to reprint the narrative in a form readily available for distribution.

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PA^ÁSTOR CHINIQUY

AN EXAMINATION OF HIS "FIFTY YEARS IN
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IF the person who called himself Father Chiniquy had confined himself to the ministrations of the religion for which he forsook the Church of his baptism, we might have left him unchallenged to give his own account of the motives and circumstances of his alleged conversion. But inasmuch as he has sought to gain popularity and income by wholesale misrepresentations against the personal character and beliefs of those with whom he was previously associated, and his books written for this purpose are still widely used as instruments for the persecution of poor Catholic working men and working girls in the shops and factories, those connected with him can have no complaint against us for submitting his past career to a searching examination, even if the result should be to discover facts not tending to exalt his reputation. So far, indeed, we have not taken this course, the difficulty of obtaining the requisite information from distant places having been so great; but so

many piteous appeals have reached us from the victims of this unscrupulous persecution, that we have seen the necessity of putting the man's story to the test, and through the kindness of some American and Canadian friends we have been supplied with some materials which, if they do not enable us to check his story at every point, suffice at least to show that he was not exactly the witness of truth.

Before entering on the particulars of his life it will be convenient to consider the general nature of his charges against the Catholic Church and her clergy. And here at the outset we discover a very remarkable development in his allegations. In his earliest biographical effusion, published by the Religious Tract Society in 1861, he bases his conversion solely on doctrinal considerations, and so far from bringing charges against the moral character of the Catholic clergy, he says expressly that there are in the Church of Rome many most sincere and respectable men, and that "we must surely pray God to send them His light, but we cannot go further and abuse them"; nor is there any charge against their personal character in his *Why I left the Church of Rome*, which comes next in chronological order. But it would seem that the ultra-Protestant palate required something more stimulating, for in his verbose and voluminous *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* (1885) he tells quite a different story. There he represents himself as one whom the influences of birth, education, and social connections attached firmly to the Catholic Church, but whom a series of appalling experiences as a child, as an aspirant to the sacred ministry, as a priest, drove in spite of himself to realize that this Church was utterly unscriptural

in her doctrines and corrupt in her morals. Gradually and sorrowfully he was led to realize that her rulers were perfectly well aware of this opposition between her teaching and that of the Bible, and just for this reason strove always to keep the knowledge of the sacred volumes from her people, forbidding her laity to possess copies of them, and her clergy to attach to them any meaning save such as was dictated by an unanimous consent of the Fathers, which was never obtainable. Gradually and sorrowfully he was led to realize that the practice of auricular confession meant nothing less than the systematic pollution of young minds by filthy questions, and that the vow of clerical celibacy served only to set the priests on the path of incontinence. Gradually and sorrowfully he was led to realize that the clergy practically as a whole were drunkards and infidels, whose one interest in their sacred profession was by simony and oppression to make as much money out of it as their opportunities allowed them.

Thus Bishop Panet is represented as making the acknowledgement that "the priests [of the diocese of Quebec] with the exception of M. Perras and one or two others, were infidels and atheists,"¹ but as finding a strange consolation in learning from M. Perras that "the Popes themselves, at least fifty of them, had been just as bad." Father Guignes, the Superior of the Oblate Fathers, tells him "there are not more undefiled souls among the priests than in the days of Lot" (p. 280), that "it is in fact morally impossible for a secular priest to keep his vow of celibacy except by a miracle of the grace of God," but that "the priests whom God calls to

¹ *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, p. 139. All subsequent references are to this work except where otherwise specified.

become members of any of the [religious] orders are safe." Later he discovers that, so far from this being the case, "the regular clergy give themselves up with more impunity to every kind of debauch and licentiousness than the secular" (p. 308). In Illinois things were quite as bad, indeed much worse. "The drunkenness and other immoralities of the clergy there"—as pictured to him on his arrival in those parts by a M. Lebel, a Canadian priest who had charge of the Canadian colonists of Chicago—"surpassed all [he] had ever heard or known" (p. 352), and somewhat later he made the painful discovery that Lebel himself was among the worst of them.

Nor were the bishops in the two countries any better. Bishop Lefevere, of Detroit, was a man capable of taking the teetotal pledge publicly in face of his assembled flock, and that same evening coolly disregarding it at his own private table; and his predecessor, Bishop Rese, "during the last years he had spent in the diocese, had passed very few weeks without being picked up beastly drunk in the lowest taverns" (p. 347). Bishop Quarter, of Chicago, is fortunate in not himself coming under Chiniquy's lash, but the latter assures us that he died poisoned by his Grand Vicar, who desired thus to prevent the exposure of his own licentious conduct (p. 352). Bishop Vandeveld, who succeeded Bishop Quarter, is on the whole more leniently dealt with, but "though he was most moderate in his drink at table" we are assured that "at night when nobody could see him he gave himself up to the detestable habit of intoxication" (p. 389). Bishop O'Regan, the successor of Bishop Vandeveld, and the prelate who, by the force of circumstances, was brought into the

sharpest conflict with Chiniquy, pays for it by being represented as the incarnation of all that can be odious in human character; and Archbishop Kenrick is represented as having agreed with Chiniquy that "the rapacity of Bishop O'Regan, his thefts, his lies, his acts of simony, were public and intolerable," and that "that unprincipled dignitary is the cause that our holy religion is not only losing her prestige in the United States, but is becoming an object of contempt wherever these public crimes are known" (p. 434). Bishop Bourget, of Montreal, is another prelate whose character is aspersed by this man's allegations. In one place we are assured that this bishop, when a young priest staying with his Bishop at the Hôtel Dieu, at Montreal, was one of two or three priests who so shocked the nuns that the latter said, "unless the bishop went away and took his priests away with him, it would be far better that they themselves should leave the convent and get married" (p. 307). Also this same ecclesiastic, we are told, when Bishop of Montreal, bade Chiniquy allure into a convent a lady who confessedly had no vocation, solely in order that he might transfer her large fortune into his episcopal coffers (p. 358); and that for refusing to co-operate in this iniquitous scheme he determined to ruin him, put up an abandoned girl to make a false charge against his honour, and then suspended him without allowing him to defend himself.

This is the substance of Chiniquy's indictment against the bishops and clergy of the two countries of which he had experience, and in support of it he brings together numerous facts, or what purport to be such, full of detail and of long conversations, all so conceived

as to suggest that the greater part of the iniquities of these people were either too palpable to need proof, or were attested by the acknowledgements of the accused persons themselves. That a book of this kind should deeply impress readers of the Protestant Alliance type is not surprising. But more prudent minds will note (1) that this mass of denunciation was not published till after 1885—that is, after a quarter of a century from the date when, with his apostasy, his experiences of Catholic life from the inside must have ceased ; (2) that all rests on the unsupported testimony of Chiniquy himself ; and (3) that the whole tone of the book is that of a man absolutely egotistic and impracticable, absolutely incapable of seeing any other side but his own, absolutely reckless in his charges against any one who should venture to oppose him, and absolutely exaggerated at all times in his language ; (4) in short, that the author of a story which makes out the Catholic Church of Canada and the United States, at the date of which he writes, to be so essentially different from what unbiassed witnesses find it to be within the scope of their own direct observation, is one who paints himself in his own book as destitute of all those qualities which predispose a discerning reader to repose confidence in an author's statements.

To this general motive for distrust others accede as soon as we begin to carry our examination into the details of the book. Thus in his fourth chapter he tells us of a secret meeting in the house of one of his uncles, which was attended by several of the leading inhabitants of Kamouraska. Its object was to discuss the conduct of the clergy in the confessional, and the narrator fills six closely printed pages with a

detailed report of the speeches then delivered. He was not invited to the meeting, but was present at it in the character of an eavesdropper, hiding in some unobserved corner, his age at the time being ten. We must suppose, then, that this youthful scribe, with an intelligence beyond his years, took down the speeches in shorthand, in all their grown-up language, and preserved the record for future use; or rather, since we are not credulous enough to believe this, we must suppose that all this account of the meeting was a pure invention of his after-years, and must conclude that the man was capable of such amplifications and inventions, and of palming them off as truths when it happened to suit his purpose. And this point about his method being established, we may surely suspect him of employing it in the similarly detailed stories with which his book abounds, and in which priests and bishops speak just as a fierce anti-Catholic might wish them to speak, but quite unlike the way in which they are found to speak all the world over.

Nor is it a question here of their speaking as bad men rather than as good men, but of the specific style of the explanations and vindications of their own doctrines and practices which they are made to give. For instance, it is known perfectly well from their theological books what replies priests and other Catholics are taught to give to those who take objection to their Church's doctrine on the lawfulness of Bible reading and of interpreting Scripture inconsistently with the "unanimous consent of the Fathers," on the *cultus* of our Blessed Lady and the Saints and of its accord with Holy Scripture, on the practice of asking and refraining from asking questions in the confessional, and so on. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that what these Catholic theological

books say on these subjects is altogether unsound and indefensible, at least the clergy of Canada might be expected to answer in the language laid down for them in their books, and not in the language which makes Catholics laugh when some composer of Protestant fictions puts it into the mouths of his characters. Yet the priestly characters in Chiniquy's *Fifty Years* speak invariably like the latter, not the former. And, just as, if we came across a traveller's account of a country in which the lions brayed and the donkeys roared, the nightingales cawed and the rooks sang sweetly in the night-time, we should say that our traveller was either joking or lying; so will any intelligent possessor of an historic sense say of Chiniquy's paradoxical account of the sayings and doings of the Canadian and American clergy.

It may be well to give an illustration of what we refer to under this head, and the following is an apposite one (p. 334). Chiniquy had preached a sermon on devotion to our Blessed Lady, and had been congratulated on it by Bishop Prince, then Auxiliary Bishop of Montreal. During the night he professes to have seen how unscriptural had been his preaching, and how opposed to the teaching of the Evangelist, who, when our Lord's mother and brethren stood without, refused to recognize them as having any claims upon Him. It is a well-known passage, and any Catholic commentary would, if referred to, have explained that our Lord wished to teach a lesson to the apostles and their successors in the ministry, of the devotedness with which they must be prepared to subordinate all earthly ties to the service of their ministry. Yet neither to Chiniquy nor to the bishop does it occur even to consider this explanation, and they talk to one another just as if they were two

Protestants. "How," asks Chiniquy, "can we say that Jesus always granted the requests of His mother, when this evangelist tells us He never granted her petitions when acting in His capacity of Saviour of the world?" At which simple, easy question the bishop is represented as seeming "absolutely confounded," so that Chiniquy has to help him out by further asking, "Who came into this world to save you and me?" to which the bishop replies sheepishly, "It is Jesus"; and "Who is the sinner's best friend, Jesus or Mary?" to which the bishop replies, "It was Jesus . . . Jesus said to all sinners, 'Come unto me,' He never said 'Go to Mary'" — the bishop finally extricating himself from his embarrassment by saying feebly, "You will find an answer to your questions in the Holy Fathers." Is it likely that a Catholic bishop talked like that? Is it not more likely that the writer who fabricated what he supposes himself to have overheard at the age of ten, fabricated this conversation too, and others like it throughout the book which are similarly destitute of probability?

Nor is the test of self-contradiction wanting to complete our distrust of Chiniquy's allegations. He is continually telling his readers that the Church of Rome forbids the reading of Scripture to the laity, and even to her ecclesiastical students. Thus when he was a young seminarian at St. Nicolet he tells us it was the rule of the College to keep the Bible apart in the library, among the forbidden books. But one day, having obtained access to a copy and surreptitiously spent an hour or so in perusing it, he afterwards felt bound to tell the director, his great friend M. Leprohon. The latter, he assures us, was sad, and, while acknowledging his inability to answer his pupil's argumentation, said,

"I have something better than my own weak thoughts. I have the thoughts of the Church and of our Holy Father the Pope. They forbid us to put the Bible in the hands of our students." Yet in the story of his boyhood—in which he tells us how he used as a child to read aloud to the neighbouring farmers out of a Bible belonging to his family, and how the priest, hearing of this, came one day to take the forbidden book away—he has to acknowledge that this copy had been given to his father as a *seminary prize* in his early days. And—to pass over such insights as he gives us into clerical life in the order of the day observed in the presbytery of his first Curé, where a daily hour was assigned to Bible reading—we may be content to set against his later allegations the statements he made on the occasion of his controversy with Roussy, a Protestant minister, on January 7, 1851. This date, indeed, should be noted, for it means that this controversy took place shortly before his departure from Canada for Illinois, and therefore *after* the many occasions when, according to his *Fifty Years*, he had felt and expressed to personal friends his concern at finding that the Church feared the Bible and sought to hide it from her children. And yet on the platform, on January 7, 1851, he talks just as a Catholic priest would talk, except, indeed, for the repulsive egotism and browbeating which is all his own. Take, for instance, the following passage :

"Certain Protestants still repeat that the Church forbids the reading of the Holy Bible by the people. This is a cowardly and absurd lie, and it is only the ignorant or the silly amongst Protestants who at present believe this ancient fabrication of heresy. Some unscrupulous ministers, however, are constantly

bringing it up before the eyes of their dupes to impose upon them and keep them in a holy horror of what they call Popery. Let Protestants make the tour of Europe and America; let them go into the numerous book-stores they will come across at every step: let them, for instance, go to Montreal, to Mr. Fabre's or to Mr. Sadler's; and everywhere they will find on their shelves thousands of Bibles in all modern languages, printed with the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. I hold in my hand a New Testament, printed less than five years ago, at Quebec. On the first page I read the following approbation of the Archbishop of Quebec: 'We approve and recommend to the faithful of our diocese this translation of the New Testament, with commentaries on the texts and notes at the foot of the pages. Joseph, Archbishop of Quebec.' Every one of those Catholic Bibles, to be found on sale at every bookseller in Europe and America in like manner, bears irrefutable witness to the fact that Protestantism is fed on lies, when day by day it listens with complacency to its ministers and its newspapers, telling it in various strains that we Catholics are enemies of the Bible."

This and much more to the same effect may be found in the report of the discussion between Chiniquy and Roussy which was republished in 1893, under the title of *The Two Chiniquys*, at the office of the *True Witness*, at Montreal.

Again, as regards the question of clerical morality, from time to time we get from him, as it were through rifts in the clouds of his inventions, little glimpses into the real life of the Canadian clergy, which reveal them

to us in a by no means unpleasant light. What could be more edifying than the account given of M. Perras's priestly life (p. 133), or of M. Bedard's (p. 157)? True, he tries to cast some flies into their ointment, but that may be set down to his malice. And then there is M. Têtu, the Curé of St. Roch, who was evidently a truly good man, and of whom Chiniquy is constrained to say that he "never saw him in a bad humour a single time during the four years that it was his fortune to work under him in that parish"; and "from whose lips an unkind word never proceeded" (p. 169). And there is the young priest, M. Estimenville, who in the cholera time at Quebec was introduced by Chiniquy for the first time to the hospital he was to serve.

"The young priest turned pale, and said, 'Is it possible that such a deadly epidemic is raging where you are taking me?' I answered, 'Yes, my dear young brother, it is a fact, and I consider it my duty to tell you not to enter that house, if you are afraid to die.' A few minutes of silence followed . . . he then took his handkerchief and wiped away some big drops of sweat which were rolling from his forehead on his cheeks, and said, 'Is there a more holy and desirable way of dying than by ministering to the spiritual and temporal wants of my brethren? No. If it is the will of God that I should fall when fighting at this post of danger, I am ready.' . . . He died a few months afterwards" (p. 224).

Nor was this a single case.

"We must be honest" (he writes in another place), "and true towards the Roman Catholic priests of Canada. Few men, if any, have shown more courage and self-denial in the hour of danger than they did. I have seen them at work during the two memorable years 1832 and 1834,

with a courage and self-denial worthy of the admiration of heaven and earth. Though they knew that the most horrible tortures and death might be the price of their devotedness, I have not known a single one of them who ever shrank before the danger. At the first appeal, in the midst of the darkest and stormiest nights, as well as in the light of the brightest days, they were always ready to leave their warm and comfortable beds to run to the rescue of the sick and dying" (p. 166).

These admissions, wrung as it were from the traducer of his brethren, may serve to show that the clergy of Canada were not so unlike the clergy elsewhere. That there should be tares among the wheat is always to be expected, and Chiniquy, as we shall see, was his own greatest argument to prove that they were not wanting in Canada and the United States. But in the first generation of Christian clergy, who received their appointment from the Master Himself, the proportion of tares to wheat was one in twelve. We may trust that it has never been anything like as high since, nor is there any reason to suppose it was anything like as high among the clergy in whose ranks Chiniquy lived and worked.

But what about the bishops whom Chiniquy represents as such utter monsters? We must refer the reader to Mr. Gilmary Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* for an account of the two bishops of Detroit, Bishops Rese and Lefevere, who were evidently quite unlike what we might gather from *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*. Nor, as Chiniquy has little to tell against Bishop Vandeveld, need we say more than that, as we have ascertained from well-informed correspondents, he was a little weak in his government,

perhaps, but was a thoroughly good and conscientious man, and by no means likely to have had a habit of secret tippling. Bishop Bourget of Montreal and Bishop O'Regan of Chicago were the prelates who had to do most of the unpleasant work in restraining Chiniquy, and were, therefore, his pet aversions. What is to be said of them? Bishop Bourget, so far from being a harsh, inconsiderate, unscrupulous, and mendacious character, was a prelate who left a deep and lasting impression on the Canadians by reason of his very remarkable holiness of life. He was a man of the most delicate charity and tenderness, quite incapable of doing the smallest injustice even to the most guilty, and when compelled to punish ever anxious to make the way of penitence and restoration easy for the offender. Indeed, so eminent was Bishop Bourget for his virtues that his contemporaries looked forward to the possibility of his being beatified some day. And we may add that the letters written by him in this Chiniquy case, of which we have copies now lying before us, all bear out this estimate of his character. They breathe throughout a spirit of the most exquisite conscientiousness and charity.

About Bishop O'Regan, Mr. Gilmary Shea gives us the following facts. He was born at Lavelloc, in County Mayo, and was educated at Maynooth. Archbishop McHale made him Professor of Holy Scripture at St. Jarlath's College. He came to St. Louis in 1849 at the request of Archbishop Kenrick, to be head of his Seminary at Carondelet. When he received the Bulls (appointing him to the see of Chicago) he sent them back, saying that he was a college man without missionary experience; and when he was ordered to

accept he said, "I accept only in the spirit of obedience." He began his administration with energy, and feeling the want of good priests, made earnest efforts to obtain them for his English-speaking, German, and French congregations. He introduced system, and did much to restore discipline, but his methods caused discontent, which was fostered by many. Bishop O'Regan had entered heartily into works for the good of the diocese, and expended large sums of his own means for it. But, tired out by the opposition of Chiniquy and some others, he resolved to visit Rome and plead in person for his release from a burden which he felt to be beyond his strength to bear. His resignation was eventually accepted, and he was transferred to the titular see of Dora on June 25, 1858. He then returned to Europe, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement in Ireland and England. He died in London, at Brompton, on November 13, 1866, aged 57, and his remains were carried to his native parish of Clonfert. Mr. Gilmary Shea adds: "It may be said of Bishop O'Regan that he was a man in the truest sense, single-minded, firm as a rock, and honest as gold, a lover of truth and justice, whom no self-interest could mislead and no corruption could contaminate. He held fast the affection of many and won the esteem of all."

So far we have been occupied with the general character of Chiniquy's accusations, the truth or falsehood of which we have sought to estimate by applying tests furnished chiefly by his own writings. Probably our readers will agree with us that the result has been to show that this person is not exactly the kind of witness who can claim to be taken on his own valuation, and,

apart from an external confirmation which is not available, can be trusted implicitly. We must now go through the stages of his life up to the time of his apostasy, to see how far his own account of it agrees with that of others. To help us in our task we have for the one side his *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, which is the fullest presentation he has given us of his story; and for the other side we have some documents which have been procured for us by the kindness of a Canadian friend. These are (1) *Biographical Notes Concerning the Apostate Chiniquy*, a paper which has been published quite recently: this was drawn up by Monsignor Têtu, of Quebec Cathedral, a grandson of the Hon. Amable Dionne, who married one of Chiniquy's maternal aunts (Document A). (2) A copy of a manuscript belonging to the Archives of the Collège St. Marie, at Montreal, entitled *Manuscrit trouvé dans les papiers de M. le Chanoine Lamarche après sa mort*. This paper is an account and a criticism of Chiniquy's life, but is defective, the first twenty pages being missing as well as all that followed the forty-four pages preserved. From internal evidence the writer is M. Mailloux, a Grand Vicar of Quebec, who knew Chiniquy very well in his Canadian days, and was afterwards sent to Illinois to undo the evil he had wrought there (Document B). (3) A copy of a letter dated March 19, 1857, and addressed by Bishop Bourget of Montreal to the "Canadian Catholics of Bourbonnais." It has been transcribed for us from the *Courrier de Canada*, a Montreal paper, in which it appeared on April 7, 1857 (Document C). (4) A paper entitled *Explanations of certain Facts misrepresented by M. Chiniquy in his Letter of April 18, 1857*. This paper is also by Bishop Bourget, and is dated May 6, 1857.

It has been copied for us from the archives of the see of Montreal (Document D). (5) A number of letters exchanged between Bishop Bourget and others between the years 1848 and 1858. These have likewise been transcribed for us from the authentic copies in Bishop Bourget's Register (Document E).

Charles Chiniquy was born on July 30, 1809, at Kamouraska, a town on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, some forty miles below Quebec. His parents were Charles Chiniquy, a notary by profession, and Reine Chiniquy, *née* Perrault. His father dying on July 19, 1821, he was adopted by his uncle, the Hon. Amable Dionne, who, on finding that he desired to be brought up for the priesthood, sent him to school at the Little Seminary of St. Nicolet. When he had been there three years a difficulty arose. "Owing to a misunderstanding between myself and my uncle Dionne he had ceased to maintain me at college" (p. 66). This is all that Chiniquy himself tells us about the matter, but Document A says: "In 1825 Mr. Dionne ceased paying for him, and refused him admittance into his house, declaring him unworthy of being a member of his honourable family," and the same document in a note says: "I [*i.e.*, Mgr. Têtu] can certify that the Honourable Amable Dionne was an intimate friend of Bishops Plessis and Panet of Quebec, and of Bishop Provencher of the Red River Missions. The greatest sorrow of his life was to see his unworthy nephew, who had always been a bad Catholic, become a bad priest. But that was no fault of his." We can gather from these words that the fault of which he was considered guilty was an offence against morality. But after all he was then only a boy, and two priests—M. Leprohon, the Director of

the College, and M. Brassard, one of the Professors—thinking that he might change for the better and deeming that there was promise in him, took upon themselves the further burden of his maintenance, and so enabled him to continue his studies and afterwards to pass on to the Greater Seminary. Moreover, M. Leprohon till his death, in 1844, and M. Brassard till the time of Chiniquy's apostasy, continued to take a fatherly interest in him, and the latter to believe in him long after all others had given him up as hopeless. On September 21, 1833, he was ordained priest by Archbishop Signaie in Quebec Cathedral, having been incorporated into that diocese. During the next few years he was assistant priest in three parishes in succession, but in 1838 he was made Curé of Beauport, a suburb of Quebec, and it was there that he inaugurated the temperance movement which brought him into great prominence. In 1842 he was transferred to his native place, Kamouraska, in the first instance as administrator under the now aged M. Varin, and shortly after as his successor.

This was the place of residence of his uncle Dionne, who was by no means glad to have him in the neighbourhood. His own account is that he signalized his tenure of office at Kamouraska by great doings which won for him the attachment of the people; still, he cannot deny that there was a strong party against him. And Mgr. Têtu's Document tells us that, whilst in that place, "he scandalized many families by his bad conduct," and that "it is absolutely certain that his uncle, Amable Dionne, forbade him to enter his house, and that many parents sent their children to confession to the neighbouring parishes, to protect them from the baneful contact of their Curé." He remained at

Kamouraska till 1846, when one Sunday in September he astonished the congregation by announcing that he was leaving the place to join the Novitiate of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Longeuil. What was the reason? In his *Fifty Years* he tells us that the ghastly spectacle of an all-pervading priestly immorality made him desire to fly to a place of refuge where he was assured it did not enter (p. 280). In his announcement to his people during the High Mass—we learn from M. Mailloux (Document B), who tells us he has good authority for what he says—he declared that he had long felt drawn to the religious life, but had resisted the call, which he could do no longer; besides it was bad for his soul to be so loved, honoured, and venerated as he was by his flock at Kamouraska. It was whispered, however, that there was another reason of a different kind which had most to do with the sudden change. “In 1846,” says Document A, “tradition relates that he was caught in the very act of a sin against morals, and was thereupon obliged to leave the diocese of Quebec.” This document acknowledges that the archives of Archbishop’s House in Quebec contain no official document regarding the crime (which, if Chiniquy by leaving at once avoided a formal trial, there need not have been). But that there was some ground for the suspicion is implied in allusions to it in a private letter contained in Document E. On May 21, 1848, his faithful friend, M. Brassard, always so difficult to convince of the faults of his *protégé*, wrote to Bishop Bourget of Montreal a letter in which he begs the bishop to allow Chiniquy to be his *locum-tenens* for a short time at Longeuil, and, whilst endeavouring to forestall the bishop’s probable objections, says: “I have reason for thinking that his bad

conduct [*mauvaise histoire*] at Kamouraska is only known to his superiors and perhaps to one or two priests, for my brother the doctor, an intimate friend of the late J. Bte. Tache and of M. Dionne, the sworn enemies of M. Chiniquy, told me two years ago that these gentlemen could not refuse M. Chiniquy a certificate of morality, and that he himself, at that time a sworn enemy of priests, had only to reproach him with an excess of zeal. Besides, it seems to me that M. Chiniquy has paid heavily for his fault."

For whatever motives, he joined the Oblates at their house at Longeuil, in the diocese of St. Hyacinthe, and at the time they seem to have thought themselves fortunate in the acquisition of so famous a preacher—"the most eminent priest in the diocese of Quebec," as the Père Honorat described him to M. Mailloux (Doc. B). But they soon had occasion to change their minds about his fitness for their life, and he parted with them—or they with him—after a thirteen months' sojourn under their roof. According to his own account "when he pressed them to his heart for the last time, he felt the burning tears of many of them falling on his cheeks . . . for they loved him and he loved them" (p. 312). And yet, as M. Mailloux tells us in his *Notes* (Doc. B), "he carried away with him from the Oblates a paper in which he painted them in the worst colours," a paper which M. Mailloux, to whose house he went that same day, "refused to receive from his hands, accompanying his refusal with words which M. Chiniquy would not be able to forget." What the nature of this portraiture of the Oblate Fathers—a portraiture in the truth of which M. Mailloux evidently disbelieved—may have been, we may perhaps judge

from what he says about them in his *Fifty Years* (p. 306).

Now that he was free from the Oblates his natural course was to return to his own diocese of Quebec, and ask for another post. But M. Mailloux tells us that "to give him one there could not be thought of." Apparently that diocese had had enough of him, either because of the circumstances known to them in connection with his leaving Kamouraska, or because of his general intractability. Nor would the Bishop of Montreal give him a fixed post, and he was forced to seek hospitality with his old friend M. Brassard, then Curé of Longueuil, the parish in which was the Oblate House he had just quitted. M. Brassard suggested that he should give up the idea of stationary work, and devote himself wholly to temperance missions, and for this he managed to obtain permission from Bishop Bourget. It was in this work during the next four years that Chiniquy acquired what was certainly the best distinction of his life. He was most extravagant in his language and reckless in his statements, so much so as to elicit from Mgr. Bourget some prudent admonitions. But he had undoubtedly a gift of fiery though undisciplined eloquence, and could appeal with effect to the sensibility of his hearers. Nor, though the effects, according to his own acknowledgements, were not as lasting as they might have been had he been more solid and prudent in his advocacy and had he relied more on spiritual and less on merely secular motives, did he fail to do an amount of good to which even those whom he most abused generously testify. Thus M. Mailloux writes of him at this time (Doc. B): "No one in the country can deny that by his sermons on behalf of temperance he has

dried many tears ; he has brought back peace and happiness to a great many families ; he has raised from the gutter many thousands of his unfortunate countrymen ; and has set a mark of dishonour on the mania for drinking and getting intoxicated at weddings, meals, family feasts, friendly gatherings, in short in the social relations of the Canadians."

The year 1851 now drew on, and it proved to be an eventful year for Chiniquy's fortunes. According to his own account (p. 345), he received from Bishop Vandeveld of Chicago a letter dated December 1, 1850, in which, addressing him (? on the envelope) as the "Apostle of Temperance," he invited him to abandon Canada and put himself at the head of a vast immigration of Canadians which the Bishop wanted to draw into the as yet uncolonised parts of Illinois, south of Kankakee. In this way they would be preserved from the temptations of the cities and their Protestantism, and would be kept together in communities apart, and so become one day a great political force in the United States. Only, the proposal was to be kept for the present a secret, as the Canadian bishops in their selfishness would oppose a movement, however beneficial in itself, which could not but reduce the population of their own parishes. Whether Bishop Vandeveld ever wrote such a letter may be doubted, for the style as Chiniquy gives it in his book is suspiciously like his own, nor is it likely that the bishop would have made this discreditable request for secrecy to the prejudice of his episcopal brethren in Canada. Still, it is true that the Bishop of Chicago did wish, not to entice Canadian colonists into his diocese, but to divert those who were

streaming in unasked, from the cities to the new lands to the south, and that he wanted some Canadian priests to take the spiritual charge of them. But so far from wishing to keep this desire secret from the Canadian bishops, he had written a letter—the text of which is before us (Doc. E)—on March 4, 1850, to Mgr. Bourget of Montreal. In it he lays his trouble before that prelate, and begs for a Canadian priest or two in most moving terms. Possibly it was as the result of this letter that M. Lebel, of Kamouraska, was sent, and so came to be stationed in Chicago when Chiniquy afterwards arrived. Anyhow, there is no mention of Chiniquy in this letter from Bishop Vandeveldé to Bishop Bourget. He went, however, in May, 1851, to Illinois to give a temperance mission to the Canadians there, and took with him a letter from Bishop Bourget, dated May 7, 1851, in which the latter asks Bishop Vandeveldé to “regard M. Chiniquy as his own priest all the time he is doing work in his diocese,” adding, in the humble and tender tone which characterizes all the letters of that truly saintly man: “I trust that his fervent prayers will draw down upon his ministry the copious benedictions of Heaven, and that I myself may experience some of the fruits of them, I who am the last of all.”

It would be a mistake, however, merely from this expression of hope that Chiniquy's prayers might be fruitful, to conclude that the bishop was altogether at ease about him. He wrote him a letter, likewise dated May 7, 1851 (Doc. E), in which he gives him some counsels—namely: “(1) Take strict precautions in your relations with persons of the opposite sex; (2) avoid carefully all that might savour of ostentation, and the desire to attract attention; simplicity is so beautiful and

lovable a virtue; (3) pay to the priests of the country the honour due to their ministry; the glory of God is the best recompense of an apostolic man." That the last two of these counsels were given in view of Chiniquy's personal temperament is sufficiently manifest. That the first was also, Chiniquy himself must have understood, since in his letter back to the bishop, dated May 13, 1851 (*ibid.*), he writes: "I will not end without asking your lordship to let me be the first told of it, when detraction or calumny casts at your feet its poisons against me. You cannot believe, Monseigneur, how much harm, doubtless without wishing it, you have done to my benefactor and friend, M. Brassard, by confiding to him in the first place certain things which for his happiness and mine he should never have known. If I am guilty it seems to me I ought to bear the weight of my iniquity. And if I am innocent, and it is calumny which is pouring out its poisons over my soul, God will give me the strength, as He has done already in more than one circumstance, to bear all and to pardon all. But let these empoisoned darts wound my soul only, not that of my friend." These are fair-sounding words, doubtless, and might be the words of an innocent man. Whether they are so or not we can only judge by taking them in connection with what else we can get from independent sources. But we quote them now as testifying that "in more than one circumstance" Chiniquy had been suspected, and, as Bishop Bourget apparently thought, not always without ground. Suspicion is not the same as conviction, but we shall hear more presently of Bishop Bourget's mind on the subject. Still, it is a point to notice, even at this stage, that Chiniquy should have been so unfortunate as to excite suspicions of the

same character in so many independent quarters. His uncle Dionne, and therefore some of his school-masters, had suspected him in this way in his youth; the diocesan authorities of Quebec had so far suspected him as to refuse him further work in that diocese; and now we have Bishop Bourget entertaining similar suspicions of him. Nor can we in this connection leave out of account another thing that may, perhaps, throw a little light on the unpleasantness of his visit to Detroit, which took place just at this time, namely, whilst he was on the way to Chicago. We have already heard his own version (see above, p. 4) of the *contretemps* which caused him to hasten his departure from that neighbourhood (p. 349), but an American friend assures us that a version of another kind was given him by the late Very Rev. P. Hermaert, formerly Vicar-General of Detroit. That version is that Chiniquy, who used to visit Detroit on his temperance mission from time to time, had been complained of to the bishop for his offensive attentions to the daughter of a respectable family. During one of his visits he found that the bishop was going to call him to account for his misconduct, and he hastened away before the bishop could return to the city.

He arrived at Chicago on this temporary visit in June, 1851, and went on to Bourbonnais. But he was back again by the middle of July, and on August 13th published in the Canadian papers a glowing account of the prairies of Illinois, assuring the Canadians that, unless they were quite comfortable at home, their best course was to go there to settle, which they could do with a certainty of immediate comfort if they only had two hundred dollars with them to start with

(p. 354). This letter caused a great stir, and induced a great many young men to respond to the advice, but at the same time aroused much indignation among their pastors, who saw, what the result proved to be the case, that the scheme was wild, and that famine rather than speedy prosperity was to be anticipated for those who were caught by it. Chiniquy did not, however, indicate in this public letter that it was part of the scheme for him to be at the head of the emigration, as probably it was not at that time, though it looks as if he were working up towards such an eventuality.

In the account in his *Fifty Years* Chiniquy gives the readers to understand that he was going to Illinois in response to an invitation prompted by a sense of his merits, and that he was going in a spirit of generosity, and at great sacrifice to his own cherished objects. "I determined (he says) to sacrifice the exalted position God had given me in Canada, to guide the footsteps of the Roman Catholic emigrants from France, Belgium, and Canada towards the regions of the West in order to extend the power and influence of my Church all over the United States" (p. 353). We have our doubts, however, whether his departure for this new sphere of work was so entirely spontaneous, and even whether it was in response to any invitation at all, and not rather because he had begged to be allowed to go, his position in Canada being no longer tenable. Let us see. In September, 1851, a very unpleasant thing happened to him. "I found," he says, "on September 28, 1851, a short letter on my table from Bishop Bourget, telling me that, for a criminal action, which he did not want to mention, committed with a person he would not

name, he had withdrawn all priestly powers and interdicted me" (p. 363). He went "two hours later" to see the bishop, to assert his entire innocence, and to ask for the crime to be stated and the witnesses made known, so that he might meet them face to face and confute them. But this, he tells us, the bishop sternly and coldly refused to do. Then, after taking counsel with M. Brassard, he went off that night to the Jesuit College of St. Marie, at Montreal. It was to make "an eight days' retreat," and likewise to have the "help of [Father Schneider's] charity, justice, and experience in forcing the bishop to withdraw his unjust sentence against [him]." He represents Father Schneider as helping him cordially, and, as his (Chiniquy's) reflections made him suspect that his accuser was a certain girl whom shortly before he had turned away from his confessional, believing that she had come to entrap him, Father Schneider had the girl found and brought to the College. There, in Father Schneider's presence, and under the influence of Chiniquy's firm cross-examination, she owned that "he was not guilty," but that she "had come to his confessional to tempt him to sin," and that it was to "revenge [herself] for his rebuking her that she had made the accusation." This was on the third day of his retreat, and therefore on October 2nd, a date we may find it convenient to remember. When the retreat was over, he went back to the bishop to whom he had already sent a copy of the girl's retractation. The bishop, he says, fully accepted it as clearing his character, and as proof that he had nothing against him gave him a "letter expressive of his kindly feelings," and also a "chalice from [his] hands with which he might offer the Holy Sacrifice for the rest of his life."

Thus equipped and justified he departed for Illinois, and arrived at Chicago on October 29th.

It must be clearly understood that this is Chiniquy's account of what happened, and that he first gave it, not at the time of the occurrence, but nearly six years later, in a letter dated April 18, 1857, which was addressed to Bishop Bourget from St. Anne's Kankakee, and was published in the Canadian press (p. 526). Until then nothing had been publicly known about the story of this girl. The occasion of this letter being written arose out of the schism which by that time Chiniquy had stirred up among the French Canadians in Illinois. We shall understand its character better presently; for the moment it is enough to say that Bishop Bourget had thought it necessary to undeceive these poor French Canadians by revealing to them some of Chiniquy's antecedents. Accordingly, when at the beginning of 1857 some of them, who had renounced their momentary schism, sent him a consoling letter to announce the fact, he replied on March 19, 1857, by a letter (Doc. C) addressed "to the Canadian Catholics of Bourbonnais" which letter "was read out in the Bourbonnais Church on Passion Sunday, March 29th" (of that year). We shall have to refer to this letter again afterwards, but must give a long extract from it now.

"M. Chiniquy sets himself on another pedestal to capture admiration, by pretending that God has made him the friend, the father, and the saviour of the emigrants. To judge from these pompous words one would have to believe that he only quitted Canada in obedience to a voice from heaven calling him to

the grand work of looking after the thousands of Canadians scattered over all parts of the vast territory of the American Union. But here again I am going to oppose M. Chiniquy to M. Chiniquy, for I suppose that, even if he refuses to believe the words of the bishops, he will at least believe his own. I am going to give an extract from a letter written by this gentleman, but that its nature may be the better understood, I should say that on September 27, 1851, I withdrew from him all the powers I had given him in the diocese, for reasons I gave him in a letter which he ought to have preserved, and which he may publish if he thinks that I have unjustly persecuted him. Under the weight of this terrible blow he wrote to me on October 4th following this letter:—

“ ‘ Monseigneur, tribulations surround me on all sides. I perceive that I must take the sad road of exile, but who will have pity on a proscribed man on a foreign soil, when he whom he had looked up to as his father has no longer a word of mercy for him? . . . As soon as my retreat is finished I shall go and embrace my poor brothers and mingle my tears with theirs. Then I shall bid an eternal farewell to my country; and I shall go and hide the disgrace of my position in the obscurest and least known corner of the United States. If, when my retreat is ended, I may hope to receive the word of mercy which you thought it necessary to refuse me yesterday, let me know for the sake of the God of mercy, and gladly will I go to receive it before setting out. It will fall like balm on my wounded soul, and will sweeten the rigours of exile.’ ”

“ It was under these distressing sensations and in these

painful circumstances that he decided to preach the Canadian emigration."

Our readers will note several things about this letter. First, it was written from St. Marie's College, while he was still in retreat under Father Schneider, and on October 4th—that is to say, two days after the supposed visit and retractation of the unnamed girl. And yet there is not in it a word of reference to this retractation, nor is what he does say consistent with that story—for Chiniquy certainly does not write as if he felt confident that the bishop would now acknowledge his innocence and reinstate him. Secondly, the letter shows that he was going reluctantly to Illinois, and (so far as he knew then), not to preach, but to hide his disgrace in obscurity. Thirdly, the whole tone of the letter is one of a man who pleads for mercy, not of one who protests his innocence. Fourthly, the circumstances under which it was written imply that he was professing, even if he did not feel, a hearty repentance for an offence committed; since it is evident Bishop Bourget deemed him guilty, and that being so, neither would he have removed the suspension, nor Bishop Vandeveldé have accepted him for his diocese, unless he had professed repentance. Fifthly, two other contemporary letters that are before us (Doc. E) point in the same direction. For on October 6th Bishop Bourget wrote to Chiniquy, while still in retreat at St. Marie's, a letter which is apparently the answer to Chiniquy's of October 4th. It breathes the same spirit as all Bishop Bourget's letters, and the reader may judge if it is that of an intolerant despot.

"Monsieur, I am praying myself and getting others to pray for you, and my heart is not so deaf as you appear

to think. My desire is that the most sincere repentance may penetrate down to the very depths and to the innermost parts of your heart. I pray for this with all the fervour of my soul, and if I am not heard it will assuredly be because of my innumerable infidelities. O that I could be free to weep over them, and to bury myself for ever in some Chartreuse, under one of the sons of St. Bruno, whose happy and holy feast the Church keeps to-day."

In this letter the Bishop makes no reference to Chiniquy going to the United States, probably because that project was not as yet arranged. But M. Brassard, on hearing of the misfortune of his *protégé*, took advantage of Bishop Vandeveld's presence at the time in the neighbourhood, and besought that prelate to give him a chance of retrieving himself. A letter from Bishop Vandeveld to Bishop Bourget was a result of this. It is dated "Troy, October 15, 1851," and contains the following passage, the only one of interest to us now: "After all the instances made by M. le Curé de Longeuil (M. Brassard), and the promises of his *protégé*, I consented to give the latter a trial on condition that he got an *exeat* from Mgr. Bourget exclusively for the diocese of Chicago" (Doc. E).

It will be admitted that these various letters throw on the episode of September 25, 1851, a light somewhat different from that in which it appears in Chiniquy's own published account above given, and there will be something further to say on the matter presently. But we have heard Chiniquy appeal to two testimonials of esteem—a letter and a chalice—which the Bishop gave him as a means by which he might always be able to vindicate his character in regard to the charge brought

against him by this girl. Let us now investigate this point.

The letter is a letter written by Bishop Bourget in response to Bishop Vandeveld's stipulation that Chiniquy, before he could accept him, must have an *exeat* for the diocese of Chicago. It runs as follows (p. 528):—

“MONTREAL,

“October 13, 1851.

“Sir,—You ask my permission to leave my diocese, to go and offer your services to the Bishop of Chicago. As you belong to the diocese of Quebec, I think it belongs to my Lord the Archbishop to give you the dismissal you wish. As for me I cannot but thank you for your labours amongst us, and I wish you in return the most abundant blessings from Heaven. You shall ever be in my remembrance and in my heart, and I hope that divine Providence will permit me at a future time to testify all the gratitude I owe you.

“Meanwhile, I remain your very humble and obedient servant,

“✠ IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF MONTREAL.

“The Rev. Charles Chiniquy.”

Chiniquy describes this letter as a “testimonial of esteem” (p. 528), and again as “a perfect recantation of all he had said and done against me” (p. 370). Perhaps an undiscerning reader will be disposed to agree in that estimate of its language; but a Catholic acquainted with the style of an *exeat*, or permission to leave one diocese for another, will rather take it as a proof of Chiniquy's insincerity that he should thus represent it, for we may be sure he knew better what was significant about this

particular document. The complimentary words refer to the results he had attained by his temperance preaching, and it is in keeping with Bishop Bourget's character that, in his desire to say the best he could of the unfortunate man, he should give generous recognition to what stood to his credit. As he himself says (Doc. D) on this point, "We said nothing too much in adding that we protested to him that the diocese of Montreal would never forget his labours for the establishment of temperance. But all this proves that if we refused faculties to M. Chiniquy, it was solely for a motive of conscience, and for the good of the souls for whom we shall have to answer one day before God." But what is really significant about this "testimonial of esteem" is that it contains not a word of testimonial to Chiniquy's personal integrity. There is generally a printed form for these *exceats*, with space left to fill in names and anything extra the bishop may think fit to add; and that there was such an one then in use in the diocese of Montreal may be seen from the *exceat* Chiniquy gives as having been issued to him about a year previously (p. 324). There, in the printed part, we have the phrase "[Charles Chiniquy . . .] is very well known to us, and we regard him as leading a praiseworthy life in consonance with his ecclesiastical profession, and bound by no ecclesiastical censures so far as is known to us." But in the "*exceat*" of October 13, 1851, there is a significant omission of any such attestation of personal character as would certainly have been inserted had it been possible to give it truthfully. And the Archbishop of Quebec, who, as Mgr. Bourget says, was the prelate whose *exceat* was needful, seems to have given it on October 19th, in response to the solicitations of Mgr.

Bourget and M. Brassard, but with similar omissions. For Bishop Bourget, in forwarding it to Mgr. Vandevælde on October 18th (Doc. E), speaks of it as "not altogether in conformity with your desires," and Mgr. Têtu (Doc. A) says, "The Bishop of Quebec gave him an *exeat* for the diocese of Chicago without a single word of recommendation." So much in correction of the false construction which Chiniquy puts upon Bishop Bourget's *exeat*.

The construction he puts upon the gift of a chalice is not less misleading. "The best proof," he says in the letter written to Bishop Bourget on April 18, 1857, "that you know very well that I was not interdicted by your rash and unjust sentence is that you gave me that chalice as a token of your esteem and of my honesty" (p. 529). It proved nothing of the sort. Chiniquy had professed, whether sincerely or not, that he was truly sorry for the offences which had led to his suspension, and though Bishop Bourget did not feel justified in giving him further employment, Bishop Vandevælde, who was sadly in want of priests, was inclined to give him another chance. Accordingly the suspension was taken off him and, as he was about to start an entirely new mission, nothing was more natural than that Bishop Bourget should give him a chalice—not, indeed, for himself, but for the mission about to be started and in need of sacred vessels.

So far these contemporary letters convict Chiniquy of untruthfulness, and this may dispose us to doubt whether it is true that, when suspending him on September 28th, Bishop Bourget refused to tell him either the nature of the crime imputed to him or the name of the accuser. Be it recollected that in Bishop Bourget's *Letter to the Canadians of Bourbonnais* (Doc. C) he says

that he suspended Chiniquy "for reasons stated in a letter which he must have kept and which he may publish if he likes." Chiniquy's reply to this challenge in his letter to the papers of April 18, 1857, was by bringing forward his story of the girl coming to his confessional, and one would like to know what the Bishop's comment on it may have been. We can have it, for the Bishop, who naturally could not engage in a newspaper controversy with a suspended priest, thought it well that his clergy should know the true facts now that Chiniquy was endeavouring to misrepresent them. Accordingly he drew up the paper we have called Doc. D, and of which we have before us a certified copy taken from the archives of the diocese of Montreal. It is entitled *Explanations of certain Facts misrepresented by Chiniquy in his Letter of April 18, 1857*, and is dated May 6, 1857. It begins with the words, "These explanations are confided to the wise discretion of the priests, so that each may make such use of them as he thinks desirable." There will then be no impropriety in our quoting from them at this distance of time. The following passage bears on the point now before us:—

1. "M. Chiniquy pretends that we did not tell him for what crime we withdrew his faculties. This is false, for we told it to him with all possible distinctness (*en toutes lettres*) in our letter of September 29th [? 27], 1851, which nevertheless he cites as if it were to his advantage.

"He pretends that we refused him all means of justifying himself. To this we reply that our invariable practice has been not to proceed canonically against any one whatever except when the accusers were resolved to sustain their accusations under oath and in the presence of the person they accuse. If M. Chiniquy desires to

appeal to the Archbishop of Quebec, or to the Pope, he will find us perfectly prepared to satisfy him on this point.

“As to the incident of the poor girl whom he brings on the scene, it is so disadvantageous to him that he would have done better for his own credit to be silent about it. However much it costs us we will explain about this incident, as it is the sole argument on which he relies to create the impression that the bishops are tyrants who oppress and condemn their priests without a shadow of justice. Some time after the culpability of M. Chiniquy had been clearly demonstrated to us a certain girl came to depose against him, who said she would feel an intense repugnance to be confronted with him. This testimony therefore could not, in conformity with our ordinary method of proceeding, enter into the evidence against him. So we contented ourselves with telling this gentleman that, over and beyond all that had been deposed against him, a certain girl had quite recently complained of him.

“Now see what M. Chiniquy does. He confines himself to this fact alone, sends for the girl and gets her to retract. To all this bit of scheming (*manège*) we replied by pointing out the contradiction between M. Chiniquy's words and his actions, saying to him : ‘You pretended that you did not know this girl when I refused to name her to you. How, then, was it so easy for you to find her and make her retract?’ And to this *he had nothing to reply at that time*. Hence what he says now (in 1857) about this girl, namely, that it was she who wished to tempt him ; that it was in vengeance that she had accused him, and that he had been able to discover her by means of a certain individual whom

he had remarked exchanging a few words with her, is a story which any sensible man will see is made up after the event. Moreover, this girl afterwards confirmed her first deposition, under oath, and it was certainly not from us that she received one hundred dollars for that—if indeed it is true at all that she was paid.”

We can judge now what were the real motives that caused M. Chiniquy to abandon Canada for Illinois, and whether he has stated them truthfully. Probably our readers will consider that he has not, and that, on the principle “false in one thing false in all,” he has created a presumption against the truth of any future allegations he may make, those only excepted which are confirmed by independent witnesses. Keeping this presumption in mind, we must pass on to consider his life in Illinois.

He arrived at Chicago towards the end of October, 1851, and was at once sent on by Bishop Vandevælde to a district some sixty miles south of Chicago. This was the district of Bourbonnais, and there he proceeded to build a church and found a mission at St. Anne, a place some ten miles south of the town of Bourbonnais, where one had been founded already and was under the charge of a M. Courjeault. Later, he tells us, and doubtless correctly, he founded two other missions further south still, one at l’Erable, one at St. Marie’s in the county of the Iroquois. But St. Anne’s was his centre of action and place of residence throughout. There he built his first church and gathered round him his chief congregation of Canadian settlers. The first four or five years of his life in those parts were marked by various quarrels with neighbouring priests, all of whom

he sets down as despicable blackguards. But this period we must pass over with just a mention of the charge brought against him by some of his neighbours of burning down the church at Bourbonnais on June 5, 1853, with the motive of collecting money from Canada for the rebuilding fund, which he afterwards misappropriated. M. Mailloux, in his letter of March 28, 1858 (Doc. A), to Bishop Smith, then administrator of Chicago, states that "this charge was made before witnesses in the presence of Bishop O'Regan," and that "Chiniquy never exonerated himself from it." And Bishop Bourget refers to it in his letter to Chiniquy himself of November 21, 1853 (Doc. E): "I will tell you now that the report which is current here [in Montreal] is that money sent you from Montreal for your churches does not reach its destination, but is kept back by you for your own use. If this were the case Montreal would cease to aid you in that way."

But let us come at once to the year 1856. By that time Bishop Vandeveldé had vacated the diocese. The dampness of the Chicago climate aggravated his rheumatism and rendered him incapable of doing his work properly, so he asked to be released altogether from episcopal administration, or else to be translated to some see further south. This, and not any such reason as Chiniquy assigns, was the reason why he went to Natchez, to which see he was translated in the autumn of 1853. Bishop O'Regan, the conflicting accounts of whose character and personality we have already given, succeeded Bishop Vandeveldé in the autumn of 1854. If Chiniquy is to be believed, as on a point of this sort probably he is, a state of tension between him and his new bishop promptly arose. But however that may be,

he appears by the summer of 1856 to have become most anxious to get back to Canada. For from Bishop Bourget's *Letter to the Canadian Catholics of Bourbonnais* (Doc. C) we learn that on August 9, 1856, Chiniquy wrote to him a letter in which he begs to be allowed to return to Canada, and suggests a useful work there which he and he only could carry through.

"If" (he says in this letter) "you place an insurmountable barrier in the way of my return to Canada, ask God to give me the strength to drink the chalice of humiliations and sacrifices down to the dregs. For, I will not conceal it from you, one of my most ardent desires is to see Canada again. . . . The principal citizens of Montreal have expressed the desire to see me again, and their surprise at my long absence. There are sad secrets in the life of priests and bishops into which it would be deplorable if the world were to penetrate."

Which last sentence appears to mean that, in face of the demand for his return by the principal citizens of Montreal, it would be better to let him return than risk the possibility of the reason for his exclusion getting out, and giving scandal. But what was the work he desired to undertake in Canada?

"The sore which under the name of emigration is devouring our people is not sufficiently understood in Canada; or else firmer and more energetic steps would be taken to restrain it. . . . Of all the Canadian clergy I am unquestionably the one who has had the best opportunities of knowing what this sore of emigration is. No one that I can think of has been able in Canada or the United States to sound its depths as I have done. It is not in an easy chair, in one of the fair presbyteries of Canada, that I have studied the causes and disastrous

consequences of emigration. . . . Further, Monseigneur, with all this information I have a great desire to go and cast myself at your knees and beseech you to let me say a word to the people in the towns and villages of Canada on this emigration, its causes, its consequences, and its remedies. This word, the fruit of prolonged studies and solid reflections, would not lack, you may be sure, that force and eloquence which springs from profound convictions and a sincere desire to hold back a whole race of brothers who are rushing rapidly to their ruin. For five years now I have been eating the bread of exile . . . but believe me, Monseigneur, I have facts and arguments, the exposition of which would resound with irresistible force on both banks of the St. Lawrence . . . and which, with God's grace, might result in a great good, by stopping this great evil. And my discourses on this vital question would be the more appreciated, and would have the more effect, because the mendacious press of Canada has accused me of favouring the emigration of my fellow-countrymen."

This appeal, written in August, 1856, may well surprise us, when we bethink ourselves of the same man's letter of August, 1851 (see above, p. 25), published by himself in all the Canadian papers, inviting the Canadians to come *en masse* to the district in which he hoped himself to settle, and describing it in such glowing terms that it came to be called "Chiniquy's paradise." But our surprise increases when we learn that four months later, in December, 1856, this same writer reverted to his former contention, and in another public letter to the Canadian press took credit to himself for the invitation to emigrate to Illinois which, when he gave it five years previously, had been maliciously con-

demned by the Canadian clergy, but which he declared had now been entirely justified by the event. This was in a public letter to a M. Moreau, a Montreal lawyer, the following extract from which is given by Mgr. Bourget in his *Letter to the Canadians of Bourbonnais*.

"When I left Longueil in 1851, having for my only provision the breviary under my arm, to run after the emigrants who were losing themselves in the corners of the United States, I was treated everywhere as a deceiver and a visionary, bishops and priests in Canada denounced me as a liar . . . the papers pledged to the Canadian clergy spread false news about the fine and noble parish of Bourbonnais. And yet, in spite of this fearful combination of hypocrisy, calumny, and falsehood directed against me, I have succeeded in four years in creating all by myself a foundation so fine and solid, with the aid of my poor brethren from Canada, that M. Desaulniers was filled with admiration when he saw it with his own eyes" (Doc. C).

It is impossible, after comparing these varying epistles, not to feel that Chiniquy's method was to say, not what he thought to be true, but rather what he thought would best serve his interests at the moment. Still, it is also impossible not to feel that something serious must have happened between August and December, 1856, to make such a change of tone seem to him expedient. Was it that in August he had grounds for thinking that a storm was gathering around him which he might, perhaps, escape if he could have an honourable pretext for at once leaving Illinois, but that by December the storm had broken, and he deemed his only course was to brave it by taking up an attitude of injured innocence

and of revolt? What comes next may help us to solve this problem.

On August 19th, ten days after his letter to Mgr. Bourget, Chiniquy was suspended by Bishop O'Regan (Doc. A). What was the cause? From his pages it is impossible to get any definite information. In one place the bishop is made to say that he suspended him for his stubbornness and want of submission when he ordered him to leave St. Anne and go to Kakokia, on the banks of the Mississippi (p. 441). In another he tells us he asked the Bishop "to make a public inquest about him, and have his accusers confront him" (p. 439), which does not tally with the notion of an offence so palpable as a refusal to go where sent, and points to some offence of a secret kind, such as one against morality. In a third place (p. 449) he suggests that the suspension was inflicted because he would not give up to the Bishop the property in his church at St. Anne—again not the kind of offence to establish which required confronting with accusers, and public inquests, since all that was necessary, if Chiniquy wished to justify himself, was for him to say, "I am quite ready to do all necessary to effect the required transfer of the property." Bishop O'Regan himself is much clearer (Doc. E). In a letter to Bishop Prince, then coadjutor of Montreal, he says, under date of November 20, 1856: "The question of the property in the church had nothing to do with the removal of M. Chiniquy from St. Anne's, or with his disobedience, his schism, and his subsequent excommunication. . . . I had in my hands all through the legal titles to all the church property which no one could dispute. . . . I came to this last conclusion

(namely, to remove him from St. Anne's to Kakokia) for reasons of urgent necessity which I told him at the time and which he is free to make public [words which distinctly point to some offence against morality] . . . his obstinate disobedience [namely, in refusing to go to Kakokia], and the excessive violence of his language and behaviour, obliged me to suspend him ; his subsequent schism brought on his excommunication."

And this agrees with what M. Mailloux wrote to Bishop Smith, in the letter of March 28, 1858, already quoted from (Doc. A) :—

"I have lived here [at Bourbonnais] since one year. In Canada I knew Mr. Chiniquy very well. I know what his conduct was morally, but the moment is not favourable to mention it. . . . (1) Before interdicting Mr. Chiniquy, Bishop O'Regan had received grave testimonials regarding the moral conduct of Mr. Chiniquy. I am fully acquainted with the facts and persons concerned. (2) The Sunday following the interdiction issued against Mr. Chiniquy, on August 19, 1856, by the bishop's order, it was published in the churches at Bourbonnais and l'Erable that he had suspended Mr. Chiniquy from his functions. (3) Mr. Chiniquy having violated that interdiction, Bishop O'Regan had him publicly excommunicated on September 3rd following. Mr. Chiniquy had in Canada, and still has here, the reputation of being a man of most notorious immorality. The many women he has seduced, or tried to seduce, are ready to testify thereunto. Those who in this country [Bourbonnais] have lived in Mr. Chiniquy's intimacy loudly proclaim that he has lost his faith long ago, and that he is an infamous hypocrite."

Chiniquy, as we have seen, resisted the excommunication as he had resisted the suspension, and continued to minister at St. Anne's, capturing the support of his congregation by representing the bishop as having brought against him an accusation which he knew was false and had not attempted to sustain, the bishop's underlying motive being hatred for the French Canadians, whom he wished to drive out of his diocese. It was a great scandal, and Bishop O'Regan was anxious to end it. Accordingly he wrote to Bishop Bourget, on October 19, 1856, asking for help (Doc. E).

"Mr. Chiniquy [he says] has thoroughly corrupted the unhappy people under his care. This has been the work of some years. It was begun long before I came to this diocese, and I know not how it will terminate. The mischief can only be remedied by a few worthy, pious, and intelligent Canadian priests. If I had one such he could do much, as there is a Canadian settlement not yet corrupted a few miles from St. Anne's, where such a priest being located would soon take away most of his followers. This would be a holy mission for some pious, educated, and devoted priest. He would protect religion and some hundreds from the wicked man who now deceives them."

The result was that Bishop Bourget sent M. Brassard, Chiniquy's old friend and patron, and M. Desaulniers, one of his former classmates, with whom, by his own acknowledgement, "he had been united" ever since "in the bonds of the sincerest friendship." The choice shows that their desire in coming was to convert Chiniquy himself as well as his misguided people. They arrived at St. Anne's on November 24, 1856, and by the next day had succeeded so far as to

get him to sign the following form of retraction (p. 515):—

“MY LORD,

“As my actions and writings in opposition to your orders have for the last two months given scandal, and caused many to believe that sooner than obey you I would consent to be separated from the Catholic Church, I hasten to express to you the regret I feel for such acts and writings. And in order to show the world, and you, my Bishop, my firm desire to live and die a Catholic, I hasten to write to your lordship to say that I submit to your sentence, and promise never more to exercise the sacred ministry in your diocese, without your permission. In consequence, I beg your lordship to take off the censures you have pronounced against me, and against those who have communicated with me in things divine.

“I am your most devoted son in Jesus Christ,

“CHARLES CHINIQUY.”

This retraction cannot be called satisfactory, for it is equivocal in its language, and breathes no real sentiments of penitence. But it was taken in Chiniquy's name to Bishop O'Regan the next day by M. Desaulniers, M. Brassard remaining with his friend, to await the result. The bishop said to M. Desaulniers, “I would prefer that [Chiniquy] should go away without any retraction rather than give that one, and I shall, as soon as he abandons St. Anne's and gives security that he will not return, have no objection to remove his censures without any retraction” (Doc. E—O'Regan to Desaulniers, December 15, 1856, in which the bishop refers to his words on November 25th).

Chiniquy's conduct, when he learnt that the bishop would not make peace with him on his own terms, thoroughly justified the latter's action. Had the unhappy man been really penitent he would have obeyed orders and left the neighbourhood. As it was he persisted in his schism, declaring that he had only signed the retraction as an act of grace and on the condition that he was to be left at St. Anne's, at least as an assistant priest to his friend M. Brassard—a quite inadmissible condition, of which there is no trace in the text of the retraction. And he even had the impudence and irreverence to say that in acknowledging that his action had given scandal he had acknowledged no more than our Lord had acknowledged when He said "You shall all be scandalized in Me this night" (see Doc. D), which refers to this plea and comments on it). Thus there was nothing more to be done with the unhappy man save to bear with him, and strive to undeceive his congregation, for which purpose M. Desaulniers, at the bishop's request, took up his abode at Bourbonnais; whilst M. Brassard, whose methods of dealing with Chiniquy the bishop found compromising, was invited to return to Canada.

M. Desaulniers found his work hard, but achieved some success in reclaiming the schismatics, for Bishop Bourget told Bishop Baillargeon, the administrator of Quebec, on February 4, 1857, that "Chiniquy's followers are apparently diminishing, and are likely to cease altogether if only a few more priests can be sent to them" (Doc. E); and on January 1, 1857, a number of them wrote to Bishop Bourget a consoling letter, in which they expressed their regret for having been misled, and

their readiness to submit in every way to Bishop O'Regan. This letter was sent by Bishop Bourget to the Canadian papers, and it was in reply to it that the bishop wrote his *Letter to the Canadians of Bourbonnais*, dated March 19, 1857 (see above, p. 29). This reply was taken to Bourbonnais by Grand Vicar Mailloux, of the diocese of Quebec, and M. Campeaux, of the diocese of Montreal, who left for Bourbonnais on March 20, 1857, to assist in the conversion of the schismatics. As it was read from the altar in the church of Bourbonnais, and was published in all the Canadian papers, it must have been found very disconcerting by Chiniquy, who sought to discount its effects by a letter addressed to Bishop Bourget, which he sent to the Canadian papers. It is the letter of April 18, 1857, to which also we have had occasion to refer (*vide supra*, p. 28), as containing the first mention of the affair with the girl at Montreal in 1851. This letter is given by Chiniquy (p. 526 of his *Fifty Years*), though only in part, for, as has been noted, Bishop Bourget, in his *Explanation of certain Facts misrepresented by Chiniquy in his Letter of April 18, 1857* (see above, p. 35), quotes as contained in it the words in which Chiniquy assimilates the kind of scandal caused by himself with that caused by our Lord Jesus Christ.

What Bishop Bourget thought of Chiniquy's self-vindication in this letter we have already heard, but it will be interesting, as throwing further light on his methods, to know what his friend M. Brassard thought of it. If we are to believe the account in *Fifty Years* (p. 529), M. Brassard, *after reading the letter of April 18th*, in the Canadian papers, wrote Chiniquy a letter in which he said "Your last letter has completely unmasked our poor Bishop, and revealed to the world

his malice, injustice, and hypocrisy." Here, however, M. Chiniquy seems to have forgotten that, when a man is engaged in fabricating facts, he should be particularly careful about his dates. "When," he says, "I received that last friendly letter from M. Brassard *on April 1, 1857*, I was far from suspecting that *on the 15th of the same month* I should read in the press of Canada the following lines from him" (p. 530). "The following lines" were the text of a letter to the *Courrier de Canada*, dated *April 9th*, in which M. Brassard says: "As some people suspect that I am favouring the schism of M. Chiniquy, I think it is my duty to say that I have never encouraged him by my words or writings in that schism. When I went to St. Anne's . . . my only object was to persuade that old friend to leave the bad ways in which he was walking. I hope all the Canadians who were attached to M. Chiniquy when he was united to the Church will withdraw from him in horror of his schism. However, we have a duty . . . to call back with our prayers that stray sheep into the true fold." As M. Brassard wrote thus on April 9th, it is due to him to believe that he did not write in so different a sense on April 1st, nor can this supposed letter of April 1st be genuine, as a letter written before April 1st cannot have been occasioned by a letter published on April 18th. Besides, if M. Brassard had written thus about unmasking Bishop Bourget, it is inconceivable that Chiniquy should have written on April 23rd (*Fifty Years*, p. 530) to M. Brassard upbraiding him for the published letter of April 9th, without bringing up against him the inconsistency between the published and the private letter. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on this last argument, for we are safe in assuming that the letter of

April 23rd was never sent to M. Brassard, and was probably a fabrication perpetrated some twenty to thirty years later, for the purpose of Chiniquy's book. We are practically safe in assuming this, for a real letter is likely to have borne some relation to the facts as known to M. Brassard, which this does not. For instance, this supposed letter asks M. Brassard to say to the Canadian people what he wrote to Dr. Letourneau, namely, that "they do not wish to know truth in Canada more than at Chicago about the shameful conduct of M. Desaulniers in this affair." But M. Brassard, in a letter to Bishop Bourget of July 10th (Doc. E) tells him that in the early winter of 1856 his advice to Dr. Letourneau had been: "Go with your friends to M. Chiniquy and say to him, 'If you will cease from exercising the ministry we will aid you in obtaining justice if it is due to you, but if you will not we will abandon you,'" and that he further recommended Dr. Letourneau "to get all his friends to abandon him, that finding himself alone he might be constrained to return to his duty."

Besides, we have other and more direct proof that Chiniquy was capable of publishing unreal letters. On p. 447 of his book he tells us that Bishop O'Regan "*published* to the world the most lying stories to explain his conduct in destroying the French congregation at Chicago," whereas that bishop in his letter to Bishop Prince of November 20, 1858 (Doc. E) says: "I have not contradicted M. Chiniquy's extravagant letters or the advances of his friends in the same matter [namely, the closing of the French church at Chicago, which had got into irremediable debt]. I have felt that these documents contained in themselves their own refutation. These writings purport to be

replies to a letter I am supposed to have written to the Chicago *Tribune*. But I never wrote or published this pretended letter, nor has any one written or published it for me, save the astute M. Chiniquy himself." That means that Chiniquy had forged and sent to the Chicago papers, as coming from the bishop, a letter in reality composed by himself, and composed in such terms as to make it easy for him afterwards to refute it. And M. Mailloux (Doc. A) has occasion to allude to another public letter written at this same time, December 17, 1856, by M. Chiniquy. It was written to the "Canadians of Troy," and purported to be the reply to an address of sympathy sent him from that quarter. M. Mailloux adds: "We shall see later whether this address of the Canadians was not written by M. Chiniquy and presented to M. Chiniquy by himself. If it was so it was nothing unusual for him to do." As has been noted, the MS. of M. Mailloux' memoir is defective, and so we miss the promised demonstration which doubtless formed a part of it.

Now let us come to a further, and still more monstrous, instance of his dishonesty in the use of letters. On p. 538 of his book he tells us that on receiving his letter of April 23, 1857 (the letter we have surmised to be spurious), M. Brassard was confounded, and wrote to beg pardon for his untruthful letter of April 9th, which "he had been forced to sign," and in this alleged letter of apology, dated May 29, 1857, M. Brassard is alleged to have said: "My dear Chiniquy, I am more convinced than ever that you have never been legally suspended, now that I have learnt from the Bishop of Montreal that the Bishop of Chicago interdicted you by word of mouth in his own room—a kind of interdic-

tion which Liguori says is null and of no effect." With this alleged bit of letter a little history is connected. On June 8, 1858 (Doc. E), M. Brassard wrote to Bishop Bourget, saying, "I have never given any testimony tending to prove that the sentence of excommunication against M. Chiniquy was not signed by the bishop." This disavowal Bishop Bourget sent on to M. Mailloux (Bishop Bourget to M. Brassard, July 2, 1858, Doc. E), then in Bourbonnais, where Chiniquy was still contending that M. Brassard was on his side. M. Mailloux wrote back on June 24th to say that he had been glad to make use of the disavowal, but that the day before (the 23rd) a M. Camille Paré, a friend of Chiniquy's, had brought some papers among which was an affidavit of M. Brassard's, signed with his own hand.

"Under oath M. Brassard declares that a letter annexed to [the affidavit] is his, and that it contains his opinion on the schism of St. Anne's. In this letter M. Brassard declares that Bishop Bourget had told him that the suspension of M. Chiniquy was null because it had been inflicted without witnesses; and M. Brassard further declares that the bishop told him this was the opinion of Liguori."

Naturally Bishop Bourget was perplexed, and called upon M. Brassard for an explanation, which the latter gave in two letters to the bishop dated July 6 and July 10, 1858.

". . . If I must be responsible for all that it pleases M. Chiniquy and the inhabitants of St. Anne's to put into my mouth for the furtherance of their cause I can never hope to clear myself. Indeed, M. Mailloux himself would be greatly embarrassed if he were to be held responsible for all that is attributed to him.

“Now let me reply to this latest accusation. I have never written to M. Chiniquy that your lordship had told me the suspension inflicted on him was invalid as having been inflicted without witnesses. Nor did I ever write to him that you had said that this was the opinion of Liguori. If it is my letter that has been shown to M. Mailloux, he cannot have read in it any such thing, and if in the letter that was shown to him he read the phrases I have just cited, that must have been a forged letter, signature and all. As for the affidavit, that was truly signed by me, except for the words that ‘it contains my opinion on the schism at St. Anne’s.’ Let me explain the history of this affidavit. On the fourth of last May, after eight o’clock, Camille Paré came to my house with a letter from M. Chiniquy and one from Mr. Dunn, a Chicago priest who at the time of my visit two years ago to Chicago was Grand Vicar, but (as I have learnt since) is so no longer. M. Chiniquy asked me to make an affidavit acknowledging the genuineness of a letter I had written to him more than a year ago. It was a letter which he had shown to the Bishop of Dubuque, and which he regarded as likely to facilitate his entrance into the good graces of the bishop, but he had been accused before the bishop of having forged this letter, as well as all the other papers he had produced at Dubuque, papers on the strength of which the bishop had consented to send M. Dunn to St. Anne’s on Palm Sunday to announce the return of peace and to celebrate the divine offices. M. Dunn wrote to me at the same time in English asking me to accede to the desire of M. Chiniquy, for the good of religion. It was this letter from M. Dunn which caused me to consent to declare

by affidavit that the letter annexed to it was in my handwriting and bore my signature, and that it stated what I thought to be the truth. I wrote at the same time to M. Chiniquy saying that I was giving him the affidavit solely for the purpose for which he had asked it, and that it was not to be published, that it was a confidential letter which I could not consent to have published. Yet see what use he has made of it. . . .

“I see that he has abused a confidence which I have long since withdrawn from him, and that he has even abused the last act I did on his behalf—one, too, done on the recommendation of M. Dunn, whom I believed still to be Grand Vicar of Chicago. When then I have done what your lordship may think desirable [to put a stop to this misuse of his name], I shall have finished with [M. Chiniquy].”

From this we see that Chiniquy was capable of asking for an affidavit under pretence that it was to attest a genuine letter, and passing it off as attesting one quite different, which contained seriously false statements and which he himself had forged. After this we need surely have no remaining hesitation in disbelieving the many other letters, conversations, and occurrences with which the book abounds, and on which it relies to exhibit the clergy of Canada and Illinois in a detestable light. For instance, to specify some of the more salient points of this kind, we may on this ground reject as spurious the letters attributed to Bishop Vandeveld on pp. 345 (see above, p. 22) and 384, together with the answers to certain questions alleged to have been given by Bishop O'Regan (p. 440); and likewise, the various conversations he is said to have had with M. Beaubien (p. 27), M. Leprohon (pp. 66, 109), M. Perras (p. 136),

Bishop Prince (p. 334), M. Primeau (p. 341), Bishop Bourget (pp. 358, 365, 370), Bishop Vandeveld (p. 377), Bishop O'Regan (pp. 391, 394, 426, 429, 437), Archbishop Kenrick (p. 434), Bishop Smith (pp. 544, 549).

Similarly we may reject as fictitious the most unlikely account of his various dealings with Abraham (afterwards President) Lincoln, in chapters lix. to lxi. Particularly on this ground we may reject the cock-and-bull story of the Catholic origin of the plot to murder President Lincoln, fortified as it is by a palpably bogus affidavit made at Chiniquy's request and for the purpose of his book in 1881 (p. 508). A simple reference to the contemporary reports of the two trials of the alleged conspirators, or to the standard *Life of Lincoln* by Nicolay and Hay—which, whilst exhaustive in its account of the assassination and of the two trials of the accused, does not throw out the smallest suggestion of a religious origin of the crime—is sufficient to dispel the unsupported allegation of a man convicted of the dishonest practices we have been able to bring home to Chiniquy. Nor does he better his case by invoking General Harris, the Methodist General, who was one of the judges in the military trial of the conspirators. For in the first place, though General Harris, in his *History of the Great Conspiracy Trial* (1892), censures one or two priests for maintaining the innocence of the Surratts, a great deal of what Chiniquy quotes from him in his *Forty Years in the Church of Christ* (p. 206), appears to be interpolated into his account. And in the second place, General Harris says distinctly (*Great Conspiracy Trial*, p. 280), that “the only reference to the Catholic Church had been made in the public press [and]

the prosecution had carefully abstained from any assault on that Church." Besides, in 1901 General Harris wrote an approving Introduction to Mr. Osborne Oldroyd's *Assassination of President Lincoln*, in the Preface to which the latter repudiates the idea that "the Roman Catholic Church ever sanctioned that heinous crime."

We may, too, on the same ground of Chiniquy's proved untrustworthiness reject all that is to his purpose in what he has to say about the Spink trial in chapters lvi. and lviii. Some friends have been kind enough to refer for us to the authentic report of this case in the hearing at Urbana, on October 20, 1856. But it seems that only the barest entries were made in those days, and the sole record of this particular hearing is "Spink plaintiff, Chiniquy defendant, cause slander." Apparently Spink sued Chiniquy for one of the slanderous statements he was wont to set afloat against any one who offended him, and Spink in vindicating himself contended that Chiniquy himself had been guilty of the offence he had imputed to another. But, as M. Lebel's sister, the person who seems to have declared that Chiniquy had misbehaved with her, declined at the last moment to go into the witness-box—the sort of thing that constantly happens in such cases—Spink's suit suffered. Anyhow two things about Chiniquy's account of the case are suspicious—one that he so mixes the items in his narrative that no one could gather that the charge against him in this instance was one of libel; the other that the affidavit of Philomena Moffat, made in 1881 (p. 462), sounds untruthful, even if it be not altogether spurious. It professes to testify to an overheard conversation, always a doubtful kind of testimony, and whereas at its commencement it states

that two persons overheard the conversation, at the end it states that there were three, a contradiction most unlikely in a genuine affidavit. Besides it is hard to conceive how what is supposed to have happened in bringing Philomena Moffat from Chicago to Urbana, a distance of some 125 miles, could have taken place within the short space of ten hours at most. The railway from Chicago to Urbana had only been opened two years previously. Whether by 1856 it had been so fully equipped with express trains, and whether, again, at that date there were regular evening papers at Chicago, both of which the story implies, we have not been able to ascertain.

We might stop here, but for completeness' sake will give briefly the closing scene of Chiniquy's Catholic life. Curiously, at the very time when according to his book he was so much exercised by M. Brassard's condemnation of his schism, he was meditating another attempt to get reconciled (on his own conditions?). On May 12, 1857 (Doc. E) M. Campeaux, writing to Bishop Bourget from Bourbonnais, reported that "Chiniquy is showing signs of giving in," and two days previously (*ibid.*) Chiniquy himself had written to the same bishop to say he was inviting Bishop Pinsonneault, of Sandwich, Ontario, and M. Brassard to be his intermediaries with Bishop O'Regan for this purpose. Bishop Bourget wrote him back a kind letter of encouragement (Doc. E) but we hear nothing more of the project at this time.

The next episode in the history brings us to the spring of the following year, 1858. During the interval Bishop O'Regan went to Rome, probably on his official visit *ad limina*. As the visit terminated in his trans-

lation to the titular see of Dora, it was in accordance with Chiniquy's style that he should claim to have obtained his deposition by representations made to the Holy See and to the Emperor Napoleon (p. 540); but Mr. Gilmary Shea's account (see above, p. 15) sounds more probable. His successor at Chicago was Bishop Duggan, who, however, did not get his Bulls till January 21, 1859, though he was named administrator in the summer of 1859. Bishop Smith, of Dubuque, was appointed administrator of the see of Chicago during the interval. Hence it was with Bishop Smith that Chiniquy had to deal in 1858. According to the *Fifty Years* Mr. Dunn, formerly Grand Vicar of Chicago, who apparently was of Chiniquy's party, arrived at St. Anne's on March 11, 1858, with the news of Bishop Smith's appointment. He is represented as having been sent by the bishop to invite Chiniquy to send in his submission, and the bishop is made to say a good deal to the discredit of Bishop O'Regan which probably he did not say. Indeed, it looks as if the initiative was taken by Chiniquy, with the object of rushing the administrator, who could as yet have had insufficient time to sift his case. Anyhow, Chiniquy went with Mr. Dunn to Dubuque on March 25th, and signed an act of retractation, which the bishop seems to have accepted, and on the basis of which he authorised Mr. Dunn to go back with Chiniquy to St. Anne's and announce the reconciliation of congregation and pastor on Palm Sunday, which that year fell on March 28th. We may presume that this did happen, though we do not feel certain, having only Chiniquy's testimony to go by. Nor for the same reason can we feel certain that his act of submission was worded as he gives it in his

book, namely, "We promise to obey the authority of the Church according to the commandments of God as we find them expressed in the Gospel of Christ." Such a form may be innocent in itself, but is evidently intended to lend itself to quibbling, by enabling the person signing it to say, whenever he wished to disobey, that he did not find that particular order in Scripture; nor is it likely that Bishop Smith would have accepted so equivocal a document. Moreover, now that we know how little trust can be reposed in Chiniquy's assertions, we may doubt whether there was any tendency to Protestantism in him until the day, not then arrived, when he found it convenient to exploit Protestant credulity for reasons of bread and butter.

What is certain is that on March 27, 1858, he wrote (Doc. A) to M. Mailloux, then at Bourbonnais, as follows: "I am happy to inform you that I have made my peace with our good Bishop Smith, administrator of the diocese. The Reverend Mr. Dunn will be with me at noon, at your residence, to dine with you, and deliver into your hands my act of submission. Meanwhile, help me to thank God for having put an end to these deplorable divisions. And believe me your devoted servant, Charles Chiniquy, Missionary of St. Anne's."

This looks as if the Bishop of Dubuque was not altogether satisfied with the act of submission, and had it submitted to M. Mailloux that he might report on it. M. Mailloux wrote back (Doc. A) to the bishop on the following day (March 28) in terms which show that he thought the bishop was in danger of being taken in by Chiniquy through imperfect knowledge of his previous career. Hence he gives the substance of his bad record from his Canadian days onward, as may be seen from

the two salient passages that have been already quoted from this letter (see above, pp. 38, 43). The next we hear of Chiniquy was from St. Joseph, Indiana, where he went to make the retreat which is sure to have been one of the stipulated conditions of reconciliation. From his *Fifty Years* we see that he realized that M. Mailloux was doubtful about the sincerity of his depositions, and was warning the bishop to be careful; and Mgr. Têtu in his *Notes* has preserved for us another letter written to M. Mailloux by Chiniquy from this place of retreat. "In April, 1858," he says, "Chiniquy wrote to M. Mailloux that he was making a retreat and sued for peace. 'You know,' he said, 'how weak and sinful I am. Ah! do not make me still weaker and more sinful by driving me to despair.'" Another illustration of the different language which the unfortunate man held in private from that which he ascribes to himself in his book!

This letter of "April" must have been written at the beginning of April. At least it must have been if Chiniquy is telling the truth when he says that he was recalled from his retreat on April 6th, and went back at once to see the bishop at Dubuque. In his account of this interview he tells us that the bishop took back the previously accepted act of submission, and demanded another expressed in more absolute terms. This, he tells us, he refused to give, and hence was told he "could no longer be a Roman Catholic priest" (p. 551). Then he went to his hotel, where, according to his own tragic account, after spending some time in an agony of distress over his abandoned position, just in the nick of time—when, having made himself impossible to every Catholic bishop, he must needs seek elsewhere for some

means of living—the light from Heaven dawned upon him, and he saw clearly that the Church of Rome was false and that salvation was with the Protestants. Then he went back to his flock at St. Anne's, and on Sunday, April 11th, told them of the treatment he had experienced from the bishop, and of the subsequent light from on high which had come to deliver him. To his delight he found that his whole congregation was prepared to secede with him.

It all sounds most beautiful in his pages, but once more there are some considerations which make us a little sceptical as to whether it happened, at all events at this time. For according to M. Brassard's letter of July 6th (see above, p. 51), M. Camille Paré came to him on May 4th—that is, three weeks later than this supposed conversion of Chiniquy to Protestantism—and brought a message from Chiniquy asking for an affidavit, "which he regarded as likely to facilitate his entrance into the good graces of the bishop." Moreover, as late as June 23rd this Camille Paré, still acting on behalf of Chiniquy, was using this very affidavit to palm off the spurious letter on M. Mailloux. Indeed, M. Brassard's letters to Mgr. Bourget may be cited as proving that as late as July 10th no news of Chiniquy's final separation from the Church and conversion to Protestantism had reached the writer, who evidently thinks that he is still keeping up his pretence that his faculties as a Catholic pastor are intact through not having been withdrawn by any valid excommunication. It would appear, then, that Mgr. Têtu's *Notes* (Doc. A) are nearer the truth when they tell us that

"The unfortunate man was not converted. On August 3, 1858, Bishop Duggan, of Chicago, excom-

municated him publicly and in the presence of an enormous crowd. Such was the end of an ignoble comedy: Chiniquy after that could no longer call himself a Catholic. He would have liked to continue to retain the name in order to glut his passions and to command in the Church. It was not he who left the Church; it was the Church who rejected him from her bosom. It was then that he declared himself a Protestant and endeavoured to maintain in heresy and schism all the souls he had perverted. The Canadian missionaries soon set at naught his wiles and deceit. Nearly all the families that had gone astray returned to the fold."

When thus cut off from the Catholic Church his first idea seems to have been to keep his followers together as an independent religious body under the name of "Catholic Christians." But, in striking agreement with his letter of August 9, 1856, and in equally striking contradiction with his published glorifications of the fertility of his settlement (see above, pp. 25, 40), they found before many months were passed that they were in the midst of a financial crisis. This appears from a letter he wrote on September 28, 1859, to Dr. Hellmuth, at that time Protestant Dean of Quebec (see *Father Chiniquy's Reformation in the Far West*, reprinted from the *Record*, B. M. press-mark, 4183 aa. 12). The letter is a cry of distress in face of the "awful calamity" which is "rapidly destroying the noble band of new converts," who "cannot last out much longer." "Before next spring the Church of Rome will exult over our ruins. We will succumb, not because our new brothers and sisters have no charity, but because there is a

want of unity in their charity. You are the only one in Canada who takes any interest in this glorious religious movement. Last year some had shown us some goodwill, they had extended to us a helping hand, but now we do not hear a word from them." Probably it was for this reason that they quickly discovered that "unless we joined one of the Christian denominations of the day we were in danger of forming a new sect" (p. 571), and so were formally received into the Presbyterian Church of the United States by the Presbytery of Chicago on April 15, 1860 (p. 571).

But how long did he remain with these people? M. Mailloux (Document B) tells us that "not having been able to retain the place which the Presbyterian ministers of the United States had given him among them, because they turned him out of their society, as we shall see later" (namely, in the later part of his manuscript, which is unfortunately lost), "the unfortunate M. Chiniquy had to come and unite himself with those whom he had confounded on January 7, 1851"—that is, with M. Roussy (see above, p. 10), and the Presbytery of Montreal. Why was he thus dismissed? In the days of his lecturing campaign he was often challenged to deny, if possible, that in 1862, after a visit to Europe, during which he had made collections for a supposed seminary in Chicago, he was accused of fraud, and rejected or expelled by the Chicago Synod. He never ventured to take up this challenge, but a passage in his *Fifty Years* (p. 472) is interesting in this connection. In it he narrates that "through the dishonest and false reports of those two men the money I had collected [for the said seminary] . . . was retained nearly two years,

and lost in the failure of the New York Bank ; [and] the only way we found to save ourselves from ruin was to throw ourselves into the hands of our Christian brothers of Canada"—of Canada, be it noticed, not of Chicago—(by whom) "our integrity and innocence were publicly acknowledged, and we were solemnly and officially received into the Presbyterian Church of Canada on the 11th of June, 1863." It is easy here to read between the lines that a charge of dishonesty had been brought against him, one of the same kind as eight years previously had been brought against him in connection with the burning of the Bourbonnais church. It was his misfortune to be continually having charges of the same kind brought against him from different and independent quarters. However, on January 10, 1864, he gave what his new friends doubtless regarded as a signal proof of the soundness of his Protestantism, for on that day he married his housekeeper.

Still, how did they find him in the matter of personal character? His egotism and violence are conspicuous in all that he spoke or wrote against his former co-religionists ; were they entirely absent from his relations with his new friends? We are never likely to be told, but we cannot read without musing such cryptic allusions as the following in the sermons preached at the time of his decease : "We saw thy faults when thou wert with us, but now we see thy virtues," said the Rev. A. J. Mowatt on the Sunday after his funeral (*Forty Years in the Church of Christ*, p. 497). What faults? we ask? "He had failings, yes, and who is without these? Those with which he could in a special manner be reproached must be charged to the inadequate and positively harmful clerical education he had received,

and which in after years he so vigorously combated," said the Rev. C. E. Amaron, preaching at the graveside on January 19, 1899 (*ibid.*, p. 486). "On leaving home for more advanced and literary and theological studies, he entered upon a course of training much of which he afterwards deplored. Possibly some of his best friends were right in thinking that they saw occasionally traces of this bad education in his after-life," says his son-in-law in the Preface to this same book. What were these special faults, one wonders. Of course we are aware that bigots of this type, when they pick up eagerly, but to their cost, the weeds which the Pope has thrown over his wall, find it convenient to ascribe their noxious properties to the defects of the Pope's soil. We are aware, too, what are the particular noxious properties which Chiniquy in his writings finds it convenient to debit to the Pope's soil. Was it to matters of this sort that the preachers and the Preface-writer were thus dimly alluding?

In this connection we may say that the Catholic Truth Society cannot undertake a refutation of Chiniquy's book entitled *The Priest, the Woman, and the Confessional*. To write or to circulate such a work, which cannot fail to pollute the minds of its readers, is an outrage upon decency, and it would be impossible to deal with it in a pamphlet intended for general circulation. The reader will accept our assurance that in it Chiniquy has employed the same methods of misrepresentation and misstatement which have been exposed in the foregoing pages.

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EXPLOITS "ESCAPED" NUNS



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MINNIE MURPHY'S MENDACITIES:

HOW THE NON-CATHOLIC PRESS EXPLOITS "ESCAPED" NUNS

IN nothing is the brain-softening effect of bigotry so apparent as in the readiness with which many non-Catholics accept everything that is told them to the detriment of those whom they hold to be *par excellence* representative of Catholicism, viz. priests and religious. From time to time the Catholic Truth Society has thought it well to publish exposures of the ridiculous stories¹ which gain ready currency in Protestant journals of a low type and in the less scrupulous secular press—a proceeding which has done much to discredit their authors and the whole general policy of attacking the Catholic religion on the strength of the purchased "revelations" of illiterate apostates. But, as there continues to be a certain demand for such wares amongst both the remaining upholders of the Protestant tradition and the public which prefers sensation to truth, so the supply continues to be kept up, and in consequence additional pamphlets in refutation must be written now and again, in spite of the uniform character—a mixture of barefaced lying and weak-minded credulity, seasoned with not a little malice—of these periodical "escapes," as narrated and exploited by the scandal-loving press. These refutations have at least this good effect, that they make it difficult to use the same material more than once, and thus those who trade in such things are put to the trouble and expense of finding fresh *dramatis personæ* for their "tragedies." Moreover,

¹ See, for instance, *Calumnies against Convents*, *The Escaped Nun from East Bergholt*, *Ellen Golding the Rescued Nun*, *The Immuring of Nuns*, *The Slatterys*, *A True Story of a Nun*, *The Truth about Convents*, etc., etc.

as hinted above, they tend to put the secular press more on their guard against impostors, so that only papers, such as the *Daily News and Leader*, which are traditionally unfair to Catholics, and allow their bigotry to obscure their reason, are likely to give such stories any vogue.

It is our purpose, therefore, to put on record the details of the latest "Escaped Nun" scandal, to which a provincial paper, *The Sheffield Independent*, was foolish enough to lend its columns on May 25, 1912. One would think that anyone of ordinary intelligence would know enough about Catholics and nuns, especially about Sisters of Charity, who are in evidence everywhere and held in honour by all right-minded people, to detect the incongruities and impossibilities of such a legend as is here set down; and that anyone of ordinary decency would see the impropriety of publishing accusations against a community of ladies without investigation, and on the unsupported testimony of an uneducated girl. But the *Independent* reporter saw a chance of headlines and the news-editor jumped at the taking "bill," and this was the result:—

"SAVE ME FROM THIS PRISON

"DRAMATIC STORY OF CONVENT LIFE

"SHEFFIELD PLOT

"ESCAPED NUN WHO SLEPT IN HER COFFIN

"A romance as strange almost as fiction, in which a novice 'nun' and a Sheffield resident are the chief actors, comes to be told as the result of a casual meeting in a railway train. Some visitors were returning from Blackpool to Sheffield when a bright-eyed, bonny girl, of frank, open countenance boarded the train. 'Am I right for so-and-so?' she asked, and, feeling the sympathetic atmosphere in which she had fallen, added that she was just going into a nunnery as a novice, with the intention of taking the veil later.

“ ‘ You silly girl,’ said a shrewd little woman who was one of the company. ‘ If you were mine I would rather bury you. You think you are going to a heaven—it will be a hell instead.’ ”

“ ‘ Indeed, why—— ? ’ She almost gasped for breath. That was strange talk to one who had been trained to believe that to become a Sister of Charity was to win heaven on earth and join the saints. But those were words of great import. They went home to the girl’s heart, and rankled in her brain for many a long day ; for in very truth she had revolted in vain against the coercion that she should become a nun. Her brightness and seeming enthusiasm were merely natural buoyancy suppressing inner despair.

“ SEQUEL TO A STRANGE MEET (*sic*) ”

“ The girl, whose age was a little over eighteen years, had just come over from Belfast, where her father is a well-to-do farmer. He had paid £ 50 for her admission to the convent as a novice, and £ 50 more would have been paid in six months’ time, when, in the ordinary course of things, she would have taken the black veil.

“ Strange to say, the woman who had tried to dissuade the girl from her errand gave her a visiting-card. ‘ Think what I say,’ she added as a good-bye. ‘ Keep that, and if you change your mind and want a friend, let me know.’ The girl did ‘ renounce the world and worldly things ’ according to the faith, but the precious visiting-card she did not renounce. Some weeks passed, and one day a Sheffield suburban postman delivered a letter, at an address that need not be named, containing the pathetic, grief-burdened plea:

“ ‘ Will you try to get me from this prison of misery ?—or I shall die.’ ”

“ ALL’S WELL THAT ENDS WELL ”

“ With that greatness of heart peculiar to some women, and with a tact and enthusiasm that could not well have been excelled, the benefactor set to work

to rescue the girl. And—the romance of it all!—on Thursday afternoon Sister Marie, as we will call her, turned her back on the convent and Roman Catholicism for ever. She now breathes the free air which blows from the Derbyshire moorland, and, happy in her liberty, sighs at thoughts of the past.

“To secure her release the girl’s benefactor posed as her aunt, one verging on the borderland of Roman Catholicism, and she wrote to the convent congratulating her ‘niece’ on the noble sacrifice she was making, and the heaven of happiness into which she was about to enter. The remarkable feature of all is that the Superior reads all letters to the nuns and novices, and it is well-nigh impossible for such an appeal as that penned above to pass out of the convent. And ‘sisters’ have neither paper nor money. But Sister Marie, by a means it would be fatal to reveal, smuggled the letter away, and her gallant benefactor paid the postage.

“A strange series of accidents, as, for instance, the wrong addressing of one of the letters to Sheffield, nearly crippled the plot. It seems nearly a miracle it did not, and the two letters I saw bore evidence of the fact that they had been indited in fear and trembling and under strange conditions. But all’s well that ends well.

“‘My father forced me to the convent against my wishes,’ she told me, writes an *Independent* representative. ‘I had two sisters in the same nunnery. Father paid £100 each for them. They broke my mother’s heart those two going—she was a Baptist. Three brothers also had to go into monasteries. Two are now in California, but one escaped, and is now in the Hussars. Father cut him off without a penny.’

“THE COFFIN AND HER GRAVE

“Her story, told with dramatic force—now with tears welling in her eyes, now with her voice ringing with a sense of wrong—is a strange story of what

'a living sacrifice' meant to her. Not long after she had bade good-bye to the people who were to prove her benefactors she began her sufferings. 'They punished me, scourged me, just because I cried because they would not let me see my two sisters who were in the same place. I had not seen them for ten years. Now they have been sent to Paris.'

"And the scourging—how?' I asked. 'They simply throw a black gown over you, and then whip you. Merely they don't scourge you on the bare skin.'

"You sleep in the coffin that you will be buried in,' she went on. 'The bottom is strewn with straw, and there is a light covering in it. If you want to turn round you must sit straight up first. Another thing almost as horrid is: Each afternoon you go to chapel, and afterwards walk round the graveyard and pray over the place in which you have chosen to be buried when you die. You are watched by the Superior all the time to see that you do pray. If anything displeases her you are punished for it. Oh, it is horrid!'

"DARK-CELL MISERIES

"There is a dark cell of punishment. Can I ever forget it? There is a bare wood pew, to fit your knees, on which you kneel. A sister watches you all the time, and you have to pray aloud all the time you are there—from ten in the morning to four. You must pray or you are scourged.'

"In a general sense there is little difference between the novices and nuns in the mode of living, she said. After taking the black veil and becoming a nun the sister prays more. The Sisters of Charity are an order nearly as strict as the Carmelites—the order established at Kirk Edge, near Sheffield. Once the veil is taken the nun has renounced the outside world for ever. Only a special permit from the Pope allows her coming outside the nunnery walls again. Obviously a rare occurrence. But to come back to the 'entering' and being 'clothed.'

“‘The first thing, I gave up my worldly clothes,’ her story went. ‘Then my hair was taken down and measured for cutting next morning. It was down to my knees almost, and look,’ she said, displaying a rich head of hair clipped down to four or five inches. ‘Had I gone back now, as they expected I would, for I am supposed to be bidding Mrs —— good-bye for ever, it would have been cut with a pair of shears, like those for clipping horses, right close to my head.’

“‘And don’t forget to tell him that when your beautiful hair was cut off,’ her benefactor interposed, ‘that you had to trample on it with your feet as a contempt for vainglory.’

“CONFESSION—AND SUICIDE

“With many a sigh she told of toil, long prayers in postures that made her nearly faint, of meagre dinners of potatoes and gravy, rice puddings made of water, peasoup, and bread puddings; although on Sunday there was special fare of bacon and cabbage. ‘In seven weeks I have lost 1 stone 8 lbs.,’ she commented, ‘as well as my rosy cheeks. How the poor lasses who have not paid a fee live through it I don’t know! They do the drudgery in the laundry, and, like us, have to eat every meal standing, and with the priest reading to us from the Bible. Oh, I shall never forget it!’ she sighed. One form of ‘instruction’ she specially abhorred. For an hour they had to kneel with head solemnly bent, eyes cast to the ground, and look to no worldly things. Bedtime was quarter to six, and getting-up time at three-thirty in the morning.

“Novices had their patience tried in every way, and the most vexatious things done to them. ‘For instance,’ she said, ‘when I had blacklead the grate to perfection the Superior would throw a pitcher of water on it and set me to do it again. To show the slightest signs of annoyance would have meant punishment.’

"The confession!" she exclaimed, discussing another phase of her experiences. "The questions put to me made me feel ashamed of my life. I sometimes said I did not understand, and then was told. When I complained to the Superior, she said: "Never mind, you must learn these things, my child.""

"How I shudder when I think of it!" she added pathetically in conclusion. "I should have done away with myself—choked or something else—if the plot to get my "last day out," granted by the Superior, had failed."

This is the precious stuff—as faulty in grammar as false in substance—which an English newspaper was not ashamed to print, heedless of the injury done to the good name of the Sisters of Charity, heedless of the feelings of its Catholic readers, heedless of the elementary laws of justice which demand that grave charges should be supported by proportionately weighty evidence, heedless of everything except the prospect of increased sales. What strikes one is the extraordinary silliness of the whole concoction, which would appear to be much "doctored" by the reporter or the "gallant benefactor." The girl, as will be shown presently, is quite uneducated in speech and sentiment. How anyone could set down in good faith such palpable absurdities as—"And the scourging—how?" I asked. "They simply throw a black gown over you and then whip you," and "A sister watches you all the time [in the *dark* cell, notice], and you have to pray aloud (!) all the time you are there—from ten in the morning till four. You must pray or you are scourged,"¹ and an "instruction" consisting of kneeling for an hour and

¹ One is tempted to see herein a dim reminiscence of that immortal "Bab Ballad," *Prince Agib*. Cf. :

"Oh, the horror of that agonizing thrill!
(I can feel the place in frosty weather still.)
Every day from ten to four
I was fastened to the floor,
Whilst a mercenary whopped me with a will!"

"looking to no worldly things"—is difficult to imagine. The comparison between the Sisters of Charity and the Carmelites, whilst illustrating the abysmal ignorance of the writer of facts of daily observation, shows no little malice as well, for the holy, contemplative sisters at Kirk Edge had already been the butt of calumnious accusations in the Sheffield papers.

As soon as these silly and malicious statements were published they were denied in the most emphatic terms by the local Catholic authorities and riddled by letters in the *Independent* itself. Dean Dolan of St. Mary's, in an interview granted on the same day to a Sheffield evening paper, *The Star*, had an easy task in showing up the lies and contradictions with which the tale abounds. In the course of his statement he explains that the Carmelites and Sisters of Charity differ as widely in manner of life as any two religious orders could; that the black veil signifying that the wearer has pronounced the vows of religion is taken, not at the end of six months but after an interval of at least two years, so that it is more difficult to get into a convent as a nun than to leave it, and concludes:

"There are so many manifest absurdities in the story that the matter of selection for criticism is rather a difficult one. There is, for instance, that vivid picture of the nuns eating their miserable fare, with a priest standing by and reading to them from the Bible! Why, no priest would be present at meal-times. The idea of bringing a priest to the convent to read the Bible to the girls at meal-times is quite comical in its absurdity.

"Of course, the story would not be complete without the usual horrid suggestions about the confessional"; which he proceeds to repudiate with natural indignation, being himself one of those appointed by the Bishop as confessor to the community.

In spite of having all Sunday—Whit Sunday—to reflect on his conduct in publishing unauthenticated

and slanderous accusations, the editor of the *Sheffield Independent*, on Whit Monday, May 27, still kept to his heading "The Escaped Nun in Sheffield," although he published a letter from Dean Dolan, showing how incredible the story was and calling for the names of the "nun" and her abettors and the production of their "proofs." The editor tried to justify this practical reiteration of the calumny (and reaped, no doubt, a further harvest), on the grounds that his representative who "wrote up" the first interview with the "nun" was not shaken in his belief in her credibility. These are "our representative's" words:—

"The young lady is obviously well educated, and there was not the least indication at the interview that she was not perfectly normal, and telling a story about the inside life of the convent which she believed to be true. I questioned her closely many times, but she held strongly to the original thread of her story. Specially questioned on the point as to whether the laws of the Roman Catholic Church in respect of convents do not provide fully for nuns to procure their liberty if they wish, she said: 'Theoretically yes, but in practice no. Get inside, and then, and only then, you realize how your chances of getting back to the world have gone. You are a prisoner.'

"The two Sheffield ladies who assisted the girl to get away from the convent are middle-class people of good character. With regard to the girl's statement that she lost 1 stone 8 lbs. during the seven weeks she was in the convent, the ladies are very emphatic about her changed appearance since they first met her in the train at Easter.

"I saw and examined the letters the girl sent to Sheffield, in which she asked the Sheffield lady to get her from 'this prison of misery.' The letters had obviously been written under unusual circumstances. One especially started with clean, straight lines of almost copperplate writing. It finished in a jerky,

irregular way that formed a striking contrast to the beginning. Throughout it indicated that the writer gradually became affected by nerves or fear."

So far the intelligent reporter, who gets more imaginative the more he tries to substantiate the imposture. As for the honest editor, having shifted the responsibility on to the shoulders of his informants, he, of course, pleaded that he was not at liberty to publish their names. He himself is the best judge of what is due to his reputation, but it is exceedingly well for his pocket that the persons injured have not thought fit to take action against him for slander. Otherwise, his plea of irresponsibility would not protect him. Here is his excuse, with our comments in italics:—

"We have simply published a story [*containing very grave and criminal accusations against a definite religious order, and implicitly against Catholics in general and especially ecclesiastical superiors*] given to us in the best of faith by ladies who are held in high respect by all who know them [*even highly respectable people, as the editor should know, may be mistaken*]. We cannot give names and addresses. [*The editor should have got his informants' leave to give their names, if their statements were challenged. That is a recognised evidence of the 'best of faith.'*]"

However, a nemesis even then awaited our worthy editor, so scrupulous regarding minor points of the law, so wholly oblivious of the greater. The rival Sheffield daily, *The Telegraph*, had been making investigations on its own account, and in its issue for that same day, May 27, it published the result, with the title in inverted commas, viz. "ESCAPED NUN." As might have been determined *a priori*, the whole story turned out to be a hoax practised by a mendacious girl on some good Protestant ladies whose measure she was shrewd enough to have taken on their first meeting in the train. *The Telegraph's* report is as follows:—

"The highly sensational story of an escaped nun,

which was told in Sheffield on Saturday, was the work of a laundry-girl. The 'nunnery' from which she 'escaped' was a house of help for homeless girls in Manchester.

"As Dean Dolan stated in Saturday night's *Star*, the story carried with it its own contradiction. The slightest inquiry would have knocked the bottom out of it. The girl had embellished it too much with scourgings, and coffins, and solitary confinements, and perpetual punishments.

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"GETTING INTO THE NUNNERY

"On Saturday one of our representatives visited St. Vincent's Home, Manchester, the 'nunnery' from which the girl is said to have made such a miraculous escape. It is in St. Vincent's Street, Ancoats—one of the poorest quarters of Manchester. The street is typical of the district. The 'nunnery,' instead of being secluded from the world, stands right alongside the rather narrow thoroughfare. It looks something like an old works of some kind that has been adapted to its present use.

"Our representative knocked at the door. He was prepared for untold difficulties in getting into the 'nunnery.' He examined the windows critically, expecting to find them all barred against the escape of young nuns. But they were all open. There were no bars at all. 'They must be horribly careless in this "nunnery,"' he thought.

"When the door was opened he was astonished to see a bright, happy-faced girl with her hair in plaits down her back. Surely he had come to the wrong place. Why had this girl's hair not been cut off?

"'Is this St. Vincent's Home?' the reporter asked. The plate on the door said it was, but he thought there must be something wrong.

"'Yes, it is; come in.'

"This was too easy. Were all the desperate plans

he had formed for breaking in to be unnecessary? He stepped into the hall and halted. That was about as far as he was likely to be invited to go, he conjectured. 'Come into the parlour, won't you?' said the maid.

"She did not look like a spider, he thought, so he promptly walked into the little parlour.

"Can I see the Sister Superior?"

"She promised to send her, and away she went. The reporter was puzzled. 'This is a nunnery, and yet they let strange men in, put them into the parlour, and never ask either their name or their business.' The Sister Superior came in.

"This is a nunnery?' asked the reporter.

"Nunnery, no! This is a night shelter for girls, a day nursery where mothers leave their babies when they go to work, a laundry where we train girls for domestic service.'

"But you had a young nun here called Minnie Murphy.'

"Young nun!' she laughed. 'What rubbish are you talking about? We have no nuns here. We had a girl here named Minnie Murphy who worked in the laundry. We kept her and paid her 2s. 6d. a week wages. She was working here until she got a situation.'

"Please be careful. Is Minnie Murphy here?"

"No, her aunt came for her last Thursday, and she is now staying with her aunt in Archer Road, Sheffield.'

"Yes, the escaped nun! The very one! It is her I have come to see you about. Didn't you cut her hair off, and flog her, and put her in solitary confinement, and keep her from seeing her sisters, and make her sleep in her coffin?"

"My dear sir! Are you an escaped lunatic? What do you mean?"

"There was nothing for it but to produce a copy of the newspaper containing that most sensational story

of how Sheffield people had rescued 'a young nun' from something like the torments of hell. The reporter began to read it aloud.

"Do wait a moment," said the Sister Superior, as he touched some particularly pathetic passage; 'I must fetch another Sister to hear this.'

"She hurried away, and returned with another Sister. The reading went on, broken every few moments by exclamations of amazement and amusement. The Sisters really enjoyed the story, although, if true, it was such a reflection on them.

"'COFFIN' THE GIRL SLEPT IN

"That girl can never have concocted that herself," said the second Sister emphatically. 'She must have had those ideas put into her head by somebody. When she was here she was often sitting about in corners by herself as though deep in thought. Was she making up this Tom Sawyer story then?'

"Please, can I see the coffin in which the girl slept?" asked the reporter in a tone which suggested that if there was the slightest hesitancy he would walk straight to the coffins without permission.

"The Sisters promptly led the way. The sleeping-place was a dormitory in a detached building. The 'coffins' were ordinary—quite ordinary—single beds.

"Which was Minnie Murphy's 'coffin'?"

"This," said the Sister Superior, pointing to a neat little bed surrounded by curtains. 'But one night we had to ask her to sleep in one of the beds without curtains because we wanted her bed for a taller girl. That very much upset her, as you will see from a letter she has written to me from Sheffield.' This letter we give later on. It substantiates, in the 'escaped nun's' own writing, what the Sisters said, and proves that the 'coffin' story, at anyrate, was an invention.

"Now, please, the grave where the girl was to be buried, and over which she had to pray daily.'

“‘There is no such place,’ laughed the Sisters. ‘You may look where you please. There is no room here for graveyards.’

“The reporter carefully examined the premises, but could not find a grave or a graveyard anywhere. He did notice, however, that the big gates leading from the street into the laundry were wide open, so that any girl who wanted to ‘escape’ could walk out as easily as possible.

“WHERE THE GIRL CAME FROM

“‘But you have young girls training to be nuns?’

“‘You can freely examine the place, if you have the slightest doubt. We don’t train novices here. That is done in London. This is a working-girls’ home. We have eight Sisters of the Charity here, who run the home, and who go out visiting the sick and the poor and the prison. I have been to the prison to-day. The only girls here are girls that come to us for the night’s shelter, or that we are giving a home to because they are homeless, while we train them and find them a place as a domestic servant.

“‘This girl, Minnie Murphy, came to us from Preston. She had been in the Fulwood Home there as a servant. The Fulwood Home is a Roman Catholic home for boys. Another girl in that Home induced Minnie Murphy to go out to a situation in a beer-house.’”

It may be recollected that the *Independent* reporter, who showed himself so reluctant to disbelieve the girl, said of her: “The young lady is obviously well educated.” What the reporter’s standard of education is we can only infer from one token of the girl’s training which has fortunately been preserved, and which was printed at the end of the *Telegraph’s* account. It is a letter written to the Sister Superior after the bogus nun had gone with her bogus aunt to Sheffield:—

"THE 'NUN'S' COMPLAINT

"This is a copy of the letter the girl has sent to the Sister Superior from Sheffield. She evidently objected to the Sister reminding her that she had taken her from the beer-house to give her another start in life:—

"'SHEFFIELD.

"'MASIOUR [*i.e.* MA SŒUR]

"'I wish when you were writing to me you spoke littler of the Beer Houses. Did they harm you in any way or me I like to know I will never forgive my father for puting me ever with the sisters for I never in all my life suffered as I did since I came to them. All the comfort there was there in the Dormority was the curtains well I was as good as that girl that came from Liverpool besides she was not staying but Sister Vincent came to me and remove me as if I was a dog why I will never forget ancoats it is a good job my Aunt did come soon or else I would have gone mad. But I am glad to say I am free from all nuns and priest while I live for it is all work Pray and Benediction and then to Hell with you when you are no use. I wish to receive no letters more from

"'Yours

"'MINNIE MURPHY.

"'P.S.—I am done with Cathloick religion while there is breath in my body so please don't mind writing about my friends or there Houses here as we don't wish to here from yours again as I dread the name of Nuns and Convents.'"

The question naturally arises—how could a common, uneducated working-girl like this manage so to take in the Protestants to whom she told her artless tale? What had these people done with their intellects that they could not see its complete absurdity, both in general conception and in detail? The newspaper men—reporter and editor—were, we may suppose, blinded

by their desire to secure sensational "copy," and were not disposed to weigh the evidence for it too scrupulously. We are, unfortunately, well accustomed to that attitude in regard to Catholic matters at home and abroad.¹ As to the other deluded parties, the answer simply is—their minds were in the grip of the Protestant tradition and therefore afflicted with temporary paralysis. Let us hope these worthy Baptists have had their lesson. When, owing to the exposure in the *Telegraph*, her detection became inevitable, the wretched girl, after persisting in her lies for yet another day, owned up and fled on Wednesday, May 29, leaving behind the following confession:—

"I have deceived you in many ways. I could not bear to tell you personally. You will know the truth to-night. Forgive me for God's sake. I have left you to set you free from all trouble. I am desolate now, I suppose—no friend of any sort. Good-bye!—M. M."

This was making a virtue of necessity. After the statements in Monday's *Telegraph* no one in Sheffield, except the poor dupes who harboured her and were loth to lose their characters as gallant rescuers of outraged womanhood, could possibly have believed Minnie Murphy's tale of woe. Apparently she held out as long as she could, denied her identity with a certain Minnie Murphy who had got into trouble in Dublin, posted letters to supposed friends in Belfast, and withstood cross-examination, according to the *Independent*, from "a gentleman of long experience and skill in legal matters," to whom, by the way, we should be very loth to entrust a cause we wished to gain. It was when her friends as well took to writing to Belfast that the laundry-girl threw up the sponge and made her confession of duplicity. This note, which the

¹ However, there are signs that the press is growing more conscientious (see Appendix).

original offender, the *Independent*, characterizes as "a terse and intensely human message," is, at anyrate, couched in clear and direct English, so totally unlike the vulgar and illiterate scrawl which the writer sent to the Sister Superior as almost to raise a doubt of its authenticity. It may be that the sincerity of the girl's remorse gave her unwonted facility.

Something more remains to be said, and it is well worth attention. How did this Sheffield paper, the chief Liberal daily, which had exploited this wretched story for two days, act when it could no longer be sustained? Did it come forward with a full and frank apology to the devoted sisterhood whose good name it had traduced on such flimsy evidence? Did it confess its own over-eagerness to secure good "copy," and make amends by testifying to the splendid work done by the Sisters of Charity in Sheffield as elsewhere? Nothing of the sort, apparently, crossed the editorial mind. The common decency which should surely have prompted some attempt at restitution did not suggest anything to this gentleman. He could hardly avoid mentioning the matter in his paper, but he devotes his attention to psychological reflections on the woman's behaviour. We give some of these remarks, with comments of our own in italics:—

"Now that she has gone," he says (May 30), "all intimately associated with the case will breathe a sigh of relief [*we can understand the editor and the Baptists being relieved; they were in a nasty hole, and the girl's departure helped them out*], and Roman Catholics will be delighted that the story, so far as the 'escaped nun' herself is concerned, has collapsed. [*Roman Catholics were not concerned about the story of the bogus nun, which only a bigot could accept, but about the unfairness of the Liberal editor, who showed that he set his financial interests above regard for their feelings and for the reputation of their religious.*]

"It should be said that while in Sheffield the girl has favourably impressed all acquaintances by her capabilities. [*The cleverer we make the girl the less foolish will editor and reporter appear, so let us 'pile it on.'*] Competent judges familiar with the case emphatically declare that Minnie Murphy is a marvel in the fine art of deception or that her mind is affected by delusions. [*The boot is on the other foot: she affected others with delusions.*] The case is remarkable—far more remarkable than the public can ever conceive [*the public certainly cannot conceive anything more remarkable than the credulity displayed by the girl's defenders*—for two things. Not only did she display astonishing imagination, as shown by stories about sleeping in coffins, etc. [*no imagination is needed nowadays for such stories; witness Mr. Joseph Hocking's novels*], but she maintained her rôle of 'escaped nun' with a fortitude and plausibility that beggars description. [*It is rather when we come to the innocence of her auditors that description is beggared.*] When the stories of exposure threatened to overwhelm her she went her way quietly [*out of the house*] and seemingly unperturbed. It is doubtful if one woman out of ten thousand could have borne the strain and filled the rôle [*of 'escaped nun'*] successfully [*and baffled the acumen of our reporter*].

"Ladylike modesty [*shown by a refusal to see dangerous visitors*], and prompt but calm negotiation of every awkward problem [*i.e. steady and more or less consistent lying*], were the outstanding features of her conduct [*which we, it is not obscurely hinted, are expected to admire*].

"The people in Archer Road, Sheffield, who befriended Minnie—as the result of a casual meeting in a railway train at Easter and her subsequent appeal to them to 'save me from this prison'—acted in good faith and with the most generous intentions [*having found a good stick, as they thought, to beat the Catholic dog with*]. They stood by the girl, determined to be

friendly towards her and even to forgive much [*which shows, after all, that they had their suspicions*], if only they could be satisfied on certain essential points [*i.e. if only their preconceived notions about convents were confirmed*]. When her story had been apparently discredited in its leading features they made a generous appeal with a view of getting at the truth, but Minnie stuck to her story [*and went on lying steadily*]."

And so the *Independent* maunders on for another half column, drawing this palpable red herring across the path which led to frank and honest acknowledgement of error. It ends with "an expression of regret" at having relied on a gentleman of sound judgement [*viz. the reporter*], and thus "unintentionally wounded some of our Roman Catholic friends"; but it seems unable to realize that so long as the gross injury done to the Sisters of Charity, whom even the French atheists dare not malign, is not retracted, "our Roman Catholic friends" are not likely to be appeased.

Let us now see how the story was propagated in London.

Local news is collected for the press by a number of press agencies. These have their central offices in London, where the telegrams sent by provincial correspondents and items gleaned from provincial papers are sent out to the London newspaper offices and to the chief newspapers of the provinces. The story appeared in Sheffield on the Saturday before Whitsunday. That afternoon or evening the Press Association, one of the most important of English press agencies, sent it to the London press. The manager of the Association states that their Sheffield reporter had made inquiries, and the Association message to the press stated further that the Catholic priests threw doubt on the story. This should certainly have made the Association more cautious about circulating it. The Association has a repre-

sentative at Manchester. Were any inquiries made there before this charge against the Sisters of Charity of that city was published?

All those who have worked in the editorial department of a London newspaper know what care is taken to avoid the publication of libellous matter. Sensational reports are continually held back till verification can be obtained. Would any newspaper publish without careful inquiry among those concerned a story about a scandal in a British regiment or in a London club—especially if the story were full of blunders in elementary facts about army or club life? He would be very careful, for he would foresee the possibility of a serious libel action.

But it is notorious that nuns are very slow to seek redress from the courts; they are therefore fair game for the sensational newsmonger. And so many of the public are ready to believe any evil about convents, and there is so much ignorance about them, that an anti-convent story, wildly improbable or impossible though it be, finds plenty of eager readers.

Thus it was that the editor of a widely circulated London paper, the *Weekly Dispatch*, made use of this Sheffield story sent it by the Press Association to sell its Whitsunday issue. The *Dispatch* belongs to the great Harmsworth organization. The Harmsworths have an office in Manchester and abundant telegraph and telephone facilities. A message to Manchester asking for inquiries to be made of the Sisters of Charity would have pricked the bubble. Was any attempt to verify made before this scandalous story was used, and that in the most sensational way? It was given a prominent place on the first page of the paper. The contents bill issued to the newsvendors contained only a single item, set forth in the largest type, announcing startling revelations by an escaped nun. London was placarded with this at all the newspaper shops from Brentford to Poplar. The paper sold like hot

cakes. By noon it was difficult to get a copy. The *Dispatch*, to put it plainly, was trading on anti-Catholic prejudice and the vulgar love of convent scandal to sell its issue of Whitsunday.

Would it have dared to do this in the case of any other institution under the sun except a convent? It speaks ill for British manhood that educated men should be so ready to circulate horrible charges against women who devote their lives to kindly work for the sick, the poor, and the outcast. "To slander such women is the sum of all villainy," writes the non-Catholic editor of the American *Iconoclast*, denouncing attacks on a convent. The words are not too strong.

Having boomed his Whitsunday issue with this cock-and-bull story the editor on the following Sunday mentioned in an obscure paragraph that the fiction had collapsed.

As to the judgement exercised in accepting the story for publication, one point was enough to make any reasonable man hesitate. Minnie Murphy talked of "taking the black veil" among the Sisters of Charity: one would have thought that all the world knew that these sisters wear the white cornute and no veil! It is as though a man should bring an editor an army story, mentioning casually that, having joined the Grenadier Guards, he was about to be given the green tunic, cuirass, and steel helmet of that famous regiment. But where convents are concerned, editorial acumen goes to sleep.

We turn now to the gutter-press of Protestantism, to which a story of this sort, however little authenticated, is meat and drink, as it maintains its circulation by anti-Catholic slanders. We need only say that the *Protestant Alliance Magazine* for June, which came out after the whole story was exploded, published it nevertheless in all its grotesque mendacity, but, being unable totally to suppress the *dénouement*, prints with

characteristic dishonesty under the heading "ROMISH INFLUENCE," the letter in which the laundry-girl confessed her fraud before her disappearance! This, of course, leaves room for the further exploitation of this wretched creature if ever the Alliance finds fitting opportunity and cash enough to induce her to a further use of her imaginative gifts. And this is our excuse for publishing the following further details about her career, so as to have the facts on record. They are taken from the *Telegraph* of Tuesday, May 28, the day after its exposure of the *Independent's* legend:—

"Yesterday we gave Minnie Murphy, the young laundress who is posing in Sheffield as an escaped nun, another opportunity of trying to make good her story. But she is still in retirement.

"It is said that she has no personal objection to meeting anyone. She could answer any number of questions without wavering. Indeed, we rather gathered that she has had to face some such ordeal at the house where she is staying, and has come off with flying colours.

"But her guardians think she ought not to see reporters just at present. They are presumably making independent inquiries into the story, and hope to be able to prove that the girl has been telling the truth. But the girl herself is not at home to reporters at present.

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"The ladies who 'rescued' her admit that they were somewhat startled when they found that the girl was to go out with them 'to buy a hat,' and that money was given her for that purpose. When they got outside the 'nunnery' walls they asked for an explanation. The girl promptly explained away any shadow of a doubt that might have crossed their minds. The hat she was to get, she said, was not an ordinary hat, but the broad, white head-dress which

the Sisters of Charity always wear. She was to appear in that for the first time on Whit-Monday.

"We are assured that it would not be possible to buy such a head-dress ready made in any shop in either Manchester or Sheffield. The Sisters get them from the depot of the Order in Paris. They do not allow laundry-girls to wear them.

"The Sisters are said to have spoken well of the girl when the ladies called 'for her last day out in the world.' They also spoke well of her to our representative on Saturday. They were astounded that she could have invented any such story, and declined to believe that she could have done it unaided.

"INVESTIGATIONS IN DUBLIN

"It is denied that the girl was in a home in Preston. It is admitted that she joined the Blackpool-to-Manchester train at Preston, last Easter Wednesday, and so became acquainted with her Sheffield friends, but she had merely broken her journey there. She had come straight from Belfast.

"Information in our possession tells a very different story. We are reluctant to publish it. We have evidence that the girl has been in two institutions in Dublin. The second of these was also controlled by the Sisters of Charity, as were the homes in Preston and Manchester.

"The Superioress of the Dublin Home told our Dublin representative yesterday that she received the girl from another institution, where she had been for a short term. She remained with them about eighteen months, which was the usual time. During that period she was for the most part well-conducted and willing.

"Minnie Murphy was then sent to the branch convent of the Order in Preston, where she assisted in the general work of the house. While she was there she wrote to the Superioress in Dublin saying

she was dissatisfied, and asking if she could be taken back in the Henrietta Street Home. The Superioress agreed, but later on the girl wrote again saying she was quite happy and did not wish to return."

Other papers were not so charitably reticent as the *Telegraph*, and stated plainly the nature of the "other institution" in which Minnie Murphy had spent some time in Dublin. However, enough has been said to show how completely unworthy of credence the girl is, and how a desire to injure the Catholic Church seems to blind many excellent people to the moral character of those who give evidence against it.

The worst of these lies is that they are copied into other papers, but the refutation of them is not. Several Sunday papers, and, of course, the anti-Catholic *Daily News*, eagerly availed themselves of the chance thus afforded them. None have thought of expressing regret for their slanders. Consequently, we could have wished that the good Sisters at Ancoats had mastered their natural reluctance further to expose a wretched creature who had abused their kindness, and prosecuted the papers which had traduced them. A lesson such as the Bishop of Cloyne and his clergy lately gave to a Scottish newspaper is sadly wanted on this side of the border.

APPENDIX

An attempt which was made about two years ago to raise a similar "convent scandal" in regard to a Laundry and Working-Home at Liverpool may fitly be detailed here as vividly illustrating the thesis of the foregoing pages, viz., that anti-Catholic bigotry is apt to suspend not only the practice of Christian charity, but also the working of natural intelligence. We borrow the following description of the case from *The Month* for May 1910:—

HOW CONVENT SCANDALS ARE MANUFACTURED

"Escaped nuns," even bogus ones, are comparatively rare, and soon become, so to speak, shop-soiled. On the other hand, the exigencies of the anti-Convent agitation, unsupported as it is by any real facts or intelligible theories, demand, in order to replace damaged goods of the above description, a constant succession of startling revelations of the iniquities of the cloister. And so we can imagine the bigots, who make their living by appeals to religious prejudice, being occasionally at a loss to keep up the supply. At any rate, it would seem that a difficulty of this sort has inspired the publication lately in one of the low Protestant monthlies of a legend entitled, "Thrilling Rescue from a Liverpool Convent," a story which we propose to notice, not for the purpose of refuting it, as it would deceive no sane person whether Catholic or not, but in order to show the unblushing mendacity with which such "sensations" are concocted. Inquiries at the institution in question revealed the following facts, which were used as the groundwork of the subsequent legend. We omit all names as not necessary for our purpose.

A poor Catholic girl, aged fourteen, was received some five years ago, with the consent of her mother, at a Home in Liverpool under charge of certain nuns, at the instance of a lady who promised to find her a situation when she had had two years' training. At the end of that time the girl wrote to her mother, got the letter back marked "undelivered," and so remained on in the Home for another three years. Apparently, she made no further attempt to find her mother, nor did the latter make her address known to her daughter, although the girl continued to correspond with other relatives. However, during Christmas week last year, the mother, who twelve months before had become a Protestant, arrived at the Home from Birmingham, accompanied by another

woman and a local preacher, demanded to see her daughter, asked the latter to come away with her—a request at first refused but afterwards acceded to—and proceeded there and then to divest her of the garb worn in the Institution, and clothe her in garments which she had brought for the purpose. The party then left the Home with the girl and returned to Birmingham.

These are all the relevant incidents, and now let us see something of the process by which they were transformed into a “convent scandal.” The title itself forms a very promising beginning, as it makes or implies five statements, only one of which is true, viz., that Liverpool was the scene of the affair. There was no rescue nor any thrills, because there was no opposition to the girl’s removal; the latter was not a nun, and she was taken away, not from a Convent, but from a Home for Working-Girls, approved by the Home Office and under Government Inspection. These facts are conveniently ignored by the Protestant account, which goes on in this strain :

Twelve months ago it pleased the Lord Jesus to remove the scales of Romish darkness and superstition from the mother’s eyes, and the thought of her daughter’s position in a convent, with the endless round of drudgery, penances, mortifications, and dead ceremonies, tore her heartstrings with rude anguish. Her soul became consumed with desire to see her child once more, to kneel with her at the Saviour’s gracious feet, and that she might be delivered from Papal darkness, and rejoice in the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel, etc., etc.

At last, to summarize the unctuous rigmarole, the revelations made about convents by a Birmingham preacher inspired the “frenzied mother” with the hope that he might help her to rescue her child, and ease, incidentally, the strain on her heart-strings. We shall not, we fancy, be rash in concluding that purse-strings had also a good deal to do with their meeting, for the afflicted mother, both before and after her operation for religious cataract, must have

known that her daughter was not subjected to convent discipline, and might have been visited or removed any day of the "five long dreary years" that separated them. However, it was determined to have a "rescue," and the party journeyed to Liverpool accordingly. Unfortunately for their scheme, the Sister Superior did not rise to the occasion. In the Protestant account, it is true, she quite comes up to the Hocking standard. We are told that at first they were "courteously received by the lady in question," and mother and daughter were allowed to see each other, unembarrassed by her presence, but when she returned and was informed that the girl was to be taken away immediately, her "demeanour at once underwent a marvellous transformation. Drawing herself to her full height, and striking a dramatic attitude, she pointed with her finger towards the door, and peremptorily ordered the girl to go to her place in the laundry." After that, "something of the nature of a struggle took place" over the person of the girl, and twice during their progress to the door the Superior tried to restrain them by force. When the front door was opened "the girl rushed into the street," and the party got clear away and made for the offices of the *Liverpool Courier*, where a full statement of this "thrilling escape" was given in the sub-editor's room. "But, marvellous to relate, in these days of a supposed free press," nothing appeared in that paper, nor in "its evening contemporary, the *Express*."

Catholics need not the assurance that all this is merely unmitigated mendacity. There was no struggle. The girl was at first unwilling to go with her mother, and the Sister Superior not unnaturally complained that she had received no notice of her intended removal, offering to send the girl next day properly equipped. But, seeing the mother determined to have her way, the Superior contented herself with ordering the preacher out of the room whilst the girl was being

reclothed. As for the newspapers, they merely showed a discreet regard for the law of libel, in refusing to publish what was demonstrably false and malicious.¹ For instance, the girl states:

All girls are at work by 6 o'clock in the morning, and cease work at 6 o'clock in the evening. The only break during these long hours is for breakfast at 7.30, half an hour, and for dinner at 12.30, half an hour.

Now, as before implied, the laundry and workshops of this Home are working under the Factory Act, and the hours have been approved by the Home Office. The girls rise at 6 o'clock: have their breakfast before they begin work at 8: dine at 12.30, with an hour for recreation: have afternoon-tea at 3.30, with half an hour for recreation: cease work at 6, when they have supper and recreation: retire at 8.30. The Factory Inspectors visit the Home to see that these hours are observed.

It would seem, then, that the anti-convent scandal-mongers had rather overstepped the mark in this latest effort of fiction, trusting, probably, to escape prosecution for libel, to the natural reluctance of religious women to subject themselves to the notoriety of a public law-suit. They may also, we fancy, ascribe their immunity to their own insignificance.

¹ "So when Dr Horton says sternly to the practical sub-editor, 'You have not had enough anti-Popery revelations in your paper,' the practical sub-editor laughs and says, 'Thank you, we have had *quite* enough.'"—Mr Chesterton, in the *Daily News*, March 19, 1909.

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- H 89. TITUS OATES'S TEST.

POPE JOAN

THE fable of the female Pope has played so large a part in popular controversy, it is even now so tenaciously clung to by no-Popery lecturers, and it affords so curious an illustration of the infirmities of the mediæval mind, that it seems worth while to call attention to an exceptionally thorough discussion of the question by a French scholar which has been given to the world within the last few years. Many and excellent as are the historical contributions which adorn the *Dictionnaire Apolo-gétique de la Foi Catholique*, in the edition now appearing under the care of Professor A d'Alès, it would be hard to find any which packs more well-digested information into a limited space than the article on Pope Joan to which we are referring. The author, M. l'Abbé F. Vernet, Professor in the Catholic University of Lyons, has skilfully put the coping-stone upon a famous essay of Döllinger, once the last word of historical criticism, but now somewhat out of date. Moreover, while Döllinger's paper, from its rather involved structure, cannot be called easy reading, the Abbé Vernet's statement of the problem is throughout remarkable for its lucidity. No further apology seems needful for introducing the subject again, superfluous as any refutation of the fable may appear in the broad daylight of the twentieth century. I will only add that while the

greater part of what follows cannot pretend to be anything more than a summary of the data furnished by M. Vernet, some few other points which he has passed over have here and there been touched upon as likely to be of special interest to English readers.

Ever since the fable of Pope Joan has been submitted to serious investigation, the critics, whether Catholic or Protestant, who denied the truth of the story, have laid stress upon the extreme lateness of the testimony on which it professes to rest. In proportion as a more exact study of the manuscript sources has been rendered possible by the apparatus of modern research, the fact has more and more clearly come to light that however universal the belief in the reality of the woman Pope may have been just before the Reformation period, not a single authentic piece of evidence can be produced in its favour of earlier date than the thirteenth century. No doubt appeal has been confidently made to the text of chronicles of much more venerable antiquity, beginning with the "Pope-book" itself, the quasi-official and contemporary *Liber Pontificalis*, but when the manuscripts are carefully examined, it is discovered that all the pretended early entries referring to Pope Joan are interpolations of a later period. By those who believe the story the historical existence of the female Pope is commonly assigned to the ninth century, but the earliest authentic reference of any kind made to the subject is to be found in a paragraph of the chronicle of Metz (*Chronica Universalis Mettensis*) ¹ full four hundred

¹ The author of the chronicle is not known. Almost identically the same account appears in a contemporary chronicle by John de Mailly, see Weiland, in *Pertz's Archiv.*, xii. 469-473.

years later. This brief notice, which must have been written down somewhere about 1250 A.D., is inserted in the chronicle between the years 1099 and 1100—an impossible date, when the gentle-minded Paschal II. was consecrated Pope after the See had remained vacant for barely a fortnight. In any case, as the wording itself shows, the incident was only recorded by the chronicler as a subject for future inquiry.¹

Query. With regard to a certain pope—or rather popess, because she was a woman who pretended to be a man. By his excellent abilities having been appointed notary at the papal court he became Cardinal and eventually Pope. On a certain day, when he was riding, he gave birth to a child, and straightway in accordance with Roman justice his feet were tied together and he was dragged for half a league at a horse's tail while the people stoned him. At the place where he expired, he was buried, and an inscription was set up :

PETRE PATER PATRUM PAPISSÉ PRODITO PARTUM.

Under him was instituted the fast of the Ember Days, and it is called the popess's fast.²

It is noteworthy that among the small number of chroniclers of the thirteenth century who tell us anything of the supposed female Pope, two conspicuously different types of story were current.

¹ B. Urban II. was Pope from 1088 to 1099 (July 29th). Paschal II. succeeded on August 14th of the same year and lived until 1118. There were various anti-Popes at this period, but their history is quite well known.

² See the *Chronica Universalis Mettensis* in Pertz, *M. G. H.*, SS., xxiv. p. 514. The story is told of the Pope in the masculine gender. The Latin words of the inscription should mean, "Peter, Father of Fathers, reveal the childbirth of the popess."

That just recounted, though at a later date it was little attended to, or at any rate was absorbed in the alternative version, was at first the more prevalent. The second testimony known to us is of the same type. It is equally vague, giving no names, and in several respects repeating the actual phrases of that already quoted. We meet with it in the treatise *De diversis Materiis prædicabilibus*, written by the Dominican Stephen de Bourbon, which also belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century.¹ Stephen words the story thus :

But an instance of marvellous audacity, or rather of sheer madness, occurred about the year of our Lord 1100, as is alleged in the chronicles. A certain learned woman well versed in the notary's art, assuming male habiliments and pretending to be a man, came to Rome, and by her contrivances as well as her knowledge of letters, managed to get herself appointed notary of the curia. Afterwards, by the aid of the devil, she was made cardinal and finally pope. Having become *enccinte*, when she was riding one day she gave birth to a child. When Roman justice took cognizance of this, her feet were tied together and she was dragged outside the city behind a horse's hoofs, and for half a league was stoned by the people. At the place where she expired she was buried, and a stone was set over her inscribed with this verse :

*Parce pater patrum, papisse edere partum.*²

Another chronicler, still of the thirteenth century—he wrote perhaps about the year 1270—tells the story in much the same way, but more concisely.

¹ Stephen de Bourbon is believed to have died about the year 1262.

² The Latin text is cited in Quetif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, vol. i. p. 367.

He says nothing of the punishment inflicted, but states explicitly that the name and date of this "false-pope" are not known. He also ascribes the discovery of her sex and condition to the devil, who in a public consistory shouted aloud the verse, *Papa, pater patrum, papisse pandito partum*¹—"O Pope, Father of Fathers, disclose the child-bearing of the popess." The incident is apparently assigned by him to the beginning of the tenth century.

The other version of the story seems to be distinctly later in date. It is first found in some, but only in some, of the manuscripts of the chronicle of Martin of Troppau, best known as Polonus. As it is said not to occur even in all the manuscripts of the third and latest redaction, which the author probably took in hand about the year 1268, it may be considered doubtful whether Martin is himself responsible for the insertion. But, however this may be, the evidence shows that this account of the female Pope is older than the end of the thirteenth century. For example, the MS. Royal 14. C. 6., which cannot have been written much later than 1304, contains this incident and ascribes it definitely to Martin.² It was in this form that the fable eventually obtained almost universal credence, and the exact terms of it may as well be recorded here. In the text of the chronicle it follows immediately upon the account of Pope Leo IV, and is assigned to the year 855.

¹ This chronicle, which is known as the *Chronica Minor Erphordensis*, is the work of a Franciscan friar of Erfurt. It is printed in Pertz, *M. G. H.*, SS., vol. xxiv. p. 184.

² See Luard, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), i. p. 425, and cf. p. xxii.

After the aforesaid Leo, John, an Englishman by descent,¹ who came from Mainz, held the see two years, five months and four days, and the pontificate was vacant one month. He died at Rome. He, it is asserted, was a woman. And having been in youth taken by her lover to Athens in man's clothes, she made such progress in various sciences that there was nobody equal to her. So that afterwards lecturing on the Trivium at Rome she had great masters for her disciples and hearers. And forasmuch as she was in great esteem in the city, both for her life and her learning, she was unanimously elected pope. But while pope she became pregnant by the person with whom she was intimate. But not knowing the time of her delivery, while going from St. Peter's to the Lateran, being taken in labour, she brought forth a child between the Coliseum and St. Clement's church. And afterwards dying she was, it is said, buried in that place. And because the Lord Pope always turns aside from that way, there are some who are fully persuaded that it is done in detestation of the fact. Nor is she put in the Catalogue of the Holy Popes, as well on account of her female sex as on account of the foul nature of the transaction.²

Owing to the wide popularity of the chronicle of Martinus Polonus the fable in this form won by degrees an almost general acceptance. Ralph Higden, the English annalist, writing probably before 1327, expressly mentions that he has taken the story from Martin and repeats it with hardly

¹ The words "*Johannes Anglicus natione (v.l. nativitate) Margantinus, or Moguntinus,*" are obscure, and might be variously rendered.

² I have utilized a translation of this passage by Dr. S. R. Maitland which may be found in the *British Magazine*, vol. xxii. (1842), p. 42.

the change of a word.¹ A century later the devout John Lydgate, monk of Bury, in his adaptation of Boccaccio's *Fall of Princes*, does not go much into detail, but nevertheless tells his readers how after the death

Of the Pope which called was Leon,
The said woman by eleccion
Installed was, no wight supposing than
By no token but that she was a man.

The boke of sortes after that anon,
Of aventure turned upso down.
She was named and called Pope John,
Of whose naturall disposicion
Fel by processe into temptacion.
Quick with child the houre came on her than,
She was delivered at St. John Lateran.²

Obviously there is nothing new here, and I only recall it as evidence of the wide diffusion of the tale. Still when repeated by some other mediæval writers³ the story absorbed such details as those given by Stephen of Bourbon and also developed various new features.⁴ The most unpleasant of these last was

¹ Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), vol. vi. p. 332. I do not know how M. Vernet has come to suppose that Higden gave to the Pope the name of Agnes. He calls her Johannes Anglicus. Trevisa, in his translation, treats Anglicus as if it were a surname, and styles her "John Englysshe." The name Agnes is however used by Adam of Usk.

² Lydgate, *The Fall of Princes*, bk. ix. ch. 14.

³ See e.g. the *Flores Temporum* of Martinus Minorita in *M.G.H.*, SS., xxiv. p. 243.

⁴ The extravagant character of some of these developments shows us on what ground we are treading. A leaf sewn into a MS. at Berlin (Lat. 4to, 70) tells us that Joan was only deposed, not put to death, that she did penance, received the religious habit and lived on until her son became Bishop of Ostia. She wanted to be buried in the street, the "Vicus Papissæ," where she had been delivered of her child, but her son would not permit this. She was accordingly buried at Ostia, where to this day her remains continue to work miracles.

the popular error that in consequence of Pope Joan's successful imposture all subsequent pontiffs at their enthronization were subjected to a humiliating ordeal at the Lateran which rendered a similar deception impossible in future. But of this a word must be said later.

Meanwhile let us note that if anyone were disposed to attach weight to the fact that certain mediæval chroniclers believed in the existence of a female Pope, a comparison of the passages in which the fable first makes its appearance would alone be sufficient to establish its fictitious character. In each case the very language of the narrator suggests that a doubt existed in the writer's mind.¹ Many of the details are preposterous, for example, the statement that Joan studied at Athens, for in the ninth century Athens had long ceased to be a seat of learning. But, most of all, the various dates indicated for Joan's supposed pontificate (*e.g.* 1099, 855, 915) are not only mutually inconsistent, but separately impossible. The view most favoured, viz. that Joan succeeded Pope Leo IV., in 855, cannot be reconciled with the incontestable fact that Benedict III. filled the papal chair from the latter part of 855 to at least the fourth month of 858.² We have letters of his dated from Oct. 7, 855, to March 30, 858. As we know that Leo died 17th July, 855, and that Pope Nicholas the Great was consecrated 24th April, 858, we have barely two years and nine months' interval between these two. Benedict III. presided over the

¹ Observe, for example, the "*Hic, ut asseritur, femina fuit*" of Martinus Polonus.

² See also the coin of Benedict III., which was the subject of a learned dissertation by Garampi.

Church for more than two years and six months, and this leaves barely ten weeks unaccounted for.¹ Yet our narratives pretend that Joan ruled for more than a couple of years. But it is useless labouring the point. Every sane historical authority, one might say indeed every popular work of reference, now recognizes the fact that the supposed female Pope is a fabulous personage.² I will only call attention briefly to one argument among twenty that might be cited. It is interesting as occurring in the first volume of Father Parsons's *Three Conversions of England*, written in reply to John Fox's *Book of Martyrs* and printed in 1603. After noting that Pope Leo IV. was a pontiff to whom English chroniclers devoted special attention because it was he who, as the Anglo-Saxon chronicle bears witness, administered confirmation to our great national hero, Alfred the Great, when he was taken to Rome as a boy by his father, King Æthelwulf, Parsons urges the point that the little prince "must needs have known Pope Joan also, if any such existed," and that her English origin would have been likely to make her famous among her compatriots; notwithstanding which all the earlier English chroniclers like William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, etc., pass over the matter in absolute silence. But still more effective is the contention

¹ For all these facts see Mgr. Duchesne's *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. ii., Preface, p. lxvii.

² See pp. 21-22. The wide acceptance of the fable in the Middle Ages was probably aided by the prevalence in the early part of the 13th century of the story of the so-called St. Hildegund, a girl who disguised her sex and became a Cistercian monk. See *The Month*, February, 1916.

which may best be presented in Father Parsons's own words.

About a hundred and seventy yeares after this devised election of Pope Joane (to witt, upon the yeare of Christ 1020) the Church and patriarches of Constanti-nople, being in some contention with Rome, Pope Leo IX. wrote a long letter to Michell, patriarch of Constantinople, reprehending certayne abuses of that Church, and among other, that they were said to have promoted eunuchs to Priesthood, and thereby also a greater inconvenience had fallen out, which was that a woman had crept in to be patriarch. Which yet, he saith, that for the horror of the fact he would not beleeve. *Absit*, saith he, *ut velimus credere quod publica fama non dubitat asserere, &c.* . . . Thus wrote he. Which no doubt he would never have durst to do, yf the Patriarch of Constantinople might have returned the matter back upon him againe and said this was but a slanderous report falsely raised against the Church of Constantinople but that a woman indeed had been promoted in the Roman Church. How could Pope Leo have answered this reply? Wherefore most certayne it seemeth that at this tyme there was not so much as any rumor or mention of any woman Pope that ever had been in the Roman Church.¹

Father Parsons's argument is absolutely sound, and the authenticity of the letter of Pope Leo IX. cannot be contested; but we must come back to this point again later on. Meanwhile, looking at the evidence as it has so far been presented, it seems difficult to understand how such able Protestant controversialists as Jewel and the Magdeburg Centuriators can have made the mistake of attempting to defend a quite hopeless position. The explanation is no doubt to be found in the fact that towards

¹ *The Three Conversions of England*, vol. i. p. 399.

the close of the Middle Ages the Pope Joan fable had been interpolated by copyists into the texts of many of the older chroniclers. The array of witnesses who are supposed to have borne testimony to the existence of the female Pope is at first sight a most impressive one, but the evidence all goes to pieces the moment the inquiry is pushed home. As already stated, Joan was at one time believed to be vouched for by the contemporary *Liber Pontificalis*, variously attributed to the authorship of Anastasius Bibliothecarius or Pandulphus, but already Dr. Harding, writing against Jewel in 1565, pointed out the truth. "Marry," he says, "in the margin of Pandulphus this fable is put in between Leo IV. and Benedict III., written in a hand far different from the old characters of that ancient book, added by some man of later times."¹ There is only one manuscript (Vaticanus 3762) known to contain this insertion, and the page has been published in facsimile by Mgr. Duchesne.² The text is in a handwriting of the twelfth century, the interpolation—made, not, as Harding says, at the end, but near the beginning of the account of Leo IV.—is inserted in the lower margin in a fourteenth-century hand. The addition consists simply of an exact copy of the already cited paragraph of Martinus Polonus. But this process was repeated in the case of a number of other chronicles, and it may be interesting to set down in tabular form the very instructive data supplied by M. Vernet.³ Evidently the element of

¹ See Jewel's *Works* (Parker Society), vol. iv. p. 648.

² Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. ii., Preface, p. xxiv.

³ *Dictionnaire Apologétique*, Fascicule X. (Paris, Beauchesne, 1914), col. 1251.

extravagance and coarseness in the Pope Joan fable appealed to the mediæval imagination, and copyists of a later date, who were troubled with few scruples on the ground of textual accuracy, considered it a pity that in any general history this spicy incident should not find a place. Thus the story makes its appearance in one or more copies or editions of all the following chronicles, though it is practically certain in each case that the original text contained no reference to it.

AUTHORITIES APPEALED TO IN VINDICATION OF THE
FABLE OF POPE JOAN.

<i>Name of Chronicle, &c.</i>	<i>Date of Chronicle.</i>	<i>Comments.</i>
1. Liber Pontificalis	9th Cent.	Pope Joan a late interpolation, see Duchesne, <i>Lib. Pont.</i> ii. p. xxvi.
2. Marianus Scotus	c. 1080	The genuine text of Marianus makes no reference to Joan. <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., v. p. 550.
3. Sigeburt of Gembloux	c. 1105	The mention of Pope Joan which occurs in the <i>editio princeps</i> is found in no MS. <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., vi. p. 340, note.
4. Otto of Friesingen	c. 1146	No MS. authority for Pope Joan reference. See <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., xx. p. 229.
5. Richard of Poitiers	c. 1172	Only one relatively late MS. mentions Joan, and this entry seems to be copied from Martinus. See <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., xxvi. p. 78.
6. Godfrey of Viterbo	c. 1186	The older MSS. contain no reference to Joan. See <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., xxii. pp. 30, 292.
7. Gervase of Tilbury	c. 1214	The late MSS. which alone contain the Joan entry copy Martinus. See <i>M. G. H.</i> , SS., xxvii. pp. 359 <i>seq.</i>

With regard to the diffusion of the story Döllinger calls attention to the fact that the Dominican and

Franciscan chroniclers of the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century appear to have been particularly active in giving it currency. He thinks that the severity shown to the friars by Pope Boniface VIII. led the former to retaliate by drawing attention to what seemed the darker or more ignominious chapters in the past history of the Papacy. But this, I fancy, is to assume a great deal too much conscious purpose on the part of annalists who really had little thought of a public outside their own community. It is far more likely that the manner of life of the friars, travelling much, mixing with the people, and on the look out for material to illustrate and enliven their popular discourses, tended to the development of what we may call a gossip habit of mind. Such narratives as those of Salimbene or of Burchard de Monte Sion throw much light not only on the externals of the life led by the mendicant religious, but also on the singular absence of reserve in the mentality which it generated.

What is of more interest than the propagation of the fable is the question of its origin. Numberless conjectures have been hazarded by various writers, from the days of Bellarmine and Baronius down to a recent article by the archæologist, G. Tomassetti, in the *Bullettino* of the Roman Commissione Archeologica.¹ Most of the suggested explanations are quite extravagant and improbable. Baronius, in his long excursus upon Pope Joan, comes to the conclusion that the weakness and vacillation shown

¹ See the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1907, "La Statua della Papissa Giovanna."

by Pope John VIII. in the affair of the Patriarch Photius led people to comment derisively upon his acts as those of a woman Pope ; from this it would have been easy for some blundering chronicler at a later date to pass to a more literal interpretation and to believe that a woman had actually sat in the chair of St. Peter. But this impression of John VIII. as a weak character, as Père Lapôtre has shown in his monograph upon that pontiff,¹ is really quite contrary to the facts of history, and Baronius's conjecture must be ruled out of court. Still less acceptable, when calmly weighed, are the suggestions put forward by such authorities as Leo Allatius, Leibnitz, Padre Secchi, and others. They are briefly summarized and criticized by M. Vernet in the article to which I have so many times referred. Let me confess that the historical side of the explanation propounded by M. Vernet himself seems equally to fail in bringing conviction. According to him, in those terrible days of the tenth century, when under a succession of Popes who bore the name of John, from John X. to John XIII., the destinies of Rome were really swayed by Theodora, wife of Theophylact, and by her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, the gibe must often have been upon men's lips that the real Pope was a woman. This, M. Vernet thinks, would alone have been sufficient to give rise to the myth of the female Pope, and he finds confirmation in the name Joan, or Johanna, which is the natural feminine of John, as well as in the fact that the fabulous Joan is supposed to have been intruded between a Leo and a Benedict, just

¹ M. A. Lapôtre, S. J., *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, Paris, 1895.

as at the time of the troubled pontificate of John XII. a Benedict was elected to succeed him on his death in 964, while he had previously been in conflict with a Leo chosen at St. Peter's in a council convened by the Emperor Otho.¹

People will judge very differently the amount of weight to be attached to considerations such as these. A more definite nucleus for the evolution of such a myth seems to be provided by the occurrence at an earlier date—earlier, that is, than the appearance of any authentic trace of the legend of Pope Joan—of a story that a woman had been Patriarch of Constantinople. We have already heard from Father Parsons, who no doubt learned the fact from his fellow-Jesuit, Bellarmine,² how Pope Leo IX. wrote in 1054 to Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, protesting against the consecration of eunuchs to the episcopate, and expressing himself shocked at the story which had reached him, and which he refuses to believe, that in consequence of the carelessness induced by this admission of eunuchs to orders, a woman on one occasion had actually been promoted to the patriarchate. Father Lapôtre sees in this fable the germ of the legend of the female Pope, though he wisely lays stress upon the part played by other elements—not excluding vague memories of the dominant influence in Rome of Marozia and the Theodoras—at any rate in the final evolution of the myth. In particular, he calls attention, as E. Bernheim

¹ See Mann, *The Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv. pp. 260 seq.

² See Bellarmine, *De Summo Pontifice*, III., xxiv., when discussing the fable of Pope Joan.

had already done before him,¹ to a curious text belonging to the tenth century in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, which may conveniently be translated here.²

At that time a certain patriarch ruled over Constantinople, a good and just man but stained beyond measure by carnal love, so much so that he kept a niece in the house to serve as his eunuch and wrapped her all round in gorgeous apparel. This patriarch, when drawing near his end, commended his nephew, as she seemed to be, to the favour of all. Upon his death they all with one voice, being in complete ignorance, chose her, woman though she was, to be their bishop. She presided over them for almost a year and a half. But in the silence of the night when the wearied limbs are relaxed in sleep an evil spirit introduced himself before the bed where Arichis (Duke of Beneventum) was taking his rest and spoke aloud saying, "What art thou doing, Arichis?" and while he was still striving to take in the meaning of this unwonted clamour, the devil said again: "I will disclose to you what I have done. The people of Constantinople have a woman for a bishop and on this account the anger of the Redeemer is menacing that land." Saying which he departed. So the prince sent *apocrisarii* to Constantinople and made known all that the devil had revealed to him. They diligently made inquiries and found that it was even as Arichis had announced, and then that abomination was put an end to.³

Here at least we have definitely the idea of a woman who had become an "œcumenical pontiff," for this was the style favoured by the Constantino-

¹ Lapôte, *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, pp. 363-367.

² Bernheim, "Zur Sage der Päpstin Johanna," in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. iii. p. 410.

³ *Chronicon Salernitanum* (written c. 975). See *M. G. H.*, SS., III. 481.

politan patriarchs. Stories of this kind have always a tendency to gravitate towards the centres of supreme interest. It is a well-known law that such famous characters as Alexander and Charlemagne attract to themselves all the folk-tales that originally were told of other people, and a similar process no doubt went on in regard to institutions like the Papacy, which, needless so say, was the most prominent see in all Christendom.

But even so the fable would hardly have attained the growth and celebrity which ultimately attached to it, if it had not been for some familiar material objects which gave it point and definiteness. There seem in this case to have been at least two such monuments, and the whole material was woven together into one more or less consistent story. The first and more important monument was a statue of a woman with a child, which stood in a narrow street in Rome, on the way to the Lateran and close to the little church of San Clemente. If we may trust a conjecture recently put forward by G. Tomassetti, the actual statue is still preserved, and is to be found in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican Museum. It is a striking work of art, remarkable on account of the rarity, among our surviving specimens of ancient sculpture, of any such combination of mother and child. Modern critics commonly believe it to have been intended to represent Juno suckling Hercules. According to Tomassetti, the statue was carried off from the neighbourhood of San Clemente to the Quirinal by order of Sixtus V., who was glad to have a pretext for putting some check upon the folk-tales which centred

round it. That there was some statue in the fifteenth century, near San Clemente, which was popularly believed to represent the female Pope and the infant to which she gave birth is certain.¹ It was also believed that the Pope's great state processions, when he went to take formal possession of the Lateran, avoided passing along the street in which it stood, from shame, to the memory of Pope Joan's public disgrace. As Capgrave reminds his readers, "the church was deceyved once in a woman which deyed on procession, great with chylde, for an ymage is sette up in memorie of her as we go to Laterane."² On the pedestal of this statue were probably inscribed the letters P.P.P.P.P. (Tomassetti considers it improbable that there were really six P.s), which represented formulæ familiar to classical epigraphy,³ but which were variously interpreted by the unscientific antiquaries of the thirteenth century as yielding an hexameter line :

PAPA PATER PATRUM PAPISE PANDITO PARTUM,
or something of that sort, for, as we have already seen, there was more than one rendering.⁴ There

¹ All this is attested by an English witness who lived in the time of Henry IV. : "Ad detestacionem tamen pape Agnetis (Adam calls her Agnes, not Joan) cuius ymago de petra cum filio suo prope S. Clementem in via recta existit, per obliquum declinans," &c. See Maunde Thompson, *Chronicon Adæ de Usk*, p. 90.

² Capgrave, *The Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 74. Capgrave wrote somewhere between 1422 and 1437.

³ P.P.P. often stands for *propria pecunia posuit* (he set up at his own expense) ; P.P. for *Pater patriæ*, or for *parentes*. A combination of these would give us five P.s.

⁴ With the Protestant controversialists of a later age the favourite rendering was—

PAPA PATER PATRUM PEPERIT PAPISSA PAPELLUM.

can be no possible doubt, as indeed Döllinger long ago made plain, that the statue of the mother and child played a very large part in the evolution of the legend. Given only the crude idea that there had once been a female Pope, it would follow of itself, as in the Constantinople story, that she was not likely to be a person of edifying life, and the imagination of the people would soon elaborate a host of other details. Nothing is better attested in folk-lore than the fact that if there is any object which arouses curiosity and speculation—whether it be some natural feature, *e.g.* a chasm in the ground or a hill of strange shape, or again some vestige of antiquity, such as a ruined arch or a conspicuous monument—the popular fancy soon sets to work to weave a story round it. These “iconographic legends,” as Father Delehaye aptly calls them, are of everyday occurrence; they are at one time pious, at another wholly secular,¹ but in almost every country of the world any investigator who chooses to collect examples may find scores of quaint stories which have grown out of no better foundation than some freak of nature, or work of art, or inscription of doubtful meaning.² So it seems to have been with the stone statue of a mother and child which formerly stood in the narrow street near

¹ See the many examples quoted by Father Delehaye in his *Legends of the Saints* (Eng. trans.), pp. 45 *seq.*, and cf. Kinkei, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 161–243.

² A conspicuous example of this last class is furnished by the Abercius inscription recovered some years ago by Sir W. M. Ramsay and now in the Lateran museum. The whole tale of St. Abercius as recounted by the Metaphrast seems to have been evolved out of an attempt to interpret literally the terms of this symbolical and cryptic text.

St. Clement's, between the Coliseum and the Lateran. The street, until it was widened by Sixtus V., was too narrow to allow the Pope's great procession to pass, but the populace would have it that the procession went another way because the Popes could not bear to be reminded of the shameful incident in the history of the Papacy, of which that statue was the abiding memorial.

Further, one brief word must be said of another and still more unpleasant element of the story which in the later middle ages undoubtedly contributed to its popularity. Those who are familiar with the note of coarseness habitually exploited by the modern purveyors of Sunday literature for the lower classes will have no difficulty in understanding why the fable of Pope Joan was in high favour and not likely to be forgotten. We know from the twelfth century *Ordo* of Cencius that when a new Pope was installed at the Lateran he sat down, as our own king still does at his coronation, on different seats or thrones for the performance of different ceremonies, as the ritual directed. When the pontiff took his seat for the first time on a particular marble bench a versicle was sung, intended to remind the Pope that his elevation was not due to anything superhuman in himself, but only to the grace of the Most High; *suscitans a terra inopem*, chanted the choir, *et de stercore erigens pauperem*.¹ From this the bench in question was called the *sedes stercorata*, and owing to a confusion with two other marble seats also employed in the ceremony and

¹ " Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill " (Ps. cxii. 7).

which had apparently at one time been used in an ancient Roman *thermæ*, or bathing establishment, the meaning and purpose of the real *sedes stercorata*, which in point of fact was not perforated, came to be misunderstood by the coarse-minded populace. The ceremony was thus popularly believed to be a precaution taken that no woman in future should be raised to the pontifical dignity, but as the official ceremonial books plainly show, this was a gross misconception and at no time had any foundation in fact.¹

Finally the question occurs of the extent to which the Pope Joan legend has been discredited among all self-respecting writers of history. Probably the most effective way of illustrating the unscrupulousness of those, who without even the pretence of any fresh argument, dish up this ancient fable anew, will be to quote in the briefest terms the verdict of the various popular encyclopædias to be found on the shelves of a reference-library, like that of the British Museum Reading Room. Here are the results of a few minutes spent in such an experiment. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911, vol. xv. p. 420), Joan is declared to be "a mythical female Pope." In the *New International Encyclopædia* (New York, 1909, vol. xiii. p. 123), we are told that "the unhistorical character of this story is now universally admitted." *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (Edinburgh, 1901, vol. vi. p. 334), in a relatively long article, describes Joan as "a fabulous person-

¹ This truth had been demonstrated by a number of writers, e.g. by F. Cancellieri in *Storia de' solenni Possessi*, by Moroni in his *Dizionario*, by Lucius Lector and many others.

age, long said to have filled the papal chair as John VII." (*sic*). As far back as 1839, the *Penny Encyclopædia* (vol. xiii. p. 123) spoke of Pope Joan as "a supposed individual of the female sex," and while admitting the whole story to be apocryphal, was anxious to show that "Protestants did not invent the tale, as they have been accused of having done." The best-known German encyclopædias, Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon* (1897, vol. ix. p. 590), and Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon* (1902, vol. ix. p. 965), both designate the story as *Sage* and *Fabel*, and are both eager to assure us that "the Protestant Blondel, in 1657, first demonstrated its unhistorical character." So far as regards France, *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1895, vol. xxi. p. 100) declares that the "baselessness of the legend is no longer disputed by anyone." Further, as I am giving the results of my little investigation without any reserve whatever, it may be noted that the only book of reference I have yet met with which expresses even the shadow of a doubt on the subject, is the notoriously anti-clerical Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, which in its older edition (1873, vol. ix. p. 938) professes to state the arguments on both sides, and to leave the reader to decide the question for himself. But the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* (Paris, 1902, vol. v. p. 396) remarks: "Already rejected in the eighteenth century by Bayle and even by Voltaire, the legend of Pope Joan is now no longer supported by anyone."¹

¹ "Déjà rejetée, au XVIII^e siècle, par Bayle et même par Voltaire, la légende de la Papesse Jeanne n'est plus aujourd'hui soutenue par personne."

It would be absurd to try to amplify this consensus of opinion, but it may be worth while to remark that the more important histories, when they do not disdainfully pass the legend by, as unworthy of notice, content themselves with trying to explain how this preposterous fable ever came to be believed: Döllinger's *Papst-fabeln* is universally appealed to as having said the last word on the subject, and it is referred to by such different writers as Professor Bury in his edition of *Gibbon* (1898, vol. v. p. 298),—Gibbon himself rejected the story a century and a half ago,—and by Gregorovius in his *Geschichte der Stadt Rom* (5th Ed., 1906, vol. iii. pp. 108 seq.). The same is true of *The Historians' History of the World*¹ (1907, vol. viii. p. 567), published by the *Times*.

I quote this last compilation not because I attach any special importance to it, but because it bears on the title-page of each volume the name of Dr. Angelo Rappoport as one of its contributors, and because *Who's Who* declares, no doubt upon information supplied by Dr. Rappoport himself, that he was "Revising Editor" of the work. None the less, when Dr. Rappoport, a few years later, came to publish his notorious book, the *Love Affairs of the Vatican*, he retold the whole fable in its most extravagant form, and declared it to be based on "trustworthy authorities."

However, we find that even the fanatical anti-Roman historian, Dr. Theodore Griesinger, from

¹ The section is headed "The Myth of the Woman Pope," and in the course of it we read, "the story of the pontificate of Joan was received as fact from the 13th to the 15th century, but it has been discredited by later researches."

whom Dr. Rappoport, in the book just mentioned, borrowed many pages without acknowledgment, rejects the legend completely.

The first doubts of the story [he says] arose with the Renaissance and, to the credit of Protestant writers it must be admitted, they have done most to dispel the fable. Their investigations proved that not a single author of the ninth century refers to the story.¹

It would therefore hardly be possible to quote any other narrative, once generally believed, which in our day has become so completely discredited as the fable of Pope Joan.

¹ Griesinger, *Mysteries of the Vatican* (Eng. Trans., 1864), vol. i. p. 314.

[The accompanying woodcut of Pope Joan is copied from that in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, belonging to the end of the 15th century.]

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THE MYTH OF CONTINUITY

By JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

LET not the reader infer, from the title of this essay, that we intend to inflict on his patience a long and tedious theological disquisition. Our object is historical, not controversial; the investigation of facts, not the discussion of doctrines. Hitherto it has been generally believed, that the Reformation in England was in reality the work of the civil power, which ousted the old Church, and intruded a new Church by act of parliament: and truly, when we read that the actual governors of the Church were changed, the bishops in possession being ejected, and new men put into their places; that the public worship of the Church was changed, the sacrifice of the mass being abolished, and another service substituted for it; and that the acknowledged doctrines of the Church were changed, many of its former tenets and practices being condemned, and new articles of religion promulgated; when, in a word, we behold bishops, worship, doctrine, all swept away, and little remaining of the old establishment but the bare walls of the religious edifices which it had raised and consecrated; we do not see how it was possible for reasonable men to come to any other conclusion. Lately, however, a new light has burst upon us from Oxford, to dispel the darkness which covered the ecclesiastical transactions of former times,—we mean those of the reigns

of Henry, the meek reformer; of Edward, his theological child, and of Elizabeth, his immaculate daughter. To these distinguished characters, it now appears, that much injury has been done by history as it has been hitherto written. They may, indeed, have filled their own coffers and the purses of their flatterers with ecclesiastical plunder—that is not denied; but placed in this new light, they stand forth to our view, the two first as nursing fathers, the latter as a nursing mother, to the Church of their time: they are represented as aiding her efforts with their secular influence, and respecting her spiritual independence. Instead of reforming her by force, as we had been led to suppose, they only enabled her to reform herself: so that the English Church of Protestant times is the very same with the English Church of Catholic times; exactly, says Dr. Hook, “as a man who has washed his face in the morning, remains the same man as he was before he had washed.”* Hence it follows that the Church of the Augustines, the Anselms, the Grossetestes, still rears her venerable front among us: she has never been ousted of her original seat, never replaced by another: she experienced nothing more than the renovation of washing, under the pious sway of the monarchs whom we have mentioned. She had been, indeed, a true daughter of the scarlet lady of Babylon,—a daughter as deeply steeped in iniquity as “the foul, filthy, old withered harlot,” † her Roman mother: but she profited by the

* Hook, *Sermon preached at the Chapel Royal*, June 17th, 1838, p. 7.

† Homily “against Peril of Idolatry,” part 3. [In S.P.C.K. edition, 1864, p. 272. This is no mere casual utterance; it is the very marrow and substance of the three parts of the Homily

opportunity,—cast off her garments of defilement, plunged into the lavatory of the Reformation, and then came forth to the world, robed in truth and holiness, the pure and apostolic Church now established by law in this country!

We must own, that to us, Catholics, professing that faith which was formerly professed here, and priding ourselves on our legitimate descent from that ancient Church, this tale appears marvellously strange. We can look upon it in no other light than as a theological novel, composed after the model of those historical novels, in which a few grains of truth lie concealed in the midst of an immense mass of fiction. It forms, however, a very important part of the creed promulgated by the new teachers at Oxford, men of whom we are wishful to speak with respect,—honouring them as we do, for their industry and piety, their candid and fearless disclosure of their sentiments, and their undisguised advocacy of certain ancient doctrines and practices in preference to the fancies of more modern speculatists. We must, however, be allowed to suspect that they still retain some relics of that anti-Catholic leaven which Protestant education is careful to deposit in the infant mind; that they still cherish religious prepossessions, which, though they may permit the

against Peril of Idolatry, occupying more than 100 pages, or a fifth of the whole Book of Homilies. Cf. for example, pp. 201 and 253. Further, we must remember that every clergyman of the Church of England is required before Ordination to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, and that Article xxxv. explicitly commends the Book of Homilies as containing "a godly and wholesome doctrine," specifying further the names of the Homilies, and amongst others that against Peril of Idolatry.—ED.]

inquirer to see clearly on certain subjects, create a mist before his eyes, if he turn them in another direction. Of this we do not complain: it was to be expected; it arises from the position which they occupy: for, the more they approximate on some points to the Catholic creed, the more it is necessary for them to recede from it on others. Their doctrine has already earned for them the imputation of popery: the more reason then have they to labour in support of their credit for orthodoxy.

It is admitted by all parties that at the commencement of the Reformation there was a Church in England which had existed here, ever since the first conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity. Was that Church a living branch of the true apostolic church of Christ, or not? They reply without hesitation that she was; and, be it observed, they are compelled so to reply, for without such admission, what would become of their alleged claim to apostolical succession? Without it "how could the Anglican bishops of the present day shew that by ordination they derive their mission from the apostles and our Lord"? Without it "how can every bishop, priest, and deacon, trace his own spiritual descent from St. Peter and St. Paul"? If you reject that Church, the chain is broken,—you may go back to your female head, Elizabeth, or to her father Henry; but there you stop,—a chasm of fifteen hundred years opens between you and the apostles.

But how, the reader will perhaps ask, could that unreformed Church be a living branch of the true Church of Christ? Did she not teach doctrines

which the present Church condemns as errors in faith? Did she not practise a worship which the present Church pronounces superstitious and idolatrous? Did she not prosecute, excommunicate, and deliver for punishment to the civil magistrate, the professors of opinions, which the present Church has sanctioned in her articles of religion, and which she binds all her ministers to subscribe and to uphold? Is it possible that two societies, of which one is so opposed to the other in matters of the highest import, can be each the true Church of Christ? Yes, exclaim the Oxford theologians, both are the very same Church, but in a different state; the present Church in a state of comparative purity, the ancient Church deeply immersed in error, yet not so deeply as to cease to be a part of the true apostolic Church. This they pretend to show by three reasons: 1st. "No one can prove certainly, or even probably, that those errors were universally held by the ancient bishops and clergy, or that they were viewed by them as matters of faith, and not of *probability*,"—though every one knows that they condemned men to the stake for disbelieving them. 2nd. "Admitting that many of the British bishops were formerly infected with errors in matters of faith, yet this alone does not prove them heretics; for many illustrious fathers and doctors have erred on particular points." 3rd. "Even supposing that some of these prelates were pertinaciously erroneous and actually heretical, yet as those heretics were not publicly known to be such, nor excommunicated and deposed when they acted, they had the power of conveying mission to their orthodox

successors.”* How far such reasons may satisfactorily solve the enigma, we leave to the judgment of our readers; but will venture to express a hope, that some share of that indulgence which is so liberally vouchsafed to our fathers, may also be extended to us, their Catholic descendants. We believe as they did; we worship as they did; we obey the same head whom they obeyed. Do not we then belong to the true Church as well as they? Oh, no, is instantly replied; their case is very different from yours. They lived before the questions in dispute had been fully discussed, you live after the discussion; they were in error, but through ignorance; you are in error, and through obstinacy; they were excusable, and therefore remained in the Church; you are inexcusable, and therefore a dead branch lopped off from the parent vine. “To call you Catholics, would be a profanation of that holy name; and to do so knowingly, would be highly sinful, and come under the condemnation of them that call evil good, and good evil.”†

Well, be it so. Instead of wasting our time on matters of mere opinion, we proceed to matters of fact. It is admitted by both parties, although on different grounds, that there was established in England before the Reformation, a true, Catholic, and apostolic Church. At present there is established in England a *Protestant* Church. We are aware that our opponents reject with scorn the word “Protestant;”‡ but we must be allowed to speak a

* W. Palmer, *Antiquities of the English Ritual*, ii. 255-7. *Tracts for the Times*, No. iv. p. 10. † Palmer, *Antiq.* i. 289.

‡ “Our Church claims to be reformed, not Protestant; and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which

language intelligible to our readers, whom no special pleading will ever convince that that Church is not Protestant, the head of which, by the law of the country, must be a *Protestant*. How then, we ask, happens it that the Church of England of former days was Catholic, and that the Church of England of the present day is Protestant? Because, we are told, the Church reformed herself. "In the reign of Henry VIII, the yoke of Roman dominion became intolerable, and the Bishops and clergy of all England and Ireland determined that the Roman patriarch had no jurisdiction in these realms; and declining any further submission to that prelate, concurred in the several acts of the civil power by which his usurped jurisdiction was rendered illegal and extinguished. The jurisdiction of the Roman see was therefore lawfully, rightly, and canonically abolished in the reign of Henry VIII, and was as perfectly extinct as if it had never existed: having been formally abolished by the Church, it needed to be canonically *created*, before its

crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner." *Tracts for the Times*, iii. 32. [Nothing can alter the fact that at the coronation of every Sovereign of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of the Church of England, in the presence of the Bishops and the lords and commons of the realm, most solemnly asks the new monarch whether he will maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law." No Archbishop of Canterbury has ever been known to make any difficulty about using this designation. On the other hand can any one imagine that such men as Cardinal Wiseman, or Cardinal Manning, or Cardinal Vaughan, to speak only of the dead, would ever, under any conceivable pressure from Government, have consented to stand up before their own flock on a great official occasion and to style themselves "protesting Catholic Dissenters"? And even this would be only an inadequate parallel. ED.]

exercise could be in any way permissible.”* And again, “In the sixteenth century the Church of England withdrew the jurisdiction which she had for a time *delegated* to the bishop of Rome, and, resuming her original liberties, reformed abuses, &c.”† Nothing can be more vexatiously tantalizing, than the easy, off-hand manner in which such statements are thrown out without a hint of the sources from which the information is derived. What made the yoke of Roman dominion more intolerable during the reign of Henry than it had been in former reigns? We know of no cause but the refusal of Clement to divorce the king from his wife. Where are we to find evidence of the important but hitherto unknown fact, that the exercise of the papal supremacy in England was in virtue of powers *delegated* by the English to the Roman Church? We cannot say; unless perhaps the original documents are preserved in the archives of the submarine church of Perranzabuloe, to which we have not access.

The first and most important step towards the abolition of the papal authority in England was the recognition of the king’s supremacy.

To detail all the steps by which this was effected would require much space, but the process was very gradual. After Wolsey had most basely been declared to have incurred the penalties of *praemunire* by his acceptance of a legatine commission from Rome, the whole body of the clergy were condemned in the same penalties as his accessories. To escape these they

* Palmer, *Antiq.* i. 264-5.

† Idem, *The Church of Christ*, i. 387.

were required to pay £100,000 and to recognize the King as "Protector and Supreme Head of the Church of England." Convocation struggled desperately against the demand, and in the end succeeded in inserting the qualification "so far as is allowed by the law of Christ." But this was only a brief respite. Through the agency of Cranmer, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in March, 1533, the King saw his way to getting a divorce from Catherine independently of the Pope, and in the train of this came a complete severance from the Holy See, until ultimately there was extorted from the clergy by an insidious device that recognition of the King's supreme headship which Convocation had previously boggled at.

Meanwhile we may be allowed to make a remark or two on the conduct of Cranmer in the matter of his consecration. The connection between England and Rome was not yet severed; the usual manner of appointing bishops still prevailed; and it was necessary for the elect to take the accustomed oath to the Pope, first by his proctor in Rome before he could obtain his bull, and twice personally in England before he could receive consecration or be invested with the pallium. Cranmer, aware that the services expected of him would soon bring him into collision with the pontiff, read in a private chapel, in the presence of a notary and four witnesses, a protestation that, by the oath which his proctor had taken in the court of Rome, it was never his intention to be bound to anything contrary to any oath taken, or to be taken, by him to the King of England; nor did he now mean

to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God, the King or commonwealth of England, the reformation of religion or the prerogatives of the crown, by the oaths which he was about to take, merely for the sake of form, and not through any obligation, as if they were necessary previously to his consecration.* Yet he knew full well that had he made any protest in the presence of the bishops, the papal delegates appointed to consecrate him, they would immediately have thrown up their commission. Was not this to obtain consecration under false pretences? If it be simony to purchase a spiritual office with money, what is it to purchase the same with perjury?

Perhaps the new metropolitan cared the less for the deceit which he practised, because he cared little for the ceremony of consecration itself. In his mind, ordination was unnecessary, a mere form, "used only for good order and seemly fashion." Popular election, or appointment by the civil magistrate, conferred in his judgment a sufficient mission; "he who was appointed bishop or priest, needed no consecration by Scripture;" the King must have spiritual officers, and therefore had a right to appoint them; in the time of the apostles the people indeed appointed, but it was because they had no Christian king; and if they then occasionally accepted persons recommended to them by the apostles, "it was of their own voluntary will, and not for any superiority that the apostles had over them." Such are the opinions which he avows under his own hand to the King; and it is but

* Strype, *Cranmer*, App. p. 9.

charitable to suppose that, whilst he held those opinions, he looked upon his consecration as little more than a farce, and his oath to the Pope as an unmeaning and unnecessary form. But we would wish to know what the Oxford divines, with their notions of apostolical succession, think of the spiritual powers derived by this man from the papal delegates whom he contrived to deceive. Would they not throw him overboard at once, if they had it in their power to establish their own descent from the apostles without him?

In the final severance of all communications with the Papal See which took place in the early months of 1534, the various statutes enacted by parliament were all the work of the civil power. It does not appear that the advice or the assent of the convocation was either given or sought. Nor can it be even said that the Church consented by the votes of the bishops in parliament. For out of twenty-one bishops, seven only appeared in the house during the whole session, and of these seven only four attended the debates on ecclesiastical matters. In convocation meanwhile by order of the king the question was proposed, "Has any greater authority in this realm been given by God *in the Scripture* to the bishop of Rome, than to any foreign bishop?' The reader will observe the artful structure of the question. Avowedly there is no direct mention of the bishop of Rome in the Scripture. But even so, the reply of convocation was most reluctant and given at the very last moment. Still, the clergy were cowed, and in the oath of succession subsequently

exacted of them, an acknowledgment was inserted that the King was the supreme head of the Church. Before the commencement of winter this improved form of oath had been administered to almost every body of clergy, whether regular or secular, in the kingdom.

Finally, in November, 1534, the parliament met, and passed a declaratory act, that "the king, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that he, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended." *

The safest way of ascertaining the real object of the minister by whom the statute was framed, will be to observe the manner in which it worked. 1st. It was impossible that the king should attend in person to all the duties which his new dignity brought with

* *Stat. of the Realm*, iii. 492.

it, and he was glad to impose the heaviest part of the burthen upon one of his officers. The reader will of course infer that this officer would be no other than the archbishop. Not so; a layman himself, he chose for his spiritual coadjutor, another layman, the originator of the whole scheme,—Thomas Cromwell, his first secretary and master of the rolls.

2nd. A royal inhibition was then issued to the archbishops and bishops, ordering them to abstain from all exercise of episcopal jurisdiction, till the king had made the visitation of their dioceses; which visitation was commenced in different parts of the kingdom by the vicar-general and his delegates. The bishops submitted in silence, and one after another petitioned for the restoration of their ordinary jurisdiction; which was doled out to them by piecemeal, to be held only at the king's pleasure, and with an admonition, that they would have to answer for their exercise of it before the supreme Judge hereafter, and before the king's person in the present world.*

3rd. But the humiliation of the bishops was not yet completed. In June, 1536, the convocation met. On the 16th, Dr. Petre came and alleged, that of right the first place in that assembly belonged to the king, as head of the Church, and in the absence of the king to the vicar-general, the honourable Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicegerent for causes ecclesiastical; that he himself stood there as proctor for the said vicar-general, as would appear by the commission which he held in his hand; and therefore he demanded

* Ibid. iii. 787, &c.

that the place aforesaid should be assigned to him in virtue of that commission. It was read accordingly, the claim was allowed, and Petre took the first seat. At the next session, Cromwell himself appeared and presided; as he did afterwards on several important occasions, always occupying the same place, and subscribing to the resolutions before the archbishop.*

4th. But from matters of jurisdiction let us pass to matters of doctrine. Every reader knows, that for the statute of the Six Articles the nation was indebted to the theological wisdom of Henry. Soon afterwards, "of his bountiful clemency he appointed a commission of bishops and doctors to declare the articles of faith, and such other expedient points, as with his grace's advice and consent should be thought needful;" and in the next session of parliament it was enacted, that all declarations, definitions, and ordinances which should be set forth by them with his majesty's advice, and *confirmed* by his letters-patent, should be in all and every point, limitation and circumstance, by all his grace's subjects and all persons resident in his dominions, fully *believed*, obeyed, and observed under the penalties therein to be comprised.† By this enactment, the religious belief of every Englishman was laid at the king's feet. He named the commissioners; he regulated their proceedings by his advice; he reviewed their decisions: and, if he confirmed them by letters-patent under the great seal, they became from that moment the doctrines of the English Church, which every man

* Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii.; Strype, *Memorials*, i. 245.

† Ibid. iii. 783,

was bound to believe, under such penalties as might be assigned. And what were these penalties? A little later it was enacted that, if any man should teach or maintain any matter contrary to the godly instructions and determinations, which had been, or should be, thus set forth by his majesty, he should, in case he were a layman, for the first offence recant and be imprisoned twenty days; for the second abjure the realm; and for the third suffer the forfeiture of his goods and imprisonment for life; but if he were a clergyman, he should for the first offence be permitted to recant; on his refusal or second offence, should abjure and bear a faggot, and on his refusal again, or third offence, should be adjudged a heretic and suffer the pain of death by burning, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods and chattels.*

Such was the result of the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII. The papal supremacy, under the name of an intolerable tyranny, was suppressed, and a still more intolerable tyranny, under the name of the king's supremacy, was established. Not only the powers formerly exercised by the pope, but the authority acknowledged to be inherent in the bishops under the papal sway, was claimed by Henry. On all these transactions the founders of the new school at Oxford look with a very indulgent eye. From their representations we should be led to conclude, that the English Church, aware of innumerable abuses with which it was deformed, assembled in council, debated every matter coolly and dispassionately, and with free and unbiassed voice resolved on the measures which,

* Ibid. iii. 896.

we know, were adopted. The Church took the initiative, the state followed; the clergy prescribed the measure of reform, and the civil power hastened to lend its aid to the clergy. But this is a false and flattering portrait. The clergy resisted from the first—they were with difficulty brought to make qualified concessions; from the benefit of such qualifications they were excluded by the omnipotence of parliament; and at last found themselves under the necessity of complying with the will of their new head, or of submitting to the knife of the executioner. Few among them had the moral courage to choose the second part of the alternative.

On the 27th of January, 1547, Henry died, and was succeeded by his only son Edward, little more than nine years old. From that moment the Reformation proceeded rapidly, without interruption or impediment. There was no longer a monarch on the throne, whose theological knowledge or prejudice kept in awe the spirit of innovation; the headship of the Church, with all its duties and cares, all its powers and prerogatives, had fallen on a child; and that child was a mere puppet in the hands of the metropolitan and his associates of the council,—all of them patrons of the new learning, as it was called, either through belief in its doctrines, or the expectation of profit from its ascendancy. Cranmer could now command, even while he appeared only to obey; he could enjoin in the name of the sovereign what would have been rejected by the episcopal bench, had it come to them under no other authority than his own. His first step was to draw them into a recognition of the same

spiritual supremacy in the young prince, which they had before admitted in his father. On the ground that his own commission had expired with the monarch who gave it, he solicited and obtained from Edward another commission within a week from the proclamation of the new sovereign. His example proved to his brethren what was expected from them; and the successors of the apostles crowded round the boy on the throne, acknowledging, as their leader had done, that he was "the only source of all manner of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction within the realm."

To probe the sincerity of the bishops, they were suspended from the exercise of their jurisdiction, till the king should think proper to restore it; and several classes of commissioners, mostly laymen, were appointed to visit their different dioceses.* In a short time, injunctions with respect to images, ceremonies, holidays, and Church service, were issued in the name of the head of the Church; inquisitors of heretical pravity were commissioned by him;† illegal

* Wilk. *Concilia*, iv. 2, 10, 14, 17.

† To many it has appeared a very remarkable coincidence, that three of Edward's commissioners, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, should in the next reign have to suffer the very same kind of death, to which, in their inquisitorial capacity, they had condemned Anne Bocher, and Von Parris. Under this impression, a correspondent has suggested to us the following, as an appropriate inscription for the monument about to be erected to their memory at Oxford:—

IN
DIVINÆ RETRIBUTIONIS
MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM,
CRANMERUM,
RIDLEIUM, LATIMERUM,
QUI, REGNANTE EDVARDO, FIDEI CAUSA
ALIOS COMBUSSEANT,

courts were established for the deprivation of refractory prelates; vacant benefices and bishoprics were filled with professors of the "new learning;" a reformed manner of administering the sacrament was ordered to be observed; the old liturgy was superseded by a new one; the old ordinal by a new one; the old articles of doctrine by new ones; and six years later, when Edward died, nothing was wanting to complete the Reformation but a new code of canon law; and that was ready for the press, but had not yet received the king's signature or royal approbation.

We have not space to follow the Oxford theologians through these manifold changes. We mean to levy a much lighter tax on the patience of our readers, by merely laying before them the state of the English Church at the accession of Henry, and the state of the English Church at the death of Edward, and requesting them to judge from the comparison, whether both can, with any appearance of reason, be taken for the same Church; whether the Reformation in England was only (that we may return to the elegant illustration of Dr. Hook), the washing of a person's face in the morning, or in reality the substitution of one individual for another, with very different figure, features, and complexion.

It is no easy matter to discover what is requisite, in the opinion of the Oxford teachers, to constitute the

HIC OXONIÆ, REGNANTE MARIA,

ULTOR IGNIS CONSUMPSIT

Nec lex æquior ulla est,

Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

identity of a Church. Locality is out of the question : if that were sufficient, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland at the present day would be the same with the prelatic Church of Scotland of Catholic times. To us it appears, that, since a certain form of government, and of worship, and of doctrine, is essential to the existence of every Church, sameness of government, and worship, and doctrine, are requisite to establish the identity of a local Church at different periods. Certain we are, that when no such sameness in any one of these three branches has been suffered to remain, the so-much-boasted identity will, in the judgment of every reasonable man, have also ceased to exist.

1st. Now, then, with respect to *Church government* :—the Church of England, at the commencement of Henry's reign, admitted in the bishop of Rome, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the Catholic Church, and consequently within this realm ; the Church at the close of Edward's reign had abjured the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff, as an usurpation and a tyranny ; and had transferred it to the crown, whosoever might wear that crown, young or old, male or female, infidel or believer. In the former Church it was acknowledged that the bishops inherited from Christ the spiritual authority requisite for the government of their respective dioceses, and that they were bound in duty to exercise it independently of any temporal authority. In the more recent Church, the bishops were the mere creatures of the crown, appointed like civil officers by patent. The instrument ran in these words ;—" We name, make, create,

constitute and declare, N. bishop of N. to have and to hold to himself the said bishopric during the term of his natural life, if for so long a time he behave himself well therein; and we empower him to confer orders, to institute to livings, to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to do all that appertains to the episcopal or pastoral office, over and above the things known to have been committed to him by God in the Scriptures, in place of us, in our name, and by our royal authority." He was next consecrated after a new form, devised by the archbishop, a form, however, the validity of which was warmly disputed; and then suffered to enter on his episcopal duties, but still liable to be suspended at any moment from the exercise of his authority, at the pleasure of the royal visitors, and under the obligation of conforming, and of making others conform, to any injunctions on spiritual matters, which might be delivered to him as emanating from the head of the Church. With bishops of this description, it is plain that the whole government of the Church was in the hands of those who had possession of the infant king.

2nd. *Sameness of Worship.* The old Church followed, in the public worship, certain well known forms, which had been in constant use for many centuries. In the new Church, everything was altered. The ancient ceremonies were with very few exceptions abolished; the habits of the officiating ministers were thrown aside, the service was read from another part of the church, the altar was turned into a table, the former ordinal was superseded by a new one, and the sacrifice of the mass, though authorized at first, was expelled,

to make room for a new liturgy. We have no concern here with the merit or demerit of these changes; our object is merely to remind our readers that they *were* made, and that of course the sameness of worship was destroyed. In virtue of an order with the royal signature, a book of common prayer was also composed, the king recommended it to the notice of the lords and commons in parliament; both houses joined in attributing it to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the use of it in every church was enjoined, and opposition to it forbidden, under penalties increasing in amount for every repetition of the offence. The next year it was republished with a few alterations; still it did not satisfy the reforming zeal of Bucer, Peter Martyr, John Alasco, and other foreign divines whose influence over the accommodating mind of Archbishop Cranmer is often feelingly deplored; and in less than four years it came forth again in a new edition, with more important alterations, which caused it to differ still more widely from the old liturgy, and from every other liturgy that had ever existed, either in the western or the eastern Church. Prayer for the dead was now dropped out of the communion service, and of the office for burial; several unctions and ceremonies in the administration of baptism, and confirmation, and the visitation of the sick were omitted; and great care was taken to exclude from the liturgy the several allusions which it still retained to the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. In this shape the book was republished, and enjoined to be used for the daily service. Certainly it would be difficult to devise two forms of

worship more widely different than that of the old, and this of the new Church.*

3rd. *Sameness of Doctrine.* With respect to the doctrine of the old Church there can be no doubt. All agree that she taught the very same doctrines which were afterwards embodied in the creed of Pius IV. "Those very points," says Dr. Bramhall, "which Pius IV comprehended in a new symbol or creed, were obtruded upon us before, by his predecessors, as necessary articles of the Roman faith, and required as necessary articles of their communion."† The doctrines of the new Church may be learned from the forty-two articles published in the last year of the reign of Edward. Compare the two, and you will find, that if they agree in several points, they also contradict each other in several, and that religious opinions are sanctioned in the latter, which would have subjected their advocates to the penalties of heresy during the prevalence of the former. But here we are unexpectedly met by the new theologians, denying the authority of the forty-two articles, and declaring that "no new formulary of doctrine whatever, was published by authority of the Church during the whole reign of Edward."‡ What! were they not published under the title of "Articles, *which were agreed to in the synod of London*, in the year 1552, by the bishops and other godly and learned men, to root out discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion"? Undoubtedly they were, but this

* Collier, ii. 255, 310. Wilk. *Concilia*, iv. 67. Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. 30, note.

† Bramhall, *Reply to B. of Chalcedon*, 263.

‡ Palmer's *Church*, i. 508.

title, they tell us, was a pious fraud, employed by the council to induce a belief that the articles had been approved in convocation, whereas they were only approved by some of the members, whilst the convocation was sitting; a fraud of which the archbishop of course was innocent, and which he severely condemned. Well, be it so, to our argument it matters little. Certain it is, that the articles were published by authority of the head of the Church, and at the petition of the archbishop; that the clergy of every diocese were ordered to subscribe them; and that the universities were forbidden to admit any man to his degree, till he had sworn that "he would look upon them as true and certain, and would defend them in all places as agreeing with the word of God."* What better authority than this, was there for most of the religious innovations which had been established? Nor can it avail our opponents to assert that the articles were "only subscribed by a few clergy in Canterbury, Norwich, and London, and in the university of Cambridge, who were solicited but not compelled to subscribe by the bishops Cranmer and Ridley."† It is painful to notice this miserable subterfuge. Because the only records of the subscription, which have been preserved, regard these four places, it is assumed as

* "Deo teste promitto et spondeo me articulos, de quibus in synodo Londinensi . . . convenerat, et regia auctoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam consentientes cum verbo Dei defensurum." Burnet, *Reformation*, iv. 522, by Dr. Nares. That the same order was sent to the University of Oxford, no man can doubt, though proof of it may not now exist.

† Palmer's *Church*, i. 509.

a fact that no subscriptions took place anywhere else, though it is plain from these very records that the same orders were transmitted to every diocese in the kingdom: and because Cranmer said that he had not compelled any to subscribe, (and said it with truth, for he had not the power to compel, according to law)—it is insinuated that the subscriptions were spontaneous, though the fact is, that all were summoned to subscribe, and were informed that the names of the refusers would be returned to the council, “that further order might be taken with them by the king and his council.”* There is no doubt that the whole proceeding was arranged after the precedent set by Henry VIII, when he sought to obtain the acknowledgment of his supremacy without the qualifying clause, and with the rejection of the papal supremacy. It was intended, first, to procure the subscriptions of the clergy in every diocese, by virtue of the royal command, and then to confirm the articles by act of parliament, under the pretext that they had already been adopted by the whole body of the clergy. The scheme was defeated by the death of the king, before parliament could be assembled, so that the civil penalties could not lawfully be inflicted on the non-subscribers; but the articles themselves were considered from that time as the authorized creed of the Reformed Church of England, and continued to be so considered under Elizabeth, until they were corrected and improved in the convocation of 1562.†

* Burnet, *Reformation*, iv. 521-2. Wilk. *Concilia*, iv. 79.

† Heylin, *Examen Hist.* p. 121.

If, then, the reader consider how widely the English Church of Edward differed in government, and worship, and doctrine from the Church of the first years of his father Henry, he must come to the conclusion, that they could not be one and the same Church. As well might you maintain the identity of the present Church of England with the present Church of Rome; for the difference between them is not greater.

We proceed to the reign of Mary, the successor of Edward, under whose sceptre the new Church was swept away, and the old Church restored. 1st. The five bishops, so unjustly deprived to make room for reformers under Edward, recovered their sees. 2nd. In the first year of the queen, an act was passed, repealing all the statutes on religious matters, enacted during the nonage of her late brother; which at once rendered illegal the use of the book of common-prayer, that of the new ordinal, the marriage of priests, communion under both kinds, and every other innovation recently established by authority of parliament.

Thus religion was now replaced on exactly the same footing on which it had stood before the quarrel of Henry with the apostolic see. The same religious government, the same religious worship, the same religious doctrine prevailed. What then are we to say of the Church of England under Mary? Was it the same Church with the Church under Edward, or the same with the Church at the accession of Henry? It is difficult to extort a precise answer from the patrons of the Oxford doctrines, and the

reason is evident; if they admit the Church under Mary, there is an end to their claim to apostolic succession. The chain is broken. They cannot trace their descent from that Church; they cannot by hook or by crook connect themselves with it.

The accession of Elizabeth, the successor of Mary, was followed by another revolution in the Church. It was enacted that the book of common prayer, with certain additions and emendations, should alone be used by the ministers in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, of deprivation, and of death; that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished; that the jurisdiction necessary for the correction of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown, with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever, at the pleasure of the sovereign; that the penalty of asserting the papal authority should ascend, on the repetition of the offence, from the forfeiture of real and personal property, to perpetual imprisonment, and from perpetual imprisonment to death, as it was inflicted in cases of high treason; and that all clergymen taking orders, or in possession of livings, all magistrates and inferior officers, having fees or wages from the crown, all laymen suing out the livery of their lands, or about to do homage to the queen, should, under pain of deprivation or incapacity, take an oath, declaring her to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical or spiritual things, or causes, as well as temporal, and renouncing all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or

authority whatsoever, within the realm. With respect to these enactments it may be remarked—1st, that the parliament under Elizabeth did not follow the precedent set by the parliament under Mary. It did not merely repeal the acts of former parliaments, but also passed laws which had for their object the establishment of forms of worship and the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction; 2nd, that all this was done, not with the approbation but in defiance of the Church. Every bishop in the house voted against these bills; the convocation presented a confession of faith, and protested against the competency of any lay assembly to pronounce on matters of doctrine, worship and discipline; and both the universities came to the aid of convocation and subscribed the same confession. Even the opposition among the lay members of the House of Lords was more powerful than on any previous occasion, and if the act in favour of the Book of Common Prayer passed at last, it was only by a majority of three; and that small majority could not have been obtained, had not two of the bishops been imprisoned to deprive them of their votes, and five commoners of Reformed principles been previously raised to the peerage. Now, these enactments are the basis on which the present Church of England was raised; does it not then follow that it is a parliamentary Church, in the foundation of which no ecclesiastical authority had any concern?

Of the extraordinary means resorted to under Elizabeth to preserve the semblance of episcopal succession we have no space to speak, but there is

one other favourite doctrine of the Oxford school which we must be allowed to notice before we conclude this paper—the paradoxical doctrine that we Catholics “went out from them,” not they from us; that we, who still preserve the faith and worship of the old Church, are in effect separatists from the men whose very name of Protestants bears evidence that they are dissenters from that same faith and worship. Let the reader attend to Mr. Palmer.

“Finally, the Romish party in these countries committed schism, in separating from the communion of the Church, and the obedience of their legitimate pastors in the reign of Elizabeth. It is certain that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. All the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570, that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself, and fell from the Catholic Church of England.”*

If we understand this passage, it assumes as an indisputable fact, that the moment the sentence of deprivation was pronounced against the Catholic bishops and clergy by the delegates appointed for that purpose by Elizabeth, they lost their commission, their spiritual authority, and all the rights which they derived from Christ; and that of course the Church of which they were the ministers immediately ceased

* Palmer’s *Church*, i. 455.

to exist. Now, this is certainly incompatible with the doctrine of the new school.

The connection between the existing Church and the state was severed by act of Parliament, and by the execution of that act. But the Church still existed. The bishops, though deprived of temporal rank, still possessed their spiritual powers; clergymen were still found to celebrate the Catholic liturgy; and the Catholic people were happy to attend at such celebration even "in upper rooms, and the caves of the desert."

What are the facts? 1st. With respect to the Catholic clergy, all the bishops living but one were deprived; the names of almost two hundred clergymen have descended to us, of prebendaries, heads of colleges, and dignitaries of the Church, who were also deprived; besides these, it is plain that hundreds more must have undergone the same fate, from the long and numerous lists in Rymer of presentations by the queen to prebends, rectories, and vicarages, vacant by the deprivation of the last incumbent.* Does Mr. Palmer believe that the men, who refused the oath giving the supremacy to the Queen, nevertheless renounced the Papal supremacy; that, notwithstanding their deprivation, they joined the communion of those by whom they had been deprived? The absurdity of the thing is its own refutation. There existed then at this time a numerous body of Catholic clergy. 2nd. In the next place, with respect to the laity; we continually meet with complaints to the

* Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. App. No. xlv.; Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 542-3-7-8, 562-5, 582-9, 617-9; [and Birt, *The Elizabethan Settlement*].

council during the period in question, of the boldness and the disobedience of the Papists in different counties. Were these Papists members of the Established Church? Scarcely a year passed in which we do not find occasional mention of imprisonment and fine inflicted for the crime of attending at Mass.* Were the sufferers Protestants? It is, indeed, true that the great mass of the people attended the same churches as before; and the reason was, that the celebration of the Catholic liturgy had been put down by pain and penalties; and that absence from the parish church on any Sunday or holiday, was punished with a fine of one shilling, levied by the churchwarden for the use of the poor.† But the question is, were all who attended, members of the new Church? We learn from many papers of the time, that they were not; that the real object of numbers was only to escape the fine; that they sought to compromise the matter with their conscience, by arguing, that their presence was a civil, not a religious presence; an attendance in obedience to the law, not for the purpose of worship; that they joined not in prayer with the minister, but prayed after the old form, if they prayed at all; that, though their bodies were there, their hearts were yet far away. Certainly it cannot be pretended that such men were members of the parliamentary Church; whence it will follow

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 195, 233, 236, 240, 327, 469, 509, 513, 553, &c. Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. App. No. xlvi. In fact, the oath of supremacy was first confined to certain classes, but on account of the great number of Catholics, it was found necessary to extend it to the whole population in 1563.—*Stat. of the Realm*, iv.

† *Stat. of the Realm*, iv. 358.

that, even during the first eleven years of the queen, there existed in the realm a numerous body of Catholic clergy, and multitudes of Catholic laymen, the same who professed the Catholic faith during the reign of Mary, and continued in the profession of the same faith, and the exercise of the same worship, though with caution and secrecy, "in upper rooms, and the caves of the desert," under her Protestant successor.*

The fact is, that the government felt little anxiety at occasional manifestations of Catholic feeling on the part of the people. They had the Catholic bishops in safe custody; so that, though these prelates might secretly perform certain acts of spiritual authority, they could not confer orders; whence it was plain that in the course of a few years the Catholic worship must expire with the Catholic clergy. But of this pleasing anticipation they were deprived by the promptitude and foresight of Dr. Allen, who opened an English college at Douai, and was followed by zealous imitators in several other places.† Thither the Catholic youth resorted for education; there many received holy orders: and thence they returned to their native country to replace the priests of Queen Mary's reign. To defeat this plan for the perpetua-

* According to an old MS. the number of Catholic clergymen, who during this period officiated privately, some in the larger towns, most in the houses of the gentry in the country, amounted to one thousand.—Butler, *Hist. Mem.* i. 306.

† "Doubting the time of our chastisement might be so long as to wear out either by age, imprisonment or other miseries, the elder sort of the learned Catholics, both at home and abroad, it was thought a necessary duty for the posterity to provide for a perpetual seed and supply of Catholics, namely of the clergy."
—Allen *Apology for the Seminaries*, 21.

tion of Catholicity among us, it was made the crime of high-treason to take orders in a foreign country, and felony, without benefit of clergy, to harbour a person so ordained; and then it was pretended, in justification of these bloody enactments, that such missionaries were the disturbers of the peace of the Church, the revivers of a sect which was previously extinct.

Honour, however, be to their memory! Much as they were persecuted then, and miscalled, as they are now, by the name of "foreign emissaries," they were not foreigners, but natives, canonically ordained and commissioned to bring the consolations of religion to their desolate countrymen, to the seven thousand Israelites, "who had refused to bend the knee to Baal." In the face of the rack, the halter, and the knife, they boldly performed this charitable duty, saved from utter destruction the ruins of that Church, which had been founded by Augustine and his companions, and preserved for us "the deposit of faith," the first of blessings in this life, the best inheritance transmitted to us by our fathers. It is with gratitude and triumph that we look back to the labours and the sufferings of these men, whilst we pity the workings of that spiritual pride, which feels a gratification in painting them, the successors of our ancient clergy, as schismatics and separatists from a Church of the date of yesterday.

[The article of Dr. Lingard from which the above is extracted, appeared in the *Dublin Review*, May, 1840, with the running title: "Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself?"]

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Maria Monk.
"Mariolatry."
The Massacre of St. Bar-
tholomew.
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Countries.
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French Religious Orders.

“THE WOMAN OF BABYLON”¹

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.

[The following editorial note appeared in *The Month* for November, 1906 :—

“ Dr. Clifford and Juvenile Literature. .

“ The extraordinary position which Dr. Clifford has been allowed to assume in regard of education confers on a recent utterance of his an importance to which otherwise it could make no claim. It is taken from *The Daily Chronicle* of November 21, 1906, where it appeared as an advertisement of Mr. Joseph Hocking's anti-Catholic novel, *The Woman of Babylon*, the resources of typography being requisitioned to give it emphasis.

“ ‘ DR. CLIFFORD.

“ ‘ I have read *The Woman of Babylon* with the deepest interest, and have taken, and shall take, every opportunity of commending it to the young people of this country. It is a story of thrilling interest. It is most opportune in its appearance. It comes at a moment of critical peril in the political and social life of our land. It is as strongly to be commended for its scrupulous accuracy and complete restraint, as for its clearness of statement and skill of development. It ought to circulate by hundreds of thousands.’

“ In our next issue we hope fully to deal with this worthless and slanderous book, which Dr. Clifford would disseminate amongst the young and ignorant, fortified with the guarantee of his own erudition.”]

SEVEN years ago a novel by the Rev. Joseph Hocking, entitled *The Scarlet Woman*, was the subject of an

¹ Reprinted from *The Month*, January, 1907.

article in this Review. That article was reprinted in January, 1906, as a Catholic Truth Society pamphlet, on the occasion of the beginning in *The Quiver* of a new work of fiction by the same author, the name of which stands at the head of this paper. The new story was greeted, on the appearance of its first chapters, with the approval of Lady Wimborne, who thought it "likely to have a very useful influence in arousing people to see the insidious manner in which Roman Catholics effect an entry into English home-life"; the Rev. F. B. Meyer referred to it as a "timely story"; and now that it is completed, Dr. Clifford, the protagonist of the new Education Bill, bestows upon it the full measure of his approval. The publishers, Messrs. Cassell, advertise it as "of the highest value in revealing, as it does, the present condition of convent life"; *The Christian World*, whose review is headed "Romish Sapping and Mining," sees in it "the clear demonstration of the putting into practice of the Jesuitical principle that the end justifies the means," and congratulates Mr. Hocking on having "collected facts from authoritative sources"; and Mr. S. J. Abbott, in a leaflet issued without name of printer or publisher, styles it "one of the most conscientious, powerful, and heart-stirring of modern stories concerning convents, and the deep and far-reaching plots and schemes of the Jesuits."

Mr. Abbott is perhaps not an impartial witness, for Mr. Hocking acknowledges his "indebtedness" to him "for much valuable information." Those who wish to estimate the value of this information can easily do so by referring to this Review for March, 1899, where they will find an article—subsequently reprinted as a Catholic Truth Society pamphlet—on Mr. Abbott and his "Convent Enquiry Society," a body of which it is

impossible to obtain a balance-sheet. Mr. Hocking's own claims to be accepted as a veracious historian can be ascertained at length from the pamphlet on *The Scarlet Woman*, where it will be seen that, by his own testimony, he was guilty of a series of "terminological inexactitudes"—e.g., the "men of the highest position in the Catholic Church in Ireland," resolved themselves into three Jesuits and "a parish priest" some few miles from a place which he *thinks* was called "Killaloo" (*sic*). This attempted justification and the answer of the Editor of *The Month* are appended to the pamphlet.

I propose to give, as briefly as possible, an account of this latest collection of calumnies against the Catholic Church, which Dr. Clifford strongly "commends for its scrupulous accuracy and complete restraint" and has taken, "and will take, every opportunity of commending to the young people of this country." It is of importance that we should know something of the unscrupulous falsehoods which are put in circulation with the approval of leading Nonconformists and such Anglicans as Lady Wimborne;¹ which are put forward as "of the highest value" by a respectable firm of publishers; and which are commended by the Protestant press and by other organs.² It is only by such knowledge that we can gauge the combined ignorance and malevolence which are arrayed against us; without this it would seem incredible that there could exist authors who could

¹ It is with surprise and regret that I note that so well-known an Anglican as Prebendary Webb-Peploe, having read the opening chapters, bids God-speed to Mr. Hocking's efforts most heartily, and thanks him for exposing these dangers to the people of England. (*Quiver*, April, 1906, p. 528.)

² E.g., "The narrative Mr. Hocking here unfolds, by its ample statement of facts and the general impression it conveys that the author has made himself thoroughly sure of his ground, represents a vast amount of arduous labour." (*Daily Express*, October 9, 1906.)

write and publishers who could issue such preposterous nonsense, and readers who—*pacc* Dr. Clifford and Lady Wimborne—could accept it as gospel. That stories of this kind really prevent folk from becoming Catholics I do not believe ; but they undoubtedly help to maintain the spirit of prejudice which, more than anything else, is at the bottom of Protestant bigotry.

Walter Raymond, a struggling solicitor, was anxious to complete the education of his daughter Joyce, aged eighteen. In a *Catholic Times*—left apparently by accident, but really at Jesuit instigation,¹ in his office—he saw an advertisement of the “School of St. Mary the Martyr,” Bruges, the terms of which seemed within his means. A Catholic friend assured his wife that children sent there “had not ceased to be Protestants,” and Father Brandon, who had lived in Bruges, came to see the Raymonds about it. He “was a well-dressed, well-fed looking man of about forty years of age ; he looked as cheerful and light-hearted as a boy, and his round, clean-shaven cheeks fairly shone,”² but for all that he was a Jesuit, “an ultramontane Catholic of the deepest dye”³ and “a sacerdotalist of the strictest order,”⁴ and his air of *bonhomie* was doubtless part of the disguise. Father Brandon, who was one of the governors of the school,⁵ assured them that “not a word was said to Protestant children about religion,” and Joyce went. Meanwhile Mrs. Raymond began to attend Catholic services, and Father Brandon, having explained to her that at the Reformation, “although the Holy Father was very kind, he was obliged to excommunicate this (English) branch of the Church,” told her to come to confession, but demurred to her mentioning it to her husband.

¹ P. 31. ² P. 15. ³ P. 41. ⁴ P. 43. ⁵ P. 111.

"So Mrs. Raymond was received into the Roman Catholic Communion, while many of that faith smiled to each other as they spoke of the progress their religion was making in a heretic country."¹

Then Father Brandon began to inquire into Raymond's antecedents, and sent Father Kelly "down to his old home to hunt out everything." Father Kelly did not see the need of it, "because now that Mrs. Raymond has become a Catholic you can ask her what you like, and she will tell you"; but Father Brandon sent Father Kelly off in "a suit of tweeds and a bowler"²—"neither of us," he said, "was trained as a Jesuit for nothing"—and Father Kelly on his return reported all about Raymond's wealthy father, who had turned his son adrift when he married. The Raymonds were married by licence in a Nonconformist chapel, by "a young fellow who had just come out of an Independent college; he had not even gone through the mockery of a Nonconformist ordination; the registrar was there to make the thing legal." Father Brandon had "assumed they would be married by some Episcopal minister; . . . we regard such as valid though not lawful."³ He therefore conveyed to Mrs. Raymond the idea that they "were never properly married," and as Walter declined to allow him to repeat the ceremony, she refused marital relations.

I digress here to point out that the densest ignorance as to the Sacraments of Baptism and Marriage prevails in Nonconformist circles. In July last, the Rev. F. B. Meyer—one of the leading Nonconformist ministers of London—denounced as the promoter of "Popish doctrine" an Anglican deaconess who went about among the people of a village he had visited saying that marriages not performed in the Church of England

¹ P. 25

² P. 26.

³ P. 30.

are not valid ; that the children of such marriages are illegitimate ; and that the children who had not been christened in church cannot be saved. On reading the report of this in *The Tribune*,¹ I ventured to point out that this was not, as it was there styled, “ Popish doctrine,” and I sent a copy to Mr. Meyer, suggesting that he should withdraw the imputation. It is needless to say that he did nothing of the kind, but in his letter to me he wrote this remarkable sentence : “ Surely it is of the essence of Roman Catholicism to teach that children are regenerated by Sacraments, and that Sacraments are invalid apart from the priest ! ” At the same time, a personal friend, holding a high position in the Presbyterian Church, and a man of scientific attainments, wrote to me :—

“ I was much astonished at your letter in *The Tribune* about the Catholic doctrine as to marriage and baptism. I think you are clearly wrong. Catholics look on these as sacraments : sacraments must be administered by duly ordained priests : the only duly ordained priests are those of the Roman Catholic Church. So then these sacraments are invalid and worthless when administered by Anglicans who claim to be priests, and by ministers of Reformed Churches.”

This is interesting, incidentally, as an example of the Protestant axiom—acted upon if not expressed in words—that Protestants know far better than Catholics what the latter believe ; which is as though one should accept a French caricature as representing the average Englishman, and ignore every portrait painted by our own countrymen.

There is no need to point out to Catholic readers the absurdity of the position taken up and developed at

¹ The report in *The Tribune* is not in these words, which, Mr. Meyer informs me, represent more accurately what he said.

length by Mr. Hocking, but as this paper may come into other hands, it may be well to state briefly the Catholic doctrine concerning matrimony. (1) Wherever there is a legitimate matrimonial contract between two persons, there is a true marriage, and if they are baptized it is a sacrament. (2) The minister of the sacrament is not the priest, but the man for the woman, the woman for the man. (3) The priest, if present, is but a witness: in regions where the decrees of the Council of Trent are promulgated, the parish priest is a necessary witness, *i.e.*, without his presence the contract is not legitimate, but he is only a witness. (4) In lands like our own, where the decrees of Trent have not been promulgated, any contract which binds the parties for life constitutes marriage and confers the sacrament, whether entered into before priest, parson, registrar, dissenting minister, or "a young fellow just out of an Independent college." The Church, in fact, accepts Scotch marriages, where all adjuncts are reduced to a minimum. There could thus be no question of any repetition, unless there were some doubt as to the genuine nature of the consent of one or both parties to their original contract, when this would have to be renewed: there is no suggestion as to such doubt in the case of the Raymonds, and the whole house of cards falls to the ground.¹ I now take up the thread of the narrative.

Mrs. Raymond, a feeble character at best, becomes a thorough-paced liar as soon as she enters the Church. She receives visits from Father Brandon unknown to her husband, and denies that she has received them; teaches the children prayers "about the Virgin Mary and the saints," and has them secretly baptized. Mean-

¹ The Catholic teaching, both as to Baptism and Matrimony, is set forth in a Catholic Truth Society leaflet, *Who are the Ministers of the Sacraments?* which will be found useful for distribution in Nonconformist circles.

while there appears upon the scene Ned Harrington, “*the Harrington*,”¹ a barrister friend of Raymond, “a militant Protestant,” who “saw what Brandon was aiming at,” for he knew the ways of the Jesuits, having “a brother who is a Jesuit priest.” This priest “was an impressionable boy—very imaginative, and impressed by the mysterious. Hurrell Froude over again! They got hold of him: he has been under their influence for eight years—first as a novice, then as one who took the vows. . . . He was transparent as a running brook, as easy to read as a child’s school-book. As a youth he was quite an expert in legendary lore. He might have been a poet. . . . He’s no longer frank and transparent. He tries to appear so, but you can see the effect. He boasts of his frankness and outspokenness, while all the time you know he has something at the back of his mind which he’s trying to hide from you.”²

Father Brandon began to find things beyond him, so he wrote “a long letter” to Father Anthony Ritzoom, of the “Convent of St. Joseph of Arimathæa,” Dublin, who replied somewhat abruptly:—

“I will be with you as soon as possible, meanwhile do nothing.

(Signed) A. RITZOOM.”

Ritzoom, who will be familiar to readers of *The Scarlet Woman* and *The Purple Robe* as the principal villain of those works, had not improved with the advance of years. He was “ofttimes brusque, almost to the point of rudeness, to members of his Order,”³ as might indeed be gathered from the letter just cited, and soon put Father Brandon in his place. The latter had just decided to write again, having waited three

¹ P. 297.

² P. 57.

³ P. 59.

weeks for Ritzoom's arrival, when on opening his study-door, he "started back aghast" to find Ritzoom there, who said :

"You see, there is no need for you to write again."

"But how did you know I meant to write?"

"I know you, Brandon. I knew you as a novice, and I can measure to a nicety the length to which your patience will go and the steps you are likely to take. Besides, I am a believer in mental telepathy.'" ¹

Ritzoom, "impassive, sardonic, grim, self-contained, mysterious, possessing a hundred secrets, the framer of so many far-reaching plans," ² was something like a Jesuit! "He had lifted himself high in the councils of the Jesuit Order"; "some said that the General of the Order was afraid" of him; others, that he "held even the General in awe" [this seems from the context to mean that the General held *him* "in awe"]; ³ "he was the cleverest man in the Order," ⁴ as well as "the most cautious," ⁵ and "the cleverest schemer"; ⁶ he had even been "approached that he might be persuaded ostensibly to guide the wheels of the Order," but "would shake his head" when this was suggested, probably remembering that "although others were technically far higher in the councils of the Order than he was, it was he who in reality ruled them"; ⁷ he was "a man who stopped at nothing." ⁸ His physical peculiarities were striking and characteristic: "it was just as difficult to tell his age as ever—he might be a man of sixty or he might be only forty"; he "could easily pass for forty or forty-five," ⁹ which reminds one of the plaintiff in *Trial by Jury*; he "impressed you with his air of mystery, as one who

¹ P. 62. ² *Ibid.* ³ P. 122. ⁴ P. 157. ⁵ P. 31.

⁶ P. 187. ⁷ P. 64. ⁸ Pp. 159, 295. ⁹ P. 62.

delighted to deal in secret things ; the square jaw and black eyes told of indomitable will, told of a man who could never be beaten,"¹ and were thus guilty of falsehood, for beaten he was. He had an "unspeakable face"² "like the face of the sphinx,"³ "a mocking smile,"⁴ and "mysterious, dark, deep-set, impenetrable eyes."⁵ He "appears in a score of unpriestly disguises ; that is to say, you may find him in a yachting suit one day, in riding breeches another, in flannels another,"⁶ or "in the garb of an ordinary layman,"⁷ or "in strictly clerical attire, looking like some well-to-do rector of a rich country parish."⁸ He had "a suite of rooms at the 'Cosmopolitan,' " did not "fast overmuch" ("dispensations are wonderful arrangements, they save a lot of trouble"⁹), smoked cigars (*passim*), and dined at "fashionable restaurants."¹⁰ It is needless to say that he was "faithful to the old Jesuit axiom that the end justifies the means,"¹¹ and his character is summed up as that of "a man who absorbs information, but never imparts any ; and who knows everything, without being known to any but those who are acquainted with the inner circles of Jesuitism."¹² With all these qualifications, it is not wonderful that "he often said that had he lived in the time of Henry VIII there would have been no dissolution of monasteries, and that had he had the position of Father Parsons he would never have allowed Philip of Spain to be concerned in the miserable fiasco of the Great Armada."¹³ It is this paragon of Jesuitry, whose only defect is that "he never made speeches for the Catholic Truth Society,"¹⁴ who abandons the governing of his superiors and the Convent of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, Dublin, to devote

¹ P. 63. ² P. 122. ³ P. 284. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ Pp. 122, 255.
⁶ P. 159. ⁷ P. 64. ⁸ P. 170. ⁹ *Ibid.* ¹⁰ P. 250.
¹¹ P. 159. ¹² *Ibid.* ¹³ P. 74. ¹⁴ P. 184.

himself to the fortunes of a small family of the lower middle class !

But of course he has a deep and thoroughly Jesuitical motive. Old Raymond is a millionaire. He has broken with his son, Walter, on account of the latter's marriage, which he disapproved. He is a Protestant of the purest water, and may presumably be induced to devote his vast wealth to whatever seems best calculated to serve the Protestant cause. If he can be got to believe that his grand-daughter, Joyce, is an uncompromising Protestant, staunch in her faith despite all efforts to pervert her, he will probably leave her his fortune. If she can be made not only a Catholic but a nun, she will, as a matter of course, sign away her inheritance, and the old miser's millions will go to furnish the sinews of war of which the Church is sorely in need.

Such is the audacious stroke conceived by the Napoleonic genius of Father Ritzoom, and he proceeds forthwith to its execution. Joyce, on various plausible and mendacious pretexts, is kept abroad, and away from her father's influence, till she has actually been made a Catholic. When, however, she at length comes home, grave danger at once threatens the whole scheme, for not only is she deeply and sincerely attached to her father but she falls in love with Harrington, who is indeed the good genius ordained to thwart the machinations of Ritzoom. To him she is actually engaged.

But the Jesuit is not easily thwarted. With the connivance of her weak and fanatic mother, he breaks down the poor girl's spirit, induces her to leave home secretly, and has her carried off to a remote convent in the provinces, where she is entered as a postulant for the religious life. This gives Mr. Hocking an opportunity for what is evidently a main purpose of his book, in his treatment of which it is easy to detect

the practised hand of his auxiliary, Mr. Abbott. Catholic convents, we are told, are so iniquitously favoured by our legislators, that they can defy law and justice with impunity: "children can be born and people can die in these places, and the outside world be no wiser." In this particular instance, Joyce's father and lover utterly fail for some three years to discover her whereabouts, though leaving no stone unturned. Ritzoom, insidiously feigning sympathy with their distress, puts them on various false scents, actually inducing Harrington on one occasion to go on a wild-goose chase to the south of France. Meanwhile, he and others are constantly at work crushing the poor victim and reducing her to a proper state of pliability. She is assured that her father has ordered that she shall never more darken his threshold, and that Harrington has found consolation in another bride, the daughter of a wealthy brewer. Finally, another inmate of the convent dying, the old doctor, a pompous, unsuspecting Protestant, is deceived as to her identity, and she is buried as Joyce Raymond, whose demise is announced in the public papers.

Meanwhile, Joyce has been "clothed," has made her profession as a nun, and, all unknown to herself, has become her grandfather's legatee. How Ritzoom managed to bring this about he himself explains to his colleague Brandon.

"First, there was a danger lest he should know what had become of the girl. Of course I saw to it that from time to time he should receive copies of that Protestant rag with a high-sounding title but no circulation, which stated that, in spite of home influences, she had remained firm to her Protestant convictions. That shows the benefit of being represented in every kind of periodical. It helps in ways unknown to the world. The old fool

who edits *The Protestant on the Beacon*¹ has not the slightest idea that one of his contributors is a faithful servant of the Church, and so he proudly announced that the grand-daughter of Walter Raymond, Esq., who had for so many years supported the Protestant cause, refused to follow the example of the rest of the family and become a Catholic. Of course I saw to it that marked copies of this thing were sent to the old man. It pleased his vanity and made him more and more kindly disposed towards the girl. I saw to it, too, that at Protestant meetings, and on other occasions, he was approached by faithful members of his creed, and that these guided him in the way he should go. Then, of course, great care had to be taken in bringing influence to bear upon him when he was making his will. . . . Then again there was the other difficulty. Suppose he had died six months ago. The girl then wanted six months of being legally of age. . . . As it happens, before the will can be made known she will be twenty-one. . . .

"Old Walter Raymond will be buried on the 15th of July, and his grand-daughter comes of age that very day. . . . On the day following she will sign a paper giving all her possessions to the Church. This paper

¹ This reference to *The Protestant on the Beacon*, and the further information on p. 290 "that it is run by old General Gray, and sent out to people he happens to know," and has "only a few hundreds of circulation," seems to point so unmistakably to *Protestants on Guard*, run by Colonel Whale and distributed by him, that it seems only kind to call his attention to the passage. Probably his friend "Belsher," who "has written to Protestant papers and has strongly deprecated the influx of monastic orders into the country . . . a hack journalist, who poses as Protestant and still is a tool of Ritzoom," is equally capable of identification: can the Secretary of the Protestant Press Agency throw any light upon the matter? It was General Gray, "influenced by Ritzoom's creatures, who posed as Protestants," who induced old Raymond to leave his money to Joyce (p. 299).

shall be duly attested. There shall not be a loophole anywhere" (pp. 280, 281).

It is needless to trace the whole story of the dark intrigues which lead to the final transformation scene wherein with startling rapidity the Protestant party triumph, and the ill-omened figure of the Jesuit makes his lurid exit "a beaten man," though through the magnanimous forbearance of his antagonists he is allowed to escape the criminal prosecution which he had so richly earned. It will be sufficient to cite the *denouement*, commencing with the dramatic scene wherein Joyce at the last moment, suddenly recovering her common sense, refuses to sign the precious document which was to transfer her unsuspected wealth to the ecclesiastical harpies who had so adroitly quested it. She would not, she declared, sign what she had not read. Whereupon Ritzoom cried :—

"In the name of the Almighty ! In the name of the Holy Virgin ! By His holy cross and passion, and by virtue of your vow of holy obedience, I command you to sign these papers. Whatever you have, whatever you are, you have made a holocaust to the Church—body, mind, soul, you owe all to the Church. . . . Remember the Church's power ; remember the doom of the disobedient, the unfaithful virgin ! . . . You who have vowed holy obedience to God, dare to disobey God ! Think of the awful doom which will follow !" (p. 340).

Then she was sent back to her cell, and "presently a priest entered. He was very suave, very insinuating. He scarcely referred to what had taken place, but for the good of her soul he inflicted certain penances : fasting, bodily flagellations, prayers."

After a second interview with Ritzoom "some one brought her a bowl of some kind of gruel.

She ate it mechanically, then, after she had eaten, a feeling of drowsiness came over her, then she fell asleep.

"Meanwhile Ritzoom sat alone with the Mother Superior. They talked together for more than two hours, quietly, earnestly. The woman's eyes were large with terror; oftentimes she started to her feet and looked around the apartment as though she dreaded that their conversation was heard. . . . 'You understand, Reverend Mother?' he said at length. 'Yes, I understand,' she replied. Her voice was husky; her face, even her lips, were ashy pale."¹

Ritzoom then gave orders for Joyce's speedy removal "to another convent, to a place which is more healthy," adding: "I will arrange for everything—elsewhere"; and some "hours later a conveyance came to the convent doors, and a woman, who appeared to be weak and ill, was carefully lifted out and placed in the carriage" (pp. 342, 343).

But Ritzoom had reckoned without Harrington, who with Raymond turns up in the nick of time, having checkmated some final stratagems of the enemy, and rescues the distressed damsel while his attendants pinion the Jesuit, who has to recognize that the game is up. In less than a page Joyce marries Harrington, the other children throw off "the yoke of the priest," and Mrs. Raymond "goes away into quietness" (with an allowance) to pray for her husband's conversion. The conclusion is so hurried as to be almost incoherent; and we are left in ignorance of many things—*e.g.*, of who was buried instead of Joyce. Did space allow, indeed, the book affords ample ground for criticism from the point of view of literature. Mr. Hocking's own grammar is not above suspicion, and it is sur-

¹ P. 342.

prising to find an educated man like Father Brandon saying, "Who will you grieve?"¹

This then is the story which Dr. Clifford, Honorary D.D. of Bates University, U.S.A., commends "for its scrupulous accuracy and complete restraint." It is a fair sample of the pabulum which is advertised by its publishers as "revealing the present position of convent life," and guaranteed by the Nonconformist paper of largest circulation to contain "facts collected from authoritative sources." Making the fullest allowance for prejudice and ignorance, is it possible that these folk know what they are saying? Do they think that Mr. Hocking was present at the *lôte-à-lôte* between Father Ritzoom and Father Kelly? that he was behind the door when Ritzoom arranged with the Reverend Mother for the "removal" of Joyce? that he overheard the various discussions as to Joyce's signing away her property? Ignorance in itself is no crime, but it is difficult to acquit of culpability a man who sets up as a teacher without having taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the rudiments of his science. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Hocking is as competent to instruct his readers upon Catholic matters as would be a teacher of arithmetic who had never mastered the multiplication table. The parallel, indeed, is closer than might appear, for if he had mastered the *Penny Catechism*, he could not have fallen into the ridiculous blunders which permeate this and his former books.²

¹ P. 143.

² "I did not see you at Mass this morning," said the priest.

"Did you expect me?" she asked timidly.

"Of course," was the reply. "The sacraments of the Church are for the sustenance and guidance of her children," said the priest. "You are now one of the Church's children."

"At this Mrs. Raymond's overtaxed nerves gave way, and she began to cry" (p. 34).

There seems little doubt from this that Mr. Hocking regards Mass as identical with Holy Communion!

A child in a Catholic poor-school would be able to instruct Mr. Hocking upon Catholic faith and practice ; the "man in the street," if he happened to be a Catholic, could tell him what is the ordinary life of a Jesuit, but he clings to the old Protestant traditions, and reinforces them by "much valuable information" from Mr. S. J. Abbott, who may be congratulated on having obtained at one and the same time a circulation of his wares in a form somewhat more reputable than that in which they are usually presented, and a gratuitous advertisement from a respectable firm of publishers.

Such a picture of the Catholic Church as Mr. Hocking paints does but help to swell the list of those which time out of mind have been the stock-in-trade of artists of his school, and by means of which the prejudices of Englishmen are assiduously nurtured. As Cardinal Newman put it more than half a century ago, to allow the Church to be seen as she is would be fatal to her rivals :—

"Therefore get rid of her at all hazards : tread her down, gag her, dress her like a felon, starve her, bruise her features, if you would keep up your mumbo-jumbo in its pride of place. By no means give her fair play : you dare not. . . . Blacken her ; make her Cinderella in the ashes ; do not hear a word she says. Do not look on her, but daub her in your own way ; keep up the good old sign-post representation of her. Let her be a lion rampant, a griffin, a wivern, or a salamander. She shall be red or black ; she shall be always absurd, always imbecile, always malicious, always tyrannical. She shall be always worsted in the warfare with Protestantism ; ever unhorsed and disarmed, ever running away, ever prostrated, ever smashed and pounded, ever dying, ever dead ; and the only wonder

is that she has to be killed so often, and the life so often to be trodden out of her, and her priests and doctors to be so often put down, and her monks and nuns to be exposed so often, and such vast sums to be subscribed by Protestants ; and such great societies to be kept up, and such millions of tracts to be written, and such persecuting Acts to be passed in Parliament, in order thoroughly, and once for all, and for the very last time, and for ever and ever, to annihilate her once more."

Accordingly, as help to the work, on which Dr. Clifford and his friends have set their hearts, of depriving Catholic parents of their rights in the education of their children, this preposterous and ignorant caricature is to be scattered broadcast amongst old and young, and the minds of our countrymen yet further poisoned against the faith of their forefathers.

POSTSCRIPT.

In *The Christian World* for January 24th Mr. Hocking published a letter, extending over two columns, dealing with the foregoing article, which he terms "a curious illustration of the methods by which Roman Catholic controversialists deal with Protestant writers." This, being interpreted, seems to mean that Catholics have no right to challenge any statement made by "Protestant writers," however ridiculous, malevolent, or false such statements may be. Mr. Hocking explains that the chief aim of his novel is to "advance a plea for the public inspection of all convents and similar institutions. It urges that convents are sealed houses, and that in these houses anything can be done, and no one outside be the wiser. This is one of the main contentions of the story." Mr. Hocking, having attempted

to justify his ridiculous misrepresentation of the Catholic law as to marriage, proceeds :—

“With regard to the main contentions of *The Woman of Babylon*, does Mr. Britten deny them? The great question here is, Are the statements made in *The Woman of Babylon* true? Are English convents sealed houses? May young girls be immured in them although they desire to get away? May nameless deeds be performed in them and the world be in ignorance? May children be born and people die and no one be the wiser? May poor ignorant girls suffer, grow old, and die without the right, the privilege of communicating with the outside world in order to tell of their desires? Have they to make their most inmost thoughts known to their father confessors, who thereby obtain almost unlimited power over them? Have they, if they desire to write a letter to father or mother, to submit that letter to the Mother Superior, who uses her own judgement, or that of the priests, as to whether the letter is to be sent?”

The letter is for the most part occupied with the usual *ad captandum* charges against Rome, including the somewhat novel one that she “burnt Wycliffe.” Mr. Hocking is good enough to allow me to reprint it and the rest of his letters, but to do so in full would exceed the length allotted to this pamphlet, and there would be neither advantage nor interest in repeating his meanderings. The main features of the letter are set forth in the quotation given above and in the following reply, which I was allowed to publish in *The Christian World* for January 31st:—

“SIR,—I cannot expect that you will allow me space equal to that occupied by Mr. Hocking in dealing with my review of his *Woman of Babylon*, nor have I any intention of traversing the wide field covered by his

remarks. I will confine myself to one point on which Mr. Hocking more than once lays stress—the question of *facts*. It is *facts* that 'the Roman Church tries to hide from us'; it is *facts* that I am charged with denying; it is on '*facts* that have come to light' that Mr. Hocking has based his story: and it is of these *facts* that I respectfully demand production.

"Mr. Hocking's summary of his story hardly does justice to its more striking features. The facts for which I ask are those which have suggested the following points: the abduction of a young woman; the course of persistent lying by which she is induced to become first a postulant and then a professed nun; the 'most terrible penances' and 'flagellation' and 'reduction to a skeleton through insufficient food'; the insistence upon a 'vocation' in the case of a postulant who is likely to be wealthy, and her dismissal when it is found she has no expectations; the drugging and terrorizing with a view to signing away property; the proposed 'removal'—a word the significance of which is rendered plain by the Rev. Mother's conduct when it was spoken of by Father Ritzoom (p. 342), a passage I have quoted in my review.

"It will not be enough for Mr. Hocking to say that he has heard of those things, or read of them—still less so that he has been told of them by Mr. Abbott. If they are *facts* they can be substantiated by references, and it is references that I want. And I will add that if Mr. Hocking really knows of such iniquities and takes no steps to bring their perpetrators before the law of the land, he is himself in a measure responsible for them.

"Mr. Hocking asks me to deny that such things *may* happen, and proceeds to assume that they do. The only attempt he makes to support his charge is a refer-

ence to cruelties in a convent in France—if he is referring to the Nancy convent it is certain that, even if all that was alleged be admitted, nuns were in no case the victims. It is for Mr. Hocking, who believes the stories, to prove that they are true; not for me, who do not, to demonstrate their falsity.

“It may save trouble if I say at once that the time-honoured generalities which do duty for evidence in the Protestant mind will not meet my requirements. I want definite instances, with names and dates, of occurrences which justify Dr. Clifford’s encomium of ‘scrupulous accuracy’: if Mr. Hocking ‘based his story upon facts,’ he will have no difficulty in producing them.

“Of course I am not suggesting that every nun is a saint, or that there is no ‘human nature’ in convents. But to suggest that they are such as Mr. Hocking and Dr. Clifford suppose, is to insult the common-sense of the whole Catholic community, few of whose members have not some relation or friend within their walls.

“I am, Sir, yours obediently,

“JAMES BRITTEN,

“Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society.”

To this Mr. Hocking replied in a long letter in *The Christian World* for February 14th, in which he charges me with having “evaded everything that is vital” in his previous communication, and saying: “All I claim for *The Woman of Babylon* is that it is a novel which is justified by facts: that its *raison d’être* is truth”; adding “Mr. Britten demands *facts*, and he shall have them.” His “facts” are as follows:—

“Fact 1. The revelations made in connection with the convent at Nancy. Mr. Britten makes light of them, but it was partly owing to these revelations that I

was led to write *The Woman of Babylon*. As I read I was nauseated, horrified, and I said, 'All this may be happening in England at this time. If it happened in France, why may it not happen in England, where every convent and monastic institution is a *sealed house*?' Indeed, if nothing had come to light but the sickening details of that French convent—details which, although horrible beyond words, ought to be placed in the hands of the heads of every family in the land—I should be more than justified in writing *The Woman of Babylon*. Nay, if every statement in that book were strengthened fourfold, they would still come short of the ghastly facts which were made concerning that inferno.

"Fact 2. Mr. Britten wants proof of the lying and rapacity of the priests. A case is given in the book itself, and was copied word for word from *The Daily Chronicle*, omitting only the names of people. Here a priest went to a lady who was in a dying and almost unconscious condition. He wrote a codicil to her will, which meant an entire violation of the will itself, and by which the Roman Catholic Church was to be enriched, and then made believe that this codicil was written by some one else. He obtained the lady's signature to this lie, while she was in a somnolent state, and this was done in association with the administration of the *Holy Communion*! Now, if a priest would do this under such circumstances, circumstances fully reported in *The Daily Chronicle*, I maintain that I was justified, and *more than justified*, in my description of Joyce Raymond's experience in the story.

"Fact 3. Mr. Britten wants facts in relation to cruelty in convents. If he will turn to *Le Matin*, January 4, 1907, he will find a full report of the cruelties practised at a conventual institution in St. Anne

d'Auray. Here is given a description of the methods used, consisting of *the cold douche, the mattress, flagellation, and the dungeon.*

“ Fact 4. There is the well-known case of the Misses McCarthy, of Dublin, who refused to sign away their property at the behest of the bishop, who poured terrible threats upon them, and denounced them for their breach of the Vow of Holy Obedience. Indeed, the refusal of Joyce Raymond to sign away her property at the request of Father Ritzoom is little more than a transcript of this notorious incident. Should Mr. Britten require further particulars of this case they can be given. ¹

“ Fact 5. Take the history of Miss Hazlewood, who took a fortune of £30,000 with her to a convent, and whose case was tried before the Master of the Rolls on June 5, 1899. Here is an instance where a mother searched for years for her daughter without avail, and not until she applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* could she discover her whereabouts. And even then the mother was not allowed to see her daughter alone, but could only speak to her *through a grille, in the presence*

¹ Mr. Hocking, no doubt having in mind my warning that it would not be enough for him to quote in support of his statements information supplied by Mr. Abbott, carefully avoids saying that he has taken his “facts” 4 and 5 from the Abbott leaflet which I have mentioned on page 2, and leaves it to be inferred that he gives them of his own knowledge. Here are two passages, which show that Mr. Hocking is more “indebted” to Mr. Abbott than he is willing to acknowledge :—

Mr. Abbott's leaflet.

“ . . . the Miss McCarthys of Dublin, who, in spite of episcopal authority and with dire threats from the Bishop for non-compliance and breach of the vow of ‘holy obedience,’ refused to sign away property . . . ”

Mr. Hocking's letter.

“ . . . the Misses McCarthy, of Dublin, who refused to sign away their property at the behest of the bishop, who poured terrible threats upon them, and denounced them for their breach of the Vow of Holy Obedience. . . . ”

of another nun. It goes without saying that the £30,000 went into the great maw of the Church."

"I will leave it to the unprejudiced reader," says Mr. Hocking, "to judge whether these facts which have come to light are not more than sufficient to justify every statement in *The Woman of Babylon*," and concludes his letter with the following remarkable paragraph:—

"Mr. Britten closes his letter with a significant admission. 'I am not suggesting that every nun is a saint,' he says, 'or that there is no "human nature" in convents.' Admitting that, he proves my case up to the hilt. Here you have institutions whose doors are closed, where public inquiry is impossible, and where father confessors and mother superiors have almost unlimited authority over the inmates; in addition to this you have people who are not all saints, and where 'human nature' is prevalent. What more need be urged?"

In answer to this the following letter, which the editor of *The Christian World* headed "Mr. Britten not Satisfied," appeared in that paper for February 21st:—

"SIR,—In his first letter Mr. Hocking said, 'The great question is, Are the statements made in *The Woman of Babylon* true?' I agreed with him, and I asked him to give the 'facts' on which the statements summed up in my former letter were based. The statements included the abduction of a young woman, her compulsion, by systematic lying, to become a nun; the infliction of flagellation and partial starvation in convents; drugging and terrorizing with a view to obtaining property; and her proposed 'removal'—a proposition which occurs twice in the book, each time made by a priest, under circumstances which leave no doubt as to what is intended.

"Mr. Hocking now charges me with having 'evaded everything vital in [his] letter.' I have already explained that I thought it best to confine myself to 'the great question' and to try to ascertain what were 'the authoritative sources' from which you, Sir, congratulated Mr. Hocking on having 'collected facts'; and that I purposely confined myself to this one point. And I must still resist the temptation to notice his other statements—though I should much like to know at what date the Catholic Church 'burnt Wycliffe'—until these 'facts' are supplied, for those he adduces in no way meet the case.

"'Facts' 1 and 3, even if they be admitted—and I do not admit them without qualification—relate to the treatment not of nuns but of orphans. The convent in the book seems to be enclosed—certainly there is no mention of an orphanage in connection with it, and I did not ask for 'facts in relation to cruelty in convents,' but for facts bearing upon the story and establishing what Dr. Clifford calls its 'scrupulous accuracy.'

"Fact 2. Similarly I did not ask for 'proof of the lying and rapacity of the priests,' and the instance cited has nothing to do with a convent.

"Fact 4. I do not know the details of 'the well-known case of the Misses McCarthy, of Dublin,' but were they nuns? If not, they could hardly have taken the 'Vow of Holy Obedience'; if they were, how did they remain 'the Misses McCarthy'? Perhaps Mr. Hocking will say whether they were nuns or not, as obviously, if not, they are not pertinent to the argument.

"Fact 5. The case of Miss Hazlewood, as stated by Mr. Hocking, presents difficulties; but if it was tried by the Master of the Rolls and decided in favour of the convent, it would seem that 'the Church' acted in accordance with English law.

"The last paragraph of Mr. Hocking's letter demands comment. He says, 'Mr. Britten closes his letter with a significant admission. "I am not suggesting that every nun is a saint," he says, "or that there is no human nature in convents." Admitting this, he proves my case up to the hilt'—that is to say, and 'this is the real crux of the question,' that 'whether such things [as he describes] are or are not taking place in the convents of England, these should be open to the fullest possible investigation.'

"It may be pointed out, in the first place, that the convents at Nancy and Ste. Anne d'Auray are in France; they are, therefore, open to official inspection, and, we can hardly doubt, are duly inspected. But it was not the inspector, but—at any rate in the present case—the ecclesiastical authorities whose denunciation of irregularities led to full investigation.

"Mr. Hocking, in his 'facts,' adduces as 'proof of the lying and rapacity of the priests' as a body an instance cited from a newspaper. About three weeks ago a trial took place at Newcastle¹ at which a Nonconformist minister was convicted of immorality, extending over a period of years, with a member of his congregation. The acts complained of took place in a classroom and in his study, and the case was attended by many aggravating circumstances.² What would be said were I, following Mr. Hocking's example, to quote the Newcastle incident as it was reported in the papers of the day as an example—a 'proof'—of the conduct of

¹ This should be Carlisle; the acts referred to took place at Workington.

² E.g., the plaintiff "received various postcards from defendant, all of which, except one, had reference to texts upon them. Amongst them was 'Call upon me and I shall answer thee and show unto thee great and mighty things which thou knowest not.' 'Oh how great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for men that fear Thee,' and many others."

Nonconformist ministers generally, to denounce as ‘a standing disgrace to our laws’ the absence of the right to inspect classrooms and ministers’ studies, and to say that [I had] ‘proved my case up to the hilt’ by this evidence that every minister was not a saint? Of course such a charge would be revolting, such a plea would be justly condemned as an infringement of private rights; but how would the charge and the plea differ from that of Mr. Hocking’s against ‘the priests’?

“I could say much more—for Mr. Hocking’s policy in controversy is that of the *reliarius* or the cuttle-fish—but I must not weary your patience. I will only ask once more for evidence of the ‘scrupulous accuracy’ of Mr. Hocking’s story.

“Yours obediently,

“JAMES BRITTEN,

“Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society.”

Mr. Hocking’s rejoinder in *The Christian World* for February 28th begins by saying that “there seemed nothing worthy of notice” in my letter; “as a correspondent wrote to me, ‘I pity the poor man, for it is his duty to try and make a case out of nothing.’” I should have more confidence in the genuineness of the “correspondent” if Mr. Hocking had not been convicted, on his own showing, of describing three Jesuits and one parish priest as “men of the highest position in the Catholic Church in Ireland” (*see p. 3*). Mr. Hocking is more than ever pleased with his “facts.” “The stronger the *facts*,” he says, “the less [Mr. Britten is] satisfied. . . . *Facts* justified the writing of the novel. . . . In answer to Mr. Britten I gave a number of well-known *facts* which more than justified the novel. . . . Mr. Britten does not deny these *facts*; of course he cannot. . . . Mr. Britten must have

a weak case indeed when he has to resort to such logic." Mr. Hocking does not or will not see that the question is not one of "logic" but of *facts*, and it is *facts* that he does not, because he cannot, supply.

His letter concludes as follows :—

"But, as I have urged repeatedly, the strength of the claim set forth in *The Woman of Babylon* does not mainly depend even on such damning facts as I set forth in my last letter ; it rests on common sense, on justice, and the rights of a liberty-loving people. Let me in a word set it forth again :—

"(a) Nuns are not all saints. (Attested to by Mr. Britten.)

"(b) Human nature obtains in convents. (Also admitted by Mr. Britten, who doubtless has reasons for his admission.)

"(c) Conventual institutions are closed to the public. They are multiplying like flies in this country, because other countries demand the inspection of all such places. Thousands of women are immured within their walls who are bound by the oath of obedience. No one but the superiors of these places know what is happening ; no one *can* know, for according to the laws of England they are sealed houses.

"Let these three facts speak for themselves."

In reply to this I sent a letter, which I intended to be my last ; but *The Christian World*, which had given no intimation that the correspondence was closed, printed in its stead, on March 7th, the following editorial note :—

"Though he admits that he cannot expect us to continue this correspondence, Mr. James Britten sends us a further letter in answer to Mr. Hocking, whose 'statements about the treatment of nuns in convents are,' he says, 'pure inference and inference unsupported

by facts.’ We are compelled to suspend the correspondence and to leave our readers to draw their own conclusions as to whether Mr. Britten or Mr. Hocking has substantiated his case.”

This action on the part of the editor can hardly cause surprise, since *The Christian World*, in reviewing his book, congratulated Mr. Hocking on having “collected facts from authoritative sources,” and his inability to justify this appreciation must naturally have been annoying to those who had expressed confidence in his accuracy. The rejected letter—which the editor of *The Universe* was good enough to allow me to print in his columns, and of which I have sent Mr. Hocking a copy—is as follows, and with it may end this second exposure of the methods of a Protestant novelist. Those who wish to appreciate to the full Mr. Hocking’s qualifications for his task and his modes of defence must read the pamphlet on *The Scarlet Woman*, to which the present is a companion or sequel :—

TO THE EDITOR OF “THE CHRISTIAN WORLD.”

“SIR,—I cannot expect you to continue this correspondence, but I trust you will allow me, in what I hope will be my last letter, to say once more exactly why I am ‘not satisfied’—words which Mr. Hocking attributes to me, but which I did not use.

“In his first letter Mr. Hocking said that ‘facts have come to light upon which [he] based [his] story’—the story of the abduction of a young woman, of her compulsion to become a nun, of tortures inflicted—including flagellation and starvation, drugging and terrorizing—and of proposed ‘removal.’ In support of these charges relating to nuns Mr. Hocking brought forward five ‘facts.’ Of these two are concerned with *orphanages*,

which are nowhere alluded to in his book : one of these was not published until January 4, 1907, so could not have been before him when he wrote his book ; it has, moreover, as he knows, been contradicted. Two other of the ‘facts’ had no connection with convents ; the fifth was decided by English law in favour of the convent. I submit that, if Mr. Hocking has no further evidence, his statements about the treatment of nuns in convents are pure inference, and inference unsupported by facts.

“The strange part of the matter is that Mr. Hocking himself says in his last letter, not only that ‘no one but the superiors of these places know[s] what is happening,’ but that ‘no one *can* know.’ How does he reconcile this with his profession of knowledge ? In one way or other he *must* be wrong ; either he *has* knowledge, in which case convents cannot be ‘sealed houses’ ; or has *not*, in which case his ‘facts’ are mere inferences as to what he thinks *would* happen. He appears to assume that because certain things *might* be done they *are* done, and that the possibility justifies the statements. Probably he would in this way justify his remark that Rome ‘burnt Wyckliffe’—who is generally supposed to have died in his bed, three days after hearing Mass in his parish church. ‘No.’ Mr. Hocking would say, ‘Rome burnt heretics’—by the way, who burnt Servetus?—‘and Wyckliffe was a heretic ; my statement is thus supported by facts.’

“Having thus failed to adduce one tittle of evidence in support of his charges, Mr. Hocking now finds that ‘the strength of the claim set forth in *The Woman of Babylon* does not mainly depend on the damning charges set forth in [his] letter,’ thus admitting, what indeed is obvious enough, that his ‘facts’ are not *ad rem*. So he ‘sets it forth again’ under three heads,

two of them being my ‘significant admission’ that ‘nuns are not all saints’—whoever thought they were?—and that ‘human nature *obtains* in convents’—this word ‘obtains’ is not mine, and is accompanied by an insinuation which I prefer not to characterize. Neither of these ‘admissions’ was before him when he wrote his book, so ‘the strength of its claims’ cannot be based on them. The third is that ‘conventual institutions are closed to the public,’ which is proof sufficient that Mr. Hocking can know nothing about them of his own knowledge. Yet these three are the new ‘facts’ which Mr. Hocking says ‘speak for themselves’!

“Mr. Hocking is compelled to admit that convents are ‘according to the law of England.’ He knows that the clamour for their inspection is confined to a section of the community which is not conspicuous for learning or intelligence, and can claim no leader of thought among its adherents. He knows that the last time a proposal for such inspection was brought forward in the House of Commons it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. It is sad that a man who has a certain position in the literary world should lend himself to the propagation of charges for which he does not and cannot produce one shred of evidence.

“In conclusion, I will ask permission to refer your readers to a book written by one who, having lived many years in a convent, left it and became a Protestant. She had many bitter things to say of those whom she had left, and she died outside the Catholic Church. This ex-nun—one of the very few who could substantiate their claim to the title—was Miss Cusack, and her book is called *The Truth About Convent Life*. I pass by the significant comment on what she had been made to suffer by Protestants ‘because I would neither make statements which I knew to be false nor endorse

statements made by others which I doubted' (p. 198), and will only quote the following passage :—

" ' Roman Catholics will never be won when charges are made against them which they know to be false, and indifferent Protestants will never become active helpers in our efforts to save England from the yoke of Rome when they find that sensational statements are preferred to facts, and that those who gratify the public with such statements are supported, considered, and encouraged, while those who speak words of warning in soberness and truth are cast aside and persecuted ' (p. 189).

" Yours obediently,

" JAMES BRITTEN,

" Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society."

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" WESTMINSTER, S.W.,

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" I have just returned and found your book of Fictions
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shall recommend it to any one who wishes to see the comic
side of Protestant prejudice. It is one of the best things you
have done. I hope it will have a great circulation. I am
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BY

HILAIRE BELLOC, M.P.



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THE FERRER CASE

BY HILAIRE BELLOC, M.P.

THE readers of the following lines will remember that in the month of October last year, 1909, an explosion of excitement and anger took place simultaneously in a certain number of great towns with regard to the execution of a Spanish criminal of the name of Francisco Ferrer.

This man's name had been hitherto unfamiliar to all but a narrow circle of people, who were interested in his educational work and in his remarkable personality. He was very well known in the town of Barcelona, near which he had been born, in the suburbs of which he resided, and which latterly had been the scene of his political efforts. But he was not in any sense a public figure in Europe, nor were the public in general acquainted with his name.

Of a sudden, within two days, that name was talked and shouted about in Paris, in London, in Rome, and in one or two other great cities where secret organization can be prompt and thorough in its action ; and it filled public attention to the exclusion of almost every other subject. In Pisa an attempt was made to burn down the cathedral. In London a hostile demonstration was made outside the cathedral in Westminster ; in Paris a large mob was gathered, great injury was done to municipal and private property, many policemen were wounded, and one was killed. In Rome the Mayor of that city (a Jew from Liverpool) publicly expressed the horror which (he said) was felt by the Roman people at the execution of Ferrer ; and the Press of Europe, or at least that part which is most generally quoted, was in the same note. The English Press was, indeed, somewhat more independent, many important papers reserv-

ing their judgement and others frankly admitting that it was no affair of ours. But on the other hand, the English Press was less accurately informed than the Press of any other country, and took for granted much more unanimously than the Press of Paris, Vienna, Madrid, or Berlin the falsehoods which had been industriously circulated by those who sympathized with the criminal.

Now that we can look back upon that strange episode, we see it marked by certain characters which every man of independent judgement and common sense, no matter what his philosophical or religious opinion, must recognize.

In the first place it was organized; it was not spontaneous. It is self-evident that a spontaneous explosion of sympathy with an unknown person cannot take place. It is further self-evident that a spontaneous explosion does not take place in five or six widely separated centres at the same moment. That the movement was organized artificially is further proved by the fact that it was put an end to as secretly, as suddenly, and as abruptly as it was aroused. The moment the facts began to leak out, the moment the truth about Ferrer's life became known, the same power which had spoken in Rome, in Paris, and in London discovered the topic to be uninteresting, and dropped it. It became impossible save in a sporadic fashion, and in quarters either Catholic or obscure, to print anything upon Francisco Ferrer, unless indeed such information were a repetition of the old falsehood.¹

Now, not only did this incident bear the plain character of organization, and of secret organization: it bore a character which very often accompanies phenomena of that sort in Europe—to wit, that its whole energy and meaning was an attack upon the Catholic Church. The cry in favour of the condemned criminal was identically the same as the cry against the Faith. No one joined in it save from hatred of the Catholic Church, or under orders from those, or duped by those, who hate and would destroy the Catholic Church. Conversely, no

¹ Thus the present writer having written to *The Daily News* suggesting the production of proofs for and against Ferrer, that paper printed several violent letters in his favour. A list of the witnesses against him, with an abstract of their testimony, was then sent, and the editor of *The Daily News* suppressed it.

Catholic, not even those isolated and ill-informed Catholics who in Protestant countries are so easily deceived by the falsehoods round them, joined in that demonstration. It was nothing more nor less in its inception, character, and meaning than an attack upon the Church. The weapon used was a familiar one. First, the assertion that a great injustice had been done—and that presented in a light which made the deed seem inhumanly wicked; next it was suggested or asserted that the authors of this monstrous iniquity were the priests of the Catholic Church. In precisely the same manner are the events of the past of Europe presented by those who hate Jesus Christ and the Institution He founded. The mark of persecution—and especially of persecution by falsehood—was stamped upon the whole business.

It is well that Catholics living in non-Catholic and often anti-Catholic surroundings (as they do in this country) should on an occasion of this sort have the plain truth put into their hands; and since it would be quite impossible to get that plain truth in an ordinary magazine or newspaper that was not Catholic in direction, the present writer has thought it might be of some service to set down the facts upon the Ferrer case in this pamphlet.

Nothing further stated here shall be in the nature of argument or of a brief. The machinery of attack upon the Catholic Church to-day is a machinery directed by secret organization and by organized falsehood. Our defence everywhere now chiefly consists not in convincing by eloquence or by reason our fellow-men, but in printing the truth, the mere historic facts, and disseminating that knowledge as widely as possible. When we can manage to do that against the constant and tyrannical pressure of our opponents, our cause invariably triumphs.

Francisco Ferrer was born on January 10, 1859, at Alella, in Catalonia. He was therefore in his fifty-first year at the time of his execution. While yet a boy he was apprenticed to a shopkeeper in Barcelona. His employer (this was after the Franco-Prussian war and the quarrel of Spanish succession, which ended in the short republican regime) shared or professed the opinions which at that moment appeared most favourable to

advancement, and communicated—according to Ferrer's parents—his atheism to the lad put under his charge ; but whether their evidence maligns an honest man or no there is no evidence to show.

Before Ferrer was of age he had broken with his family, and had begun to associate himself with Zorrilla, a political leader who worked with the Italian Freemasons and attempted to introduce their methods into Spain. Francisco Ferrer, shortly after coming of age, obtained a small position in the railway service. Here again tradition comes in (and the tradition of his own friends) to say that he used his position for the conveyance of information to the Venerables and the Brethren of the new lodges ; but in this matter also we have no evidence to show whether tradition maligns him or no. He was twenty-six when a partial insurrection broke out in Catalonia. He joined it, and on its immediate suppression he fled the country, and found himself in Paris, whither Zorrilla, his former employer, had fled some years before. For ten years, that is from the year 1886 to the year 1896, he lived (with an interval of return to Spain) in a small way in the French capital. For five years more he lived under easier circumstances in the same place. He had quarrelled violently with his wife, and had abandoned her and his three children. His easier circumstances were due to his obtaining work of a modest kind in the way of teaching the Spanish language, or Castilian, which Catalonians (though it is not the daily speech of men of Ferrer's rank in the province) are quite capable of doing.

During these years he formed a narrow circle of acquaintances, which included more than one woman. The women he was not attracted to by anything so abstract as community of opinion ; the men of his acquaintance were, however, without exception, adherents of the little clique which organizes the struggle against the Catholic Faith in France, and chief among them was Nacquet, a Jew ; to this person and his rôle in the affair we shall further allude ; and it was through Nacquet that Ferrer (only, of course, after he had become a very wealthy man) was advanced to the high position he later held in the secret society whose centre is the Grand Orient Lodge in the Rue Cadet in Paris.

The quarrel with his wife had been in part the effect of jealousy and in part a difference between the couple upon the matter of religion, and by this time Ferrer's main object in life was undoubtedly the destruction of the power of the Catholic Church, especially in his own country. He had come to feel for the Faith that persistent and tenacious hatred which marks certain characters in their dealings with religion. Those who had met Ferrer, and with whom the present writer is acquainted, are of the opinion that he was sincere in this fanaticism, which ascribes to the Catholic Church most if not all of the evils from which our modern humanity suffers. Their verdict would seem to be true, for the man's whole life, in its latter part at least, shows itself to be connected with a monomania of this kind ; moreover it is characteristic of such an attitude that he should imagine the Church to be antagonistic to natural science, and that he should even think that Catholicism might be weakened by teaching its adherents the elements of chemistry, astronomy, geology, and mathematics ! Simplicity of this sort is nearly always the accompaniment of fixed and sincere purpose.

We have seen that his energy and enthusiasm, which were remarkable, gained him several admirers, one or two of whom were of the opposite sex. He entered into relations, on which we have no direct evidence, with a middle-aged spinster of the name of Mesnier. Whether it were a love affair or no, upon his part or hers, it is impossible to tell. But there is no doubt that she was fascinated by his personality, for when she died at the end of the century she left him a fortune of somewhat less than £40,000. This lady died professing the Catholic religion, and left in her will directions that some portion of her money should be spent upon masses. This Ferrer sequestered or embezzled : either term will be used according to the sympathies of the reader. He would have thought it a superstitious use, and he did not apply it. But it is quite possible that this woman, in leaving him so large a sum of money, knew that he would apply the greater part of it, as he did, to the founding of schools in Spain, for, with the exception of mentioning masses for her soul, the money was left to Ferrer absolutely, and without reserve

or direction. How far she knew that those schools would have a definitely anti-Catholic character it is now impossible to say, for there are no witnesses to the conversations between Ferrer and this woman or to the relations between them.

The influence of this fortune of course changed the whole of Ferrer's life. He was now a man of large capital. He had attained, as we have seen, a very high rank in the anti-Catholic secret and Masonic Society whose centre is the Grand Orient, situated in the Rue Cadet in Paris, and it was undoubtedly this organization which worked up the artificial excitement at the moment of his death. His sponsor and introducer to this organization was, as we have also seen, Nacquet,¹ a gentleman of Jewish origin, unfortunately a Senator in the French Parliament, and the author and begetter of the unpopular divorce law which he advocated and successfully carried, under the just supposition that it would be a powerful solvent of the religion, morals, and civilization which, as a Jew, he naturally hated.

Ferrer, then (by this time a very prominent Mason, and in with the Judæo-Masonic clique in Paris), returned to Barcelona with his newly-acquired fortune and started the first of the "lay" schools, which, under the title of "the Modern School," are associated with his name. Of the schoolmistresses he employed he chose one, a certain Soledad, for his new mistress; he could not and did not marry her, but she was the last of the ladies with whom his name is associated. He left his three daughters behind him in Paris penniless, but it would be unjust to ascribe to him any love of luxury; he provided for himself and his mistress a sufficient and modest income, the rest of his capital he expended upon his favourite scheme of the "Modern School," which he had designed as an instrument against the Catholic Faith.

The first thing a reader unacquainted with Spain will remark at this point is, that a man should be permitted to found an institution directly opposed to the spirit,

¹ Nacquet's defence of Ferrer, in which his own race and Ferrer's Masonry are carefully suppressed, was published in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for November, 1909. The reader will do well to consult it in the light of the present paper.

and in some part to the laws, of the country in which he lived. Such a scheme would not be tolerated for a moment under the British, the German, or the French system of government. In France, indeed, there is a tradition of government (to which there is now some danger of reverting) forbidding any school to exist which is not under the direct control of the State, and it is certain that if—to give a parallel instance—a wealthy Irishman were to start schools in Ireland, part of whose object was to denounce the methods of English government in that country, or a wealthy Frenchman were to perform a similar act in Alsace, the British and the German Governments respectively would soon put an end to his activity. The Government at Madrid permitted the formation of these schools in the rebellious province of Catalonia, because government in Spain is far less strict, and its pressure upon individuals far less severe than in countries more highly organized; and it is an example of the penalty that Spain pays for her backwardness in organization that work of this kind directed against her own national existence can flourish.

However this may be, the Escuela Moderna, teaching the full doctrine which Ferrer, in common with other anarchists, openly professed—a doctrine cosmopolitan and inimical to military discipline and to all the functions of government, as well as chiefly designed against Catholicism—flourished. Ferrer gambled repeatedly and successfully upon the Stock Exchange, where his Jewish connection helped him, and his fortune continually grew; as it grew he set aside the greater part of it for his anarchist propaganda.

Impotent as the Government of Spain is against its enemies as compared with the Governments of more highly organized countries, a straw at last broke the camel's back, and that Government did attempt in 1906 to get rid of the danger. A certain Matteo Morral, a lover of Ferrer's mistress—and mixed up in an irregular way with that household—one, moreover, whom Ferrer had employed in his schools and had indoctrinated with his system—upon May 31, 1906, attempted to assassinate the King and Queen of Spain. Ferrer was of course arrested in connection with this outrage, but it is characteristic of Spanish methods that, after letting the

prosecution drag tamely for over a year, he was acquitted on June 3, 1907, and left free to continue his work.

In the early part of last year, 1909, he visited London. He stayed in Bloomsbury, and it is not uninteresting to note that among those who willingly associated with that irregular household were some of those Puritan enemies of the Catholic faith in England who are most energetic in denouncing the least departure from the strictest canons of their own domestic morality. A point was waived in favour of the woman Soledad because her protector was known as an enemy of the Catholic Faith. His friends in London were of the middle-class sort, many of them Dissenters of one kind or another, and most of them ardent enemies, as he was, of the Catholic religion. What he came precisely to do in England we do not know, for it is in the nature of secret societies to suppress evidence. He pottered about with our educational system, and showed an interest in some of our elementary school text-books; but at any rate, whatever his occupation was, on June 11, 1909, he suddenly sent a hurried and quite unexpected note to certain English friends, who were expecting a longer stay upon his part, saying that he was called back to Spain by the sickness of a niece. It should be remembered by those who desire to know the facts, and the facts only, that his niece had, as a fact, been taken ill before or about that time. But it should also be remembered that the decision of the Spanish Government in favour of the highly unpopular "Forward" policy in Spain had been taken just so many days before that date of the 11th of June as would permit the writing and despatching of a letter from the malcontents in Barcelona, summoning Ferrer to the scene of disturbance.

He hurried back south, and, four days after the Credits for the African Expedition (which was loathed throughout Spain, and especially in Catalonia) were voted, he reached Barcelona, the capital of that province.

For a month Spanish opinion rose stronger and stronger against the adventure in Africa. The initial reverses of the war gravely accentuated this feeling throughout the Peninsula. Catalonia and its capital,

Barcelona, whose attitude towards the rest of Spain is separatist and anti-national, protested with especial vigour, and on the 26th of July a rising in Barcelona began. It raged throughout the 27th, the 28th, and the 29th of that month, but as it developed a singular phenomenon appeared.

Official buildings were spared and the persons connected with the unpopular Government and its action were not attacked. Though the movement was nominally proletarian, neither the goods of the capitalist class nor their palaces, which are many and sumptuous in Barcelona, suffered. The whole movement was canalized against the Church, which had nothing to do with the African Expedition nor with any part of the quarrel! The poorest parish churches as well as the greatest and wealthiest of the monastic foundations were sacked and burnt, and the movement was organized with as much method as might be the movement of an army.

Picked men went from place to place conveying the instructions of hidden organizers; petroleum and firearms were always found ready for these attacks upon the clergy and upon the churches. The only efforts made against the military were made with the object of preventing them defending the churches, the nuns, and the priests. In a word, the rising, which had begun as a vague, spontaneous, and general protest against the military expedition, against unpopular officialdom, and against the capitalism which was supposed to inspire it, was directed, when once organization and method appeared, not against army, officials, or capitalists, but solely against the Church, upon the lines with which Ferrer's name was locally chiefly connected, and in the interests of that section of opinion of which he was locally the acknowledged head.

A connection of that sort has, a thousand times in history, and especially in recent history, proved sufficient for the arrest and execution of such a leader. Risings, and even individual acts, in Ireland, in Russia, and in India, the Bread Riots in Milan some years ago, the reaction in Constantinople last summer, all provide instances of a truth which cannot, indeed, be seriously questioned: to wit, that in moments which

imperil the existence of regular government (whether that government can boast a national and moral foundation or no) the notorious connection of particular persons with sedition is sufficient for their arrest and punishment. Indeed, the necessity of accepting common knowledge as evidence in moments of anarchy, however deplorable, is self-evident. And it is just possible that if Ferrer had been caught in the heat of the rising he would, in spite of Spanish formalism and delay, have been summarily executed. But Ferrer, after the rising was suppressed, disappeared and fled into hiding. A successful hiding-place was organized for him, a hiding-place so successful that until recently (and for all the present writer knows even at the present moment) no public knowledge of it exists, and the nature of his safe-guarding is still known to the members of his secret society alone. He remained in hiding for a whole month. He was at last discovered, arrested, and put upon his trial. A court-martial (which is in Spain the statutory court for trying rebellion) was duly instituted. Witnesses to the number of over half a hundred were called and cross-examined at the discretion of the prisoner himself. Their evidence was taken down on oath verbatim as it was given, its verbal accuracy was confirmed by the signatures of the witnesses and of the accused, the whole body of evidence and cross-examination thus formed was drawn up in a document of close upon a thousand folios, each numbered and paragraphed; finally, this document was given as a brief to the Prosecution and to the Defence before a court composed of a number of military officers, and the guilt or the innocence of the prisoner was pleaded before the court in public. Particular care was taken that there should be admitted to the trial a large number of representatives of the Press of every country. The Defence was given the last word in the proceedings, and from first to last every detail of the procedure usual in such cases and conformable to the law was observed. After hearing the evidence and the pleadings, the court pronounced a verdict of guilty just before dusk upon the evening of Saturday, October 9th.

Meanwhile Ferrer's Brethren in Paris, and especially the Venerable and the Brethren of the Lodge to which he

was attached in that city, were organizing expensive and determined demonstrations in his favour.

These demonstrations did not concern themselves with the justice, the legality, nor even the facts of his trial: they were rather of the nature of those advertisements to which modern commerce has accustomed us, by which a suggestion is made to the mind through a process no more logical than mere reiteration. Processions of motor-cabs would parade the streets of the city, the men who took a free ride within them were hired to warn the public of a great injustice about to be committed. Placards were posted at vast expense on all the walls. Paid notices appeared in the Press. And from Paris the action radiated outward to whatever centres the Judæo-Masonic power which was at work, and the other anti-Catholic forces allied with it, could be approached.

It was a wonderful if a sombre thing to witness the activity and the strict organization of the conspiracy. The Press was everywhere instructed. All the evidence against Ferrer was suppressed, and that same machinery of mere reiterated suggestion which had been seen on the streets of the French capital was soon repeated in the newspapers of London, of Rome (where the Jewish *Tribuna* was especially active), in the Jewish *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, in the principal organs of the United States, and in general throughout the world.

Some few hours before the verdict was delivered, the opinion of the "man in the street," hitherto profoundly ignorant of the very existence of this person, who had never written a line worth reading nor spoken a sentence worth remembering, was violently agitated, and Ferrer's fate had become the question of the hour.

That he had been fairly and justly tried, that he had been given all the advantages of procedure which any man was ever given in like circumstances, was at first hardly known beyond the boundaries of Barcelona. The further removed the audience from a knowledge of Spanish things, the more bold and unblushing was the insistence of the cosmopolitan lie, and the more intense the action of the organized, virulent, secret and consistent cosmopolitan liars.

If any reader believe the present writer to be expressing himself in a manner too violent for the circum-

stances, let him contrast those facts which I have set down, and those further facts which I am about to set down, with the files of the English Press between the dates October 10th and October 20th, and he will be amply satisfied that I do not exaggerate. If such a consultation lead but a score of men to suspect the manner in which the anti-Catholic conspiracy is worked in the Press of Europe, and especially of London, I shall have done good work in writing these lines. I who am writing them know it well, for I have come into close connection with it; but it is still unknown to the greater part of my fellow-Catholics in this island.

We have seen that the verdict of guilty was given in the evening of October 9th. Forty-eight hours later, or a little more, upon Monday night, the 11th, the condemned man was transferred to a prison adjoining the place of execution, where he was separately lodged and guarded. I may here mention that the poor, who had been arrested in large numbers during the revolt and who were incarcerated in the same neighbourhood, had not provided the same interest to the international forces which were working for Ferrer as had that individual himself. The actual number of executions was utterly insignificant compared with that following any other modern rising. It would have been perfectly possible to have made heroes of the half-dozen or so of humble individuals who suffered at the same time as Ferrer. Their very names are ignored! But, then, though the equals in birth of Ferrer, they were neither his equals in fortune, nor, perhaps, were they highly-placed officials in the anti-Catholic organization of Freemasonry.

Ferrer wrote his will in the night between Monday and Tuesday. He left to his legitimate family the minimum sum which the law compelled him to leave, and without which the whole will would have been invalid. To his illegitimate child, born of one of his irregular unions, whether the last one or no the present writer has not the evidence to determine, he left a capital sum. He further provided for his last mistress, the woman Soledad, but, consistently with the whole action of his life, he left the greater part of the very considerable proceeds of his windfall and of his gamb-

ling upon the Stock Exchange to the anti-Christian propaganda which was the business of his life. The document concludes—or nearly concludes—with the characteristic sentiment that there should be no manifestation after he had suffered, “since services devoted to the dead are useless.”

At about nine in the morning of Tuesday, the 12th of October, he was shot. Following the custom of England and of many other countries in the case of a public execution, he was buried in the prison cemetery. Spanish opinion, though hostile to the man, would perhaps have preferred the return of the body to his relatives.

There is the summary of the story as it might have been told by any newspaper correspondent who desired to do justice to both sides, to tell the exact truth, and to let his fellow-beings have nothing more than information. There is the story as it would have been told by the agents of our cosmopolitan Press if those agents were free. A man of such and such opinions, notoriously the leader of such and such a section of opinion in a particular town, was arrested after a rising in that town, a rising directed against the national Government and having for its object its overthrow. That rising after its first inception was captured and organized in a particular direction. Life was lost, property destroyed, and the lives lost and the property destroyed were those of the man's opponents. He was tried under the full procedure of the laws of his country, witnesses were heard and cross-examined, pleadings for the Crown and for the Defence were delivered, a verdict of guilty was brought in against him and he was duly executed. An especial fuss was made about him because he was a high official in a powerful secret society and was connected with a very important international movement. There is the plain truth.

But before I conclude the reader may demand something more.

Among the many falsehoods which were spread with the object of inflaming opinion in this matter, one was specifically reiterated in many forms, and nowhere was it more insisted upon than in this country. The Inter-

national Association of which I speak always suits its arguments to the temper of each particular locality in which it works, and as the English have preserved a more complicated and continuous legal system than any other people of Europe, and are especially attached to it, it is the legal side of the case which was made particularly prominent for their benefit, and the falsehood was especially propagated here that Ferrer had not a fair trial.

If it is meant by this that the procedure of the court was not identical with the procedure of an English court, I shall not waste a line to discuss so obvious a point. The procedure of English courts is governed by ancient and very strict ritual whose advantages and disadvantages have been the subject of innumerable commentaries in all countries. There is little doubt that in the mass it is conformable to the national character. Very few Irishmen would testify in its favour. Some features of it—notably the presence of a single judge; the power which that judge possesses of summing up; the fact that the judge is but an advocate promoted to the bench, &c.—would be utterly abhorrent to most foreigners, and conversely, certain points in their procedure, where it contrasts most strikingly with our own, is abhorrent to the opinion of this country. But institutions are never general, they are always particular; and contrasts of this kind between the institutions of one country and of another affect the judgement of no reasonable man.

What the International Organization did in the matter of Ferrer when it was put before Englishmen, was carefully to confuse the special procedure of a Spanish court-martial with the denial of certain elementary principles common and necessary to all courts of justice. It was said, for instance, that the prisoner could not call witnesses in his defence (this, by the way, an Irishman cannot do if the magistracy choose to debar him from it); that witnesses were not cross-examined; that the trial and the pleadings were not public—and so forth.

True, such suggestions are no longer very widely made. The moment the truth about Ferrer became known, the order of the day was to stop talking about him, lest the whole conspiracy in his favour should

break down. But the reply to those suggestions is perfectly simple : they are false, and demonstrably false.

The number of witnesses was, as I have said, over half a hundred. They were examined in the presence of the prisoner. The prisoner was permitted to cross-examine those whom he chose, and it may be noted that it was the complete breakdown of his cross-examination of the four principal witnesses which chiefly damned him. The whole of the evidence was sworn evidence. That sworn evidence was reported verbatim, and the verbatim reports were admitted to be accurate under the signatures of the accused and of his accusers. The body of the evidence so formed was publicly put forward, publicly and freely used by the Crown and by the Defence, and upon it a public court delivered a public verdict.

If in the face of such facts the reader still desires to know the nature of the evidence against which Ferrer found it impossible to stand up, it is easy to put it before him. For among these half-hundred witnesses the chief witnesses alone are amply sufficient to show that unless they were all perjurers, all perjurers in a conspiracy together, and all perjurers so adept as to maintain their case under cross-examination, Ferrer was, so far as it is possible to judge human testimony, guilty of participating in rebellion and of attempting to overthrow the established Government.

These main witnesses are : Bermejo, a detective who proved the presence of Ferrer, and his proceeding towards the scene of the popular ferment in Barcelona on the night of July 26th ; a soldier, Ardid, whom Ferrer attempted to suborn and tamper with so as to lead him from his duty ; a witness Sanchez, who independently confirmed Bermejo's testimony, especially as to the details of Ferrer's dress ; another independent witness, Calvo, who further confirmed the description ; and Calldeforns, who swore to Ferrer as the leader whom he had recognized at the head of one of the bands of rioters. The Mayor of Premia, a maritime village commanding the great road into Barcelona, proved that Ferrer came to him, and after describing the success of the insurgents at Barcelona, urged him to declare for the provisional government against the Crown. This witness's testi-

mony was supported, in spite of Ferrer's denials (denials which grew more and more confused and at last degenerated into "explanations"), by no less than nineteen other independent witnesses who confirmed it thoroughly. Finally, the chief witness, Domenech, who turned King's evidence, was the companion of Ferrer throughout the disturbances, and gave a detailed account of his movements, all of which fitted in with the testimony of that cloud of witnesses whose evidence was already sufficient to condemn the unfortunate man.

Ferrer closely cross-examined the soldier, two of the witnesses who in details confirmed the story of Domenech, and finally the Mayor of Premia. He failed in each of these attempts: strikingly and conspicuously in the last, proceeding, as I have said, from denials to explanations, and contradicting himself hopelessly, while the witness himself emphatically concludes: "A man who would deny in this fashion would deny the light of the sun!"

That the evidence was full and free is historically certain. When one has read it, it is humanly impossible to doubt that Ferrer was guilty of the counts against him. Whether such legal guilt be morally guilt or no is quite another matter. He may have thought it his duty to see that churches and convents were burnt down, graves violated, the bodies of dead desecrated, that religion in Spain should be broken, the Spanish monarchy destroyed, and most of the institutions of society overthrown. But that he did act in the way in which his indictment accuses him of acting, there is no doubt whatsoever. And the only way in which his defenders could (or rather did at one time) throw doubt upon his legal guilt, was by impudently suppressing all that was material to a knowledge of it.

The Ferrer lie is not the first, and it will not be the last, of the lies which hatred of the Faith spreads throughout Europe. But if the reader of these lines will take it as a model of what has been said in the past and will be again brought forward in defence of the Church's enemies, and of attacks upon Catholic societies in any form, he will not be badly armed.

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LETTER FROM THE LATE CARDINAL VAUGHAN.

The following letter was sent by CARDINAL VAUGHAN
to the author on receipt of a copy of the first edition :—

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

“WESTMINSTER, S.W.,

“September 4, 1896.

“Dear Mr. Britten,

“I have just returned and found your book of Fictions
awaiting me. I have looked into it with great laughter, and
shall recommend it to any one who wishes to see the comic
side of Protestant prejudice. It is one of the best things you
have done. I hope it will have a great circulation. I am
very grateful to you for this new contribution to our literature
and controversy. God bless you.

“Your faithful and devoted,

(Signed) “HERBERT CARD. VAUGHAN.”

“IN THE NET,”

OR, ADVERTISEMENT BY LIBEL

BY DOM NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

UNDER the catchy title of *In the Net*, there has recently been put into circulation a small book of the usual offensive and prurient type, aimed against convent life. In this particular instance the attack is characterised by a special degree of meanness, inasmuch as, under the guise of libel, an effort to advertise a school founded by a certain Rev. A. B. de Mille seems to be the thinly-veiled object of the writer, the gentleman just referred to. It is of course merely a type of many similar works sedulously propagated by some of the less reputable Protestant agencies; but it cannot therefore be entirely ignored lest, because unchallenged, its statements should be allowed to pass for truth.

The daily papers have, sad to say, recently had to chronicle only too many offences of more or less grossness, committed by ministers of different Protestant denominations.¹ Were I to argue from these premisses that *all* Protestant clergymen were immoral; and hence, that the Rev. A. B. de Mille, President of De Mille's Ladies' College, St. Catherine's, Ontario, conducted that

¹ See, for example, the Law Report in the *Times* of August 19, 1905.

institution for immoral purposes, I should be about as justified as that reverend gentleman is in the onslaught he has recently made, and is still conducting, in print and by lecture, against Catholic convents. As a matter of fact, I must confess that till a short while ago, when chance came to the rescue, I had never even heard either of Mr. de Mille or of his ladies' college. I know nothing about him even now but what I gather from the nauseous pages of *In the Net: An Appeal to Protestants concerning Convent-Schools*, of which, as already stated, he is the author; but that book makes it clear that the writer will never need the services either of an advertising agent or of a trumpeter of his own merits while he can wield a pen. It is difficult to write soberly and with restraint after reading his calumnious pages, made up as they are of unsupported statements already many times refuted, innuendoes, hints, and the rest of the armoury of his kind. How would Mr. de Mille like me to spread broadcast about him and his ladies' college, suggestions such as I have thrown out above: more particularly as I have, and know of, no shred of evidence wherewith to support such an attempt? But he knows no more about convent life than I profess to know about his institution.

Mr. de Mille conceived the idea some years ago of founding a ladies' college. No one need object to that. But the motive impelling him was to counteract the influence of convent-schools. Even that might pass unchallenged in one possessed by the notion, perhaps to some extent justified in certain cases, that the education imparted by nuns does not wholly satisfy modern requirements. There is room in this wide world for competition, which serves the purpose of intensifying energy, discovering defects and surmounting shortcomings. But in this particular instance a deeper and a darker motive lurks in the background—that of playing upon the ancient Protestant distrust of convent

life—begotten of prejudice, ignorance, hatred, prurience, and calumny—and thus of creating antagonism to Catholic convents in general.

Attention is called to a strange admission on Mr. de Mille's part in the opening of his book. He asks (p. 2) "Was she [the 'Roman Church'] equal to the task that God had given her?" &c. So he grants that God *did* give a task to the Roman Church! And if so, then she *was* ordained by Christ and had her commission from Him to "Go and teach all nations," with the inseparable complement that all nations were given the equivalent order to listen and submit to that teaching. Now if God *is* God with all His infinite attributes of greatness, omnipotence, truth, &c., then He cannot lie against His own nature and reveal two opposing and contradictory faiths: there can be but One true religion. That religion is partly known by its results, *i.e.*, by its capability of leading souls to God. And here the Rev. Mr. de Mille falls into the trap so fatal to all his kind. He confuses the fruits of the Catholic religion itself with the lives of certain individuals professing it. The Catholic religion, if really followed in its teaching, cannot but make saints of each of its members; if they fail to reach this standard, as alas! so many of us do fail, the blame lies not at the door of the Church or of her divine teaching, but rests with ourselves for not putting into practice all that the Church orders us to do in order adequately and fully to correspond with Christ's ideals. Hence, the Church is not to be judged by the acts of degenerate members, but by the ideals she preaches, and their realisation in those perfect souls we call saints. Rome's deeds (if by Rome, as is clearly the case, the Church is meant) have not been evil. Throughout the centuries the teaching and the exhortation of the Church have been in furtherance of the highest good: but Rome's followers, even the highest, have not always and every-

where conformed themselves to Rome's ideals, hence frequent, and alas! sad falls and scandals.

The main cause of Mr. de Mille's fear and dislike of the Church is apparent when he says that she "has grown to her present height, and is upheld chiefly through two orders—the clergy and the sisterhoods" (p. 13). Even here, ignorance ensures misstatement. The Church is upheld neither by clergy nor by sisterhoods, but by the faith of her adherents, and, above all, by the promise of her Divine Founder, that though the disciple is not above his master, and, therefore, that His followers must suffer persecution for justice' sake, yet that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church till the end of time. The clergy are merely the outcome of the existence of God's Church, and the sisterhoods are only a development of God's highest teaching in the counsels of perfection. The sisterhoods are not necessary, though they are useful, to the Church; and should they, in God's inscrutable providence, cease to exist to-morrow, the Church would not even stagger for want of their "upholding." This support exists only in the minds of those who fear and hate these institutions without in the least understanding their scope or aims. The Church does not "believe it right to," nor does she, "rob human beings of their liberty for the base purpose of making money out of them" (p. 13), as stated by Mr. de Mille, or, indeed, for any other like purpose.

Mr. de Mille professes, like all his tribe, a profound veneration for the Scriptures. Let him study them a little more deeply than, apparently, he has hitherto done, and he will understand that where the act of entering a convent is purely voluntary, there can be no "loss of liberty." The compulsion to remain is moral and not physical, arising out of this voluntary surrender of self to God's service, founded on Gospel teaching: the "instinct for self-sacrifice" (p. 40), which he cannot

understand. Does Mr. de Mille recognise these Gospel passages which are here brought to his notice? In Matt. xix. Christ declares the indissolubility of matrimony, and quotes Gen. ii. 24: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife." Here we have an early example of the fact that for a greater good (a wife), an already existing good (parents) may, nay must, be abandoned. If parents may be, and ought to be, "abandoned" for a wife, it is only a difference of degree, not of kind, to argue that it is lawful to leave parents and family to cleave more closely to God, thereby to give Him our undivided service. It is this, and no more, that monks and nuns do. St. Matthew goes on to relate that the disciples, awed by Christ's teaching, said to Him: "It is not expedient to marry" (ver. 10), "Who said to them: All men take not this word, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs, who were born so from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, who were made so by men: and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xix. 11-12). That is, a life of chastity is proposed by Christ, not as a command to all men, but as an ideal the realisation of which is reserved for a comparatively few chosen souls. The text must not be interpreted in the literal sense, but evidently means that people may be found who, led by God's call, resolve to lead a single and chaste life, and, therefore, to all intents and purposes make themselves eunuchs in order to serve God in a more perfect state than those who marry.

And here it may be useful to weigh St. Paul's words in chap. vii. of his First Epistle to the Corinthians: "He that is without a wife, is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife: and he is divided.

And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit. But she that is married thinketh on the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your profit ; not to cast a snare upon you ; but for that which is decent, and which may give you power, to attend upon the Lord, without impediment” (verses 32–35). And later, after saying a widow may, if so minded, lawfully marry again, he nevertheless exclaims : “ But more blessed shall she be if she so remain according to my counsel ” (ver. 40).

From these passages it should be possible by a miracle of divine grace for Mr. de Mille to grasp the fact, that though the married state is a holy one in itself, ordained and blessed by God, in which those who are faithful will earn a great reward in the future life, there is a yet higher state—that of those who refrain therefrom, not for selfish motives of ease or the shirking of domestic responsibilities, but that they may “attend upon the Lord, *without* impediment.” Married people also undoubtedly “attend upon the Lord,” but it is *with* impediment, for of necessity they must be “solicitous for the things of the world.” From this position it is but a step to the conception of the monastic or religious state : wherein those who are called by God’s grace to His service *without impediment*, voluntarily band together for mutual aid and support. Realising this Catholic concept of the religious life, it is only a prurient mind that can imagine that those led by such lofty ideals have consecrated themselves for life to such an abnegation of *lawful* pleasures merely for the gratification of brutal instincts and unrestrained *unlawful* lust. Yet that is what Mr. de Mille and such as he suggest.

In its essence, the religious state is a *lay* one, over which, as such, the Church exercises no control. But inasmuch as religious and monastic bodies all come

under the general management of the Church, just as every individual does ; there are laws, for the sake of good order, applying to all in general, which must be obeyed. But the various and numerous forms of religious life come into being independently of the Church. The founders draw up a rule of life and select their own aim and objective for their institute, only submitting all for the Church's seal of approval. The Church neither gains nor loses, from a monetary point of view, by their existence. They may be compared to commercial companies. The State does not force them into being ; they are inaugurated by private individuals for the good of those who pool their money for a specific purpose : yet the State regulates for and controls the existence of these trading concerns in the interests of the common welfare by laws and enactments, while never a penny of profit reaches the State, at least directly. So it is with the religious orders. If they may, perchance, occasionally furnish the governing body of the Church with funds (never large) ; it is a purely voluntary uncoerced action on their part, to be repeated or discontinued precisely as they may think fit. Thus the Church has, and can have, no "base purpose of making money out of them," nor does she "immure their victims for life," &c. (p. 13). Hence the statement on p. 45 is self-convicted of ignorance : "The Roman Church does not incur such enormous outlay simply to contribute to the intellectual improvement of her members." She incurs no outlay. "She is so exceedingly avaricious, that, in capturing young girls, there must be some thought of financial advantage as a result." Mr. de Mille would be much astonished did he know how many men and women yearly enter monasteries and convents without any dower whatsoever. The charge of avarice is mean : but perhaps the wickedest portion of this wicked book is that which develops its attack on the Church by

innuendo, atrociously libelling pure men and women without a shadow of proof. "I am aware that another reason is always given when the convent question is discussed, and that is immorality" (p. 45). After this opening, the expectation of one who knows facts would naturally be a disclaimer in some such clause as: "*but there is no foundation for it.*" This is not the Rev. A. B. de Mille's method, however. He continues thus: "This has been in the past in some countries a strong motive on the part of the priesthood, who alone have access to these places at all times. The evidence of men who know, and of women who have spent many years in convents conclusively proves this." *And no further proof is adduced.* Why? The authorities are, as is only too well known, such worthies as Achilli, Widdows, Ruthven and Maria Monk!

Such innuendoes seem too foolish to take seriously; but there is no gauging the depths of Protestant credulity and uncharitableness, so some kind of refutation is necessary. In the first place, the clergy have not "access to these places at all times." Specially appointed clergy alone "have access" only at stated hours and to fixed places; they cannot roam at will over convent buildings. In the case of "enclosed" orders, indeed, the same restrictions are observed for their visits as for those of other externs: that is, a "grille" or fixed partition divides nun from priest; in all other cases the priests visit under conditions of publicity, which alone would render unseemly conduct impossible. But what can Mr. de Mille be thinking when he suggests such horrible ideas? Here are men and women, who under the impulse of lofty ideals have vowed their lives to God's particular service. Is it likely that any number, let alone individuals, of these can be found to live lives of hypocrisy? Have Mr. de Mille and his like a monopoly of common sense; have they alone a regard

for mere decency? Are a multitude of parents so lost to honour and uprightness as to be willing to submit their daughters to a horrible fate? We are not *all* fools and knaves! Let a little common sense dispel these stupid but malignant charges! If such things really could take place in a single convent, the Catholic laity might be trusted to make so great an outcry as would bring such dens of iniquity to a speedy end. No father would knowingly submit to the degrading idea of his daughter being condemned to a life of infamy. What are the facts? Protestants complain of the multiplication of convents, of the vast increase of nuns. There are but few Catholic families that cannot claim one at least of their members as a nun. It is to them a source of pride and thankfulness. The Duke of Norfolk has a sister dedicated to God's service; so has the Earl of Denbigh, till lately a lord-in-waiting to the King. The whole nation has but recently paid its tribute to the general worth, the shrewdness and penetration of that great Irishman, Lord Russell of Killowen, late Lord Chief Justice of England. Yet is he to be thought so blind and "priest-ridden" as to sacrifice a daughter to the evil passions of men, when he gladly consented to her entering a convent? Any man who wishes to be thought sane and reasonable, should pause to consider what all this means before he stoops to accept the wild nebulous charges contained in *In the Net* and the class of gutter literature which it represents. When the daughters of the highest and the best in the land could make splendid matches and take up great positions in the world, is there any sense in supposing they would spurn these solid advantages simply to lead in a convent the life of a harlot? And yet, this is in plain language what *In the Net* and similar effusions would make their readers believe. If words mean anything, no other interpretation can

be put on the suggestions contained in these filthy pages.

The concept of dedicating one's life to the special service of God is no new one. And it is generous: but many who might be found to engage themselves for a year, or two, and then tire and retire must be kept out. "No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of heaven." When the gift of oneself to God might be withdrawn at any moment, it could hardly be called a "sacrifice." Stability of purpose is of the essence of the consecration of our lives, and this is secured by the taking of vows. Mr. de Mille descants at length on inveigling young girls into convents whence they can never emerge, however much their parents may want them. Mr. de Mille seems to think that a girl is inveigled into a convent all in a moment. How unlike this idea is to the reality, let the actual facts proclaim. Should a girl show any strong desire to become a nun, she has to undergo a long process of trial before her wish is gratified. *There is no possible exception to this rule.* For a period, lasting from three to twelve months, she is a "postulant," living with the nuns, and following their life, merely to see if it suits her and she it. Should all be deemed satisfactory on both sides, she is admitted to the noviciate, a period of strict probation, very exacting and searching, extending over one or two years. Perhaps one in five novices survives this test. More are rejected than are accepted. More abandon their purpose of becoming nuns than persevere to the actual taking of the vows. The vowed or professed nuns are merely the survival of the fittest for a very exacting life. It is cruel then, if not criminal, for Mr. de Mille to represent convents as entrapping girls into the meshes of a net.

It follows that Mr. de Mille aims wide of the mark when he asserts that "It was one of the objects of the

Church of Rome, in establishing convent-schools, to bring Protestant girls as far as possible under the influence of the Church" (p. 23). If Catholics are not the prey of convents, then surely still less so are Protestants. Again, convents having been founded primarily for the sanctification of their inmates, these latter have looked about to find some suitable occupation. Some have adopted nursing; some sewing; while others have felt they could not better employ their time than in the instruction of youth. The Church had nothing to do with the choice of employment: therefore had no "object" in this connection. How about Catholic countries, for instance, where convents engaged in educational work abound, and where Protestants are conspicuous by their rarity or absence? It is only a chance circumstance that brings Protestants to their schools. When foundations are made in Protestant countries, it is for the education of the Catholic portion of the population that they cater; and if Protestant children attend their classes, the nuns have invariably been requested by their Protestant parents to admit them: the nuns have not sought nor ensnared them. If Protestant parents are to be found willing to entrust their children's education to Catholic nuns in Catholic convent-schools, it is because they have seen for themselves the good results of the training imparted, as exemplified in cases within their own immediate cognisance. Mr. de Mille himself may be quoted in proof. He was told by a gentleman: "A young girl who has attended one of these schools generally comes out a good Roman Catholic. If not, she is but little use for anything else" (p. 23). The former part of this statement is the best testimonial that could possibly be desired. It is the highest praise, for it means that the girl will be religious, modest, pure, virtuous, truthful, honest, clean, tidy, a good daughter, and later a good

wife and mother. But after offering that unintentional tribute, he withdraws it by the astounding assertion, unsupported by the slightest shred of proof, that through the influence of convents “the standard of Christian life is certainly lowered” (p. 24), and that “parents have noted a growing lack of truthfulness in their daughters while attending convent-schools” (*Ibid.*), and that “their daughters have learnt to lie glibly and practise deceit” (*Ibid.*). No generous-minded man could make such a charge against women who have devoted their lives to the service of their neighbour, unless he could irrefutably prove his indictment. But Mr. de Mille light-heartedly makes this cruel stab and then passes on—to what? To what is meant to be blame; but which every convent would accept as the highest praise. The danger which Mr. de Mille apprehends from convents is not primarily that of the harm likely to accrue to the girls themselves in learning deceit and lying, but in the influence they are likely to exercise afterwards amongst their friends and relations! Has the effect of convent teaching, then, been so bad after all? Surely their elders with (presumably) fixed and high Protestant principles, would not succumb to those represented as silly, misguided, deceitful girls, unless struck by some unusual good in them!

Mr. de Mille says that the nuns “will certainly make a strong impression which will influence for life” those Protestant girls sent to them, so that “should they not embrace the Roman faith they will at least remain friends of the Church” (p. 24). And why? Because they will have learnt for themselves that all the silly stories of cruelties and cells with which books, such as *In the Net*, are stuffed, and which run current for truth amongst prejudiced people who have probably never been inside a convent, are mere calumnies and simply a part of the great Protestant tradition. It is because the schoolgirls have learnt to know better, that

for the future they "remain friends" of the Church, even though they do not become her children. This last eventuality, however, forms Mr. de Mille's gravamen: he has "known many of these young women who afterwards married Roman Catholics and joined their husbands' Church. In many cases the daughter's influence has led the parents or brothers and sisters to become Roman Catholics" (p. 24). He further gives a specific instance of a girl, "one of a family of eight," who "married a Romanist, joined the Church, and afterwards succeeded in getting her parents, and finally all the members of her family, to unite with that Church. The mission so successfully begun was continued . . . eventually twenty-five persons were won over to the Roman Church as the result of that one Protestant girl attending the convent" (p. 25). There's the rub! All the silly and malignant nonsense spread broadcast by such as the author of *In the Net* is so much wasted effort when brought face to face with the truth, the reality as learnt by personal knowledge and experience; and this campaign of lies against convents recoils on those who engage in it; for it convicts them either of ignorance, or of calumny, malice and all uncharitableness: certainly not a method of walking in the footsteps of Christ, the Lover of truth and charity. Another consideration here presents itself. How is it that these presumably orthodox, instructed, and convinced Protestants could not stand proof against the "zeal of the poor blind Romanist"? (p. 25). It does not speak too highly either of their training or of their conviction.

I have now to notice a series of statements as fallacious as they are wild; but they are heralded by one partly true; to wit, "Rome is well aware that if she can influence the coming motherhood of a country, she will win it to her faith" (p. 26). On the same page we read, "She has money for all her mission schemes."

Those who know best the facts connected with her missionary efforts and their success, stand amazed at the attenuated resources with which she secures such results. “The best talent of the Church has been used to develop the wisest system of obtaining money, not to the saving of . . . souls” (p. 26),—a random statement practically incapable either of proof or disproof. He concludes, “Certainly she takes the lead of any organisation in accumulating wealth” (*Ibid.*). The wealth accumulated by the Church is not for hoarding but for immediate disbursement; but if the vast and world-embracing nature of her activities be taken into account, these sums, large in themselves, contributed from every quarter of the globe, are small, indeed, compared with what is effected, or with what is really needed, or, above all, with the enormous sums of money expended yearly by Protestant missionary societies, with little result.

Another statement betrays an abysmal depth of ignorance of matters connected with convents. Mr. de Mille asserts that these schools “are a great financial gain to the Church” (p. 31). Protestant schools, as he admits, are costly, for teachers have to be adequately salaried, &c., whereas nuns work “entirely without remuneration, from the mother superior to the one whose duties are those of the lowest scullery-maid” (p. 31). Mr. de Mille endeavours to make out that the thrift which prevents waste creates a horde of wealth which goes to the Church. On the contrary, as compared with those in force in Protestant schools, the pensions charged in Catholic convents are low; hence it is only by an exercise of thrift begotten of conscientiousness that the nuns are enabled to make ends meet, and perhaps to put by a small sum against future contingencies. Their profits are not such as to allow of their handing over to the ecclesiastical authorities anything beyond perhaps an occasional modest alms, let

alone the huge sums of the Rev. Mr. de Mille's dreams.

It is true that occasionally a girl of means may feel herself called to join a conventual institution, and perhaps to take into it a considerable fortune; but such cases must, of necessity, be rare; and when they do occur, the new nun's wealth will be found to have gone for the most part rapidly enough into non-productive bricks and mortar. The rest of Mr. de Mille's imaginings are the veriest "fudge," such as his appeal to prejudice: "What awful secrets are wrapped up in the history of these wealthy victims" (p. 32), followed by such a surmise as "If she regrets the fated vow, or is afflicted or down-trodden" (p. 33), what would be the horror of her fate? Can these folk be brought to realise that there is absolutely nothing to keep these ladies in a convent except the moral compulsion of their own consciences; that they have but to walk out at the front door, and no physical restraint exists that can hold them back!

The same pages (33-34) contain another precious piece of clap-trap: "No doubt" surmises Mr. de Mille, "the life of every nun is in some way useful to the system. For the toil they are liable to endure no wages or even promise of reward is given. The scantiest fare and a plain wardrobe only are provided, and are not her own. . . . We have ourselves seen the sisters collecting that which had been taken from hotel tables to supply the wants of some who, no doubt, before their bondage were reared in luxury." When it suits the purpose, the pet Protestant idea of luxury-loving religious is discarded. But the notion of *sacrifice* is unknown to these severe moralists, and they cannot understand how labour and poverty can be willingly embraced, how riches and ease can be foregone, for the "promise of reward," not in this life, but in heaven. "If thou wilt be perfect, go,

sell all thou hast . . . and come, follow Me,” is a text apparently beyond their comprehension; but it is the mainspring of this spirit of renunciation in many who have been “reared in luxury.”

Teaching orders do not follow this practice of begging alms and food: but such nice distinctions are beneath Mr. de Mille’s notice. And in the confusion of ideas which overwhelms him, he makes no mention of the fact that superiors share equally with the last-joined novice these terrible hardships.

It would be expecting too much of *In the Net*, to find it free of the customary vile insinuations about the mysterious wickednesses of the confessional. “It is true,” says Mr. de Mille, “that nuns are compelled to go to confession and open their hearts to priests, who too often are licentious men. They must in the confessional submit to insulting questions, and are compelled to answer, though incontestable authority has shown that these are often too coarse to be published in the language of the people, and must have corrupting power over the purest heart” (p. 33). This foul-minded drivel is only too familiar, and has in times past done yeoman’s duty against the Church in inflaming ignorant prejudice and conjuring up prurient imaginations. It must be answered by analogy. The mention of questions “too coarse to be published in the language of the people” is, of course, a vague reference to the manuals of Moral Theology. If, however, Catholic clergy are in the habit of putting such questions constantly to all their female penitents, why they should not be published in the vernacular in the manuals needs explaining! It is just because they have to be so little used, and to keep them from common perusal, that they are in Latin. But, by way of comparison, take the case of medical treatises. Discussions and diagrams which would only do harm if put before the young ladies at De Mille

College, are right enough when reserved to the exclusive use of professional men. So, too, in the case of Moral Theology manuals: they are meant, not for general perusal, but for the instruction and guidance of the clergy. And just as, on occasion, a doctor has to examine his patients in a way that outside the sphere of his professional duties would be inadmissible; so, at times, but rarely, the priest has to probe the spiritual wounds of his penitents very deeply, if he would hope to do them permanent spiritual good. But just as a doctor does not need to have recourse to such examinations when a patient comes with a cut finger; so, the instances when a priest has to probe deeply (as suggested by Mr. de Mille), are few and far between. To those who *know*, as opposed to those who pruriently *imagine*, it is simply unthinkable that any nun, living as she does a pure, holy, detached life, can *ever* need to have such "insulting" questions put to her. In the general practice of the confessional, rare indeed are the occasions when any such questioning as suggested is needed. Confessors are particularly enjoined under grave penalties incurred by the very act of transgression, not to question on delicate matters unless it appears absolutely necessary to do so, specifically to avoid the slightest danger of wounding modesty or suggesting the knowledge of evil where it is as yet unknown. The "integrity" or thoroughness of the confession which is, in general, a necessary condition for absolution, is rather to be foregone than that any evil should result from too close questioning. As to nuns being "compelled" to go to confession: this practice is not special to nuns: it is the common law of the Church, binding equally on every one of its members without a single exception from the Pope himself down to the youngest child arrived at years of discretion. An ordinance all Catholics without distinction begin to practise when they are seven years

old is nothing new forced upon those who enter a convent.

It is scandalous enough that any man can be found to hint at immorality in the case of priests and nuns; yet some may be found to go even farther, and to suggest foul play and murder, as is done on p. 52: "Thousands die in convents, but their demise is not registered," though "the Act demands that no person shall be buried until a medical certificate is given, a severe penalty being attached when this formality is neglected." Can Mr. de Mille produce one single authentic instance of any such burial without the customary certificate? I do not pretend to know the burial laws of all countries, therefore I am not prepared to say what may happen in any country where, conceivably, burials without registration are permitted. But from the wording of Mr. de Mille's sentence it is clear that for once he narrows his charge to England or at least to the British Empire, where registration is enforced: "the Act demands," &c. But, assuming for the sake of argument that countries exist where registration is not in vogue, surely a practice allowed in Ruritania should not be cited as an instance of what goes on where registration is enforced? This base insinuation of foul play is quoted as a fair sample of the style of argument and proof adduced by writers of the school that produces such trash as *In the Net*.

The fact is, Mr. de Mille is playing upon the prejudice of Protestants. By jumbling up a series of darkly-hinted horrors, which even if they ever had a foundation in fact, should be kept distinct and charged only to those against whom they could be proven, he apparently hopes to create a bugaboo to frighten parents into boycotting convents and supporting his ladies' college. The chapter headed "Convent-Schools a menace to Protestantism" is a deliberate attempt to poison the

wells. The retort is that Protestantism must be in a very bad way indeed if it cannot withstand that menace without recourse to such unscrupulous methods. Let it be repeated : No Protestant child is touted for ; Protestant parents, if they select convent-schools for their girls, do so deliberately and of their own accord. The picture of the sorrowing, tear-stained parents, beguiled and deceived, painted for us by Mr. de Mille is meant to be pathetic ; it is only ridiculous. No doubt "the sisters faithfully vowed that the religious convictions of the Protestant scholar would not be meddled with" (p. 37),—seriously meant it, and abided by the bargain. But they have no control over the effect in a child's heart of the daily influence and example of holiness of life and devotion to duty. These things cast a spell more potent than any "tampering" or verbal persuasion.

Another point on which considerable ignorance is displayed is the confusion of various sorts of nuns, of their work and their employments ; and then all alike are branded with the crimes and shortcomings, which, (admitting them for argument's sake), could be charged to the account only of some. It is useful to point out that nuns, like monks, may be divided into two great classes : those who embrace the contemplative life, and those who constitute what are known as the active orders. The contemplatives may be subdivided also into two sections : (*a*) those who spend their whole lives solely in prayer and contemplation, like the Carmelites ; (*b*) those who add to these spiritual exercises some slight amount of external work, such as teaching. The former hardly come within the purview of Mr. de Mille's present diatribes ; but they are principally those whose penances (purely voluntary, be it remembered) so horrify men who do not, and apparently cannot, understand the example of the Cross—the idea of vicarious suffering. Whether the zeal that endures scourging "with straps

whose ends bristled with common carpet-tacks" (p. 46) is exactly according to wisdom, (presuming the statement to be true), is not now under discussion ; but it may be remarked in parenthesis that confessors exercise no "rule" in convents. It is purely a matter for the employment of discretion and may be safely left to the judgement of ecclesiastical superiors, who certainly do not encourage fanatical excess. The contemplative nuns who teach may, for the purposes of this reply, be classed with members of the active orders. These, by far the most numerous, both in the number of institutions and of membership, may be subdivided in a rough-and-ready way into those who nurse the sick (and these may be left out of the present discussion altogether) ; those who teach (*a*) children paying adequate pensions, and whose schools are therefore ranked as secondary ; (*b*) children in charitable institutions, such as reformatories, orphanages, and the like.

The discussion is now narrowed down to two classes dealing with children : (*a*) those nuns who conduct schools (secondary) of the class alone likely to be in competition with the De Mille Ladies' College ; and (*b*), those who look after reformatories and orphanages. Why does not Mr. de Mille keep these highly differentiated classes of institutions apart ? Why does he compare the convents of the Good Shepherd, for instance, with convents for the education of young ladies ? It is evident that in reformatories and orphanages the advantages offered in ladies' schools are not likely to find a place : the plain object, then, is undoubtedly to make as much of the shortcomings of a reformatory (judged by the standard of a secondary school and not by that of a reformatory), and then to charge those shortcomings to the door of the secondary school, with a view thereby of damaging its reputation and lessening the chances of its successfully competing

against the De Mille Ladies' College. One of the complaints urged against teaching nuns is that they manage to "run" their schools on cheaper lines than is possible in the case, for instance, of the De Mille Syndicate. What does this mean? A certain standard of comfort and luxury has to be maintained in convent-schools (secondary) in accordance with the social requirements of the class of girl frequenting those schools. If the pension charged is low, then surely the margin of profit must be very narrow. How, then, can the nuns be accused of enriching themselves and of being able to hand over large sums of money for ecclesiastical purposes? This alone helps to dispose of one of the favourite charges. Again, take the case of orphanages, reformatories and the like. The social scale from which they recruit their numbers is not accustomed to a high standard either of comfort or of living. Hence the expenses of up-keep will be lower per head than is the case in high-class boarding-schools. It is, indeed, a perennial source of marvel, even to Catholics, how the nuns manage to make ends meet on the narrow resources at their command. And yet it is a matter of common experience that, particularly in French convents, extraordinary results are attained on a mere pittance. Mr. de Mille himself furnishes us with a striking example—it proves a good deal more than he purposed, and in a different direction to that intended by him. On p. 59 *sqq.* he makes great use of a certain Mr. David Williamson's highly-spiced account of a disagreeable incident that occurred a few years ago at the Nancy Convent of the Good Shepherd. Granting, for the moment, all that is alleged against the Nancy convent, one incident of ill-treatment, or even one badly-conducted convent, hardly justifies these wholesale onslaughts on the entire conventual system.

But, to return to Mr. de Mille. By way of impressing

his readers with the vastness of the ramifications of the Order of the Good Shepherd, and so of fostering Protestant prejudice against these nuns, he writes: “The Order of the Good Shepherd owns 211 establishments . . . with no fewer than 7,000 nuns and at least 48,000 workwomen. The daily earnings of these establishments would come to the huge total of £2,000; and the annual income resulting from unpaid labour exacted from *pensionnaires* would be at least £600,000.” These figures, however, will bear analysis, and the data for doing so are considerably furnished. They at once bear a different aspect to that intended by Mr. Williamson and Mr. de Mille. In the first place the inmates are termed *pensionnaires*. In France this word indicates people (children or other), for whose keep and education payment is made. In this case but a minute percentage could be called *pensionnaires*, even granting that the partial and small sums given ranked as proper payment. Under present conditions, however, the use of the term conveys a false and misleading impression when applied to orphans supported by the nuns and the income derived from the orphans’ own labour. They are being taught an industry, or at least domestic management, and their “unpaid labour” is really, to a slight extent, a set-off to their housing, clothing, feeding, and education. Two thousand pounds a day of profit sounds big—as it is meant to do; £600,000 a year sounds bigger still—as it is meant to do. But these figures dwindle to very small proportions when confronted with the others. There are 211 separate establishments, with their up-keep, repairs, rates and taxes—surely no small item. And then the feeding and clothing of the inmates—not far short of 50,000—makes another inroad into this apparently colossal income of over half a million. Divide 48,000 into 600,000, and we arrive at the fact that the expenditure per head

amounts to only £12 10s. per annum, to meet all these and other incidental expenses. This does not leave much margin for purposes of hoarding wealth or for enriching the Church! And in this connection the 7,000 nuns have been left out of the reckoning, on the supposition that their support is provided by their own dowers. The marvel is, how the nuns manage to make ends meet at all. That they *do* do so, however, by the exercise of strict economy, aided by occasional alms from charitably disposed persons, is well known. But if they cannot feed themselves or their orphans on the scale of plenty found in many English institutions they should not be blamed. Their children come from a class unaccustomed to such diet, and thrive on what would be starvation rations to average English people. Abuses may occasionally occur, as perhaps they did to some extent at Nancy a few years ago; but, on the whole, these institutions are conducted with exemplary care, as those, whose knowledge on the subject inspires confidence, can and do testify. The outcry raised against them and here repeated by Mr. de Mille has for its object the gratification of the prurient curiosity of those who want to enforce inspection of *all* convents. There might conceivably be something to say in favour of this demand were these institutions in receipt of aid from public funds. But certainly, for the most part, they are not. They are supported by private charity and by home labour. They fall under the general unwritten law of respect for private enterprise. But, of course, while Mr. de Mille will persist in believing the oft-refuted irresponsible paragraphs which appear from time to time in the daily and other papers, and in passing them on (pp. 80, 82, &c.) unverified, accepting as gospel-truth statements made by unknown writers whose qualifications for handling the subjects they venture so glibly to discuss have never been put

to the test, so long will he continue to feed ignorance and prejudice on the food they love best, so long will the outcry against convents and orphanages be kept up, and so long will these unworthy attempts be made to advertise Protestant institutions by the cheap and easy—if uncharitable and unjust—method of libelling Catholic convents.

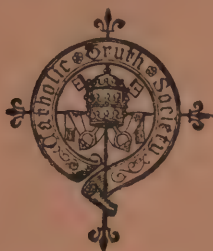
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RUTHVEN V. DE BOM

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

SOME three or four years ago, Michael Riordan, calling himself "Ex-Priest Ruthven," began to deliver in England lectures of a certain type, which were resented by Catholics on account of their untruthful and indecent attacks upon the Catholic religion and priesthood. The Hon. Secretaries of the Catholic Truth Society received from the Catholic Truth Society of Minnesota an account of Riordan's career, reprinted from the Cleveland (Ohio) *Universe* of March 15, 1895, which was largely based on statements of Presbyterian newspapers and of clergymen of repute. It included an account of Riordan's conviction and subsequent imprisonment for misappropriation of funds in the Erie County Penitentiary, the chief witness against him being the Rev. Dr. Paton, the well-known Presbyterian missionary, in whose name Riordan had been collecting. Dr. Paton has published an account of the transaction in his Autobiography published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (1898 edition, pp. 455-457), and during the recent trial confirmed on oath all the statements contained in it.

The Catholic Truth Society, having previously successfully exposed a lecturer named Slattery, was

asked to supply information regarding Riordan. Having learnt from America that the statements in the Cleveland *Universe* had not been challenged, the Catholic Truth Society reprinted the article as a leaflet, and many thousands of it were distributed in places where Riordan was lecturing. Meanwhile the Editor of *Truth* took up the matter and published a long series of exposures of Riordan's career. Not one of these has ever been refuted, nor did Riordan ever take or threaten any action against the Catholic Truth Society, although in the bills of his lectures he frequently referred to the leaflet.

It is only fair to the various Protestant societies to say that no one of them has ever given Riordan the slightest support or encouragement, nor has he been supported by the Protestant Press; this is in itself no slight indication of the estimation in which he is held by Protestants in general.

In the summer of 1900, the Rev. Emil de Bom, of Shanklin, where Riordan was announced to speak, printed and distributed a leaflet warning folk to avoid these "unhealthy lectures;" with this leaflet he enclosed a copy of the Catholic Truth Society's account of Riordan's career. Riordan thereupon threatened Father de Bom with an action, and the Catholic Truth Society undertook to support Father de Bom in his defence. After many delays, the action came off in the Court of King's Bench on February 7 and 8, 1901, before Mr. Justice Ridley.

Accounts of the trial appeared in the daily and weekly Press, and there is no need to enter here upon details. The nature of the lectures may be inferred from the fact that, as soon as extracts from

them began to be read, the Judge ordered the court to be cleared of women and boys. The Judge divided the issue of the action into two counts: (1) whether the lectures were "unhealthy," (2) whether the defendant had proved the truth of the libel complained of. On the first count he directed the jury to find for the defendant. On the second count he said that though some of the statements in the leaflet had not been proved, the plaintiff had not ventured to go into the witness-box to deny their truth, although he came to defend his character. The jury found for Father de Bom on the first count, and for Riordan on the second count, giving him 40s. damages. Judgement was entered for Father de Bom on the main point, with costs on the first count and general costs; the costs, if any, on the second count—there were none—to be paid by the defendant.

Riordan's lectures did not materially differ from those upon similar subjects which are from time to time delivered ostensibly in the interests of Protestantism, and it is satisfactory to have the pronouncement of an English Judge upon the matter and manner of these addresses. We commend Mr. Justice Ridley's summing-up to the notice of those who, either directly or indirectly, support or justify the delivery of such lectures.

RUTHVEN v. DE BOM

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, KING'S BENCH
DIVISION. BEFORE MR. JUSTICE RIDLEY AND A
COMMON JURY

JUDGE'S SUMMING-UP

*(From the shorthand notes of Messrs. Walsh and Sons, 4 New
Court, W.C.)*

THIS is an action which is brought for libel, and I think it best to divide it into two parts. The first libel you have to consider is with regard to the lectures delivered by the Plaintiff. The second libel, which I should wish you to separate from the other, is the libel contained in the other leaflet. It is actually separate, because it is on a different leaf and it is upon a different subject, and I think it is possible to treat it differently; therefore I would ask you to consider this alleged libel on the Plaintiff in respect of lectures delivered, and secondly the libel upon him in respect of libels with regard to these past occurrences.

The Plaintiff, first of all, has not ventured to go into the witness-box. He has had the opportunity twice over during this case, and he has declined to avail himself of it. A Plaintiff in a libel case who does such a thing as that cannot complain if the verdict of the Jury should go against him. The case quoted of *Scott v. Samson* has nothing whatever

to do with the point—nothing whatever. The Plaintiff was called in that case, and the Jury had the opportunity of determining as to the truth or the untruth of the libel in question. Here the Plaintiff has deliberately declined to avail himself of the opportunity presented to him. He has not come before us to say that one single syllable of this libel is untrue—not one single syllable (I am speaking of the second libel)—but we know that one part of it is true, and that is the worst part, as it seems to me.

We know that this leaflet contained in it an assertion that in 1893 or thereabouts the Plaintiff had been convicted in America, at a place called Buffalo, of obtaining money under false pretences for charitable purposes, and that he received one year's imprisonment. The Plaintiff did not think fit to make that part of his case for libel, although it was contained in precisely the same document which contains the charges of less importance. Now, we know that this charge is true, because he himself, by his own questions, has admitted it; and we know that Dr. Paton, the Presbyterian Missionary, was present at the time when he was convicted. Now, he has the face to ask you to say that because the Defendant has not proved the truth of these things, therefore you are to assume that they are false. You can, if you like, gentlemen; but what I will point out to you is this, that although that is the question for you, and that although strictly the proof of a justification for libel is upon the Defendant, if the Plaintiff does not choose to go into the witness-box you may safely assume there is a very good reason why he does not, and I should like to know whether that reason exists in the present case—why he did not venture to

take his oath and to deny that these statements were true concerning him. Therefore, gentlemen, although in such a case as this of libel, when the Defendant pleads a justification, the proof is upon him, it is in the hands of the Jury; and if you think, Here is a Plaintiff who does not deny it, you may come to what conclusion you think proper. In this case it is worse, for a portion of this document, which I think very probably in your opinion you will think is the worst part, has been admitted to be true. If the Plaintiff succeeds upon that libel, well and good—it is for you to consider what is the damage for having made these statements about a man of whom we know so much as we know now.

The first libel stands in a different situation, for it is for you to say in respect of that whether you think that these words, written by Mr. De Bom, the Defendant in this case, were actually justified as an expression of opinion addressed to the inhabitants of Shanklin as to the character of the lectures delivered. The words are these—there are some introductory words of friendliness to his parishioners, and then he goes on and says—"May I, as a friend, ask you to shun the unhealthy lectures which are now allowed to take place at a public hall of this town? Any person who has any self-respect will, I feel confident, refrain from lowering him or herself by listening to the attacks of this stranger to the town and pseudo-Reformer. The enclosed leaflet will give an idea of the true worth of the man who calls himself 'Father Ruthven.'" There can be no doubt in the minds of anybody who has been present here since this case began yesterday, that the pith of this case is to be found in the first leaflet and not in the second one. It is to that, and to that for nearly all the time, that

the arguments have been addressed ; and it is to that, and in respect of that, that the witnesses have been called. Now, do you think from what you have heard about the lectures so delivered by this man that they were "unhealthy" lectures?—that is the word which is used by the Defendant in describing them and in asking his parishioners and those with whom he was concerned not to attend them.

Now, we have got to deal, unfortunately, with the case of Protestantism against Roman Catholicism. That cannot be denied : that is, in the main, the subject of these lectures. I have to ask you, gentlemen, to consider this case not as either one or the other. You must take it upon yourselves to forget for the moment, if you please, to which of these branches of the Christian religion you may belong. What I wish to say further than that point is, that there is very good reason for criticizing the institution such as the Confessional, and that it is perfectly true, I believe, according to the writers on the subject, that it was on that question more than upon any other that the Reformation turned in this country. But that is to be taken as a matter of argument. It is to be dealt with as a subject which is capable of reasoning on one side or the other. There are arguments in its favour maintained then, and maintained since, and maintained till this moment. There are arguments to the contrary which are equally strong, and perhaps in the opinion of most of us stronger, to the effect that the morality and the conduct of the inhabitants of this country are better without such an institution. But all those who approach this subject, as many of us may have done, ought to remember that it is not by filth and beastliness that this matter can be arranged. It is not a question such as seems to be

suggested in the minds of some people, of whether indecencies and indescribable offences take place in the Confessional. That is a thing which is not the point in the matter when the subject is properly approached by those who want to argue it. A man, indeed, who does not want to argue it, but who wants to create a sensation against it, might pick out of a book passages which have no such application. He can pick out from some sources, we do not know what, stories which have no possible foundation; might colour his lectures by the stories repeated one after another, and then point to an authority which in point of fact has no bearing; he might arouse the prejudice in the minds of his hearers which is his object to arouse against this institution by repeating that it is not managed according to the tenets, as they really are, of the Church of Rome, but that it is managed by a body of persons who have been prostituting women, who have been outraging them in their family relations, and who have themselves been leading a life of disgusting immorality.

Now, gentlemen, if that is the way these lectures were introduced, and not the former one, do you think they were or were not unhealthy lectures for people to attend? Do you think that in the town of Shanklin, or in the town of Southampton, or in Reading, or in other places where these lectures were delivered, there were people who for a moment had thought of such things as you have heard of yesterday and to-day until they attended these lectures? Rumours may have been noised about that such things had been heard of before, but was it or was it not a filthy and disgusting mode of handling this subject, and not a real attempt to deal with the desirability or the undesirability of the institution known as the Confes-

sional? What have we got to deal with? Have we got in this case anything like an indication of an approach to such argument? There was one witness who was called for the Plaintiff, and who did for the moment get somewhere near the true point. I forget whether it was Mr. Long, or whether it was one of the other gentlemen who belonged to the Quaker persuasion, but there was one of them who said he had heard at one of these lectures an approach to something like an argument which would be a proper and a right argument upon this subject. But it seems to me you have got before you, from the expressions used, an amount of filth—I advisedly use the word—which seems to have been put forward as an attraction to these lectures, and as the main subject of them. If that is so, if you take that view of the case, do you consider the Defendant was not justified in using these words—that they were unhealthy lectures? What could be the benefit to those who heard them of the suggestions that were made . . . *—what is the benefit to them of those suggestions? It seems to me, subject to your better opinion, by discussing these things you put them into people's minds; you are debauching them; you are doing the thing possibly of which you accuse the Roman priests. If that is the view you take of this matter, it was an unhealthy lecture; it was not upon the level which such lectures ought to be if they were really to produce the effect desired. If you want to say this ought not to be done, if you want to say this is not an institution which we as Protestants or as Englishmen can recognize, you must show, not by such language as this, not by such anecdotes of a filthy character, but by reasoning, that

* [Twelve words are omitted here for obvious reasons.]

the family relations, that the intimate connection which exists between father, daughter, wife, brother, and so forth, are interfered with by the priest, who endeavours to get from the one or the other secrets which they do not mutually know. That is the sort of point which ought to be taken. But what has this man done except to retail at nearly all his lectures these filthy anecdotes? I will not repeat them. The lecture at Reading seems to me to be simply a horrible discussion of things which ought never to have been said. There are expressions spoken to at Shanklin and at Southampton which are quite as bad. So far for those expressions. I do not stop to repeat them to you, for you have heard them once, twice, and three times already, and why should I repeat them again?

Now, what else is there to indicate the character of these lectures? I have got certain bills here. I am not going to read all of them, but here is one which is printed by the Plaintiff, who has been about the country lecturing about these matters, and he went among other places, apparently, to Newcastle-on-Tyne. We have not heard what these lectures were, and I do not propose to ask you to say that we know anything about what was there said, but he comes into this country to lecture upon this question of the Confessional. "Monday Afternoon, May 8th. Lecture to Ladies only on the Girl in the Confessional, or how the blackguard priests of Rome pollute the hearts and the imaginations, wreck the bodies and ruin the souls of the poor children who are exposed to their villainous teaching. Admission 6d." Now, gentlemen, is that an unhealthy thing? If that is the character of these lectures, is that a genuine discussion of a Protestant religionist to try and induce people

from their reason not to believe in these institutions, or is it an unhealthy, a blackguardly proceeding of which this man has been guilty? Again, "Monday Evening, May 8th. On Rome's Substitute for Marriage. A full exposure of the vile institution which enables Popish celibates to bear the vow of celibacy and notwithstanding plunge into lives of unmentionable impurity. Admission 6d." That is the mode in which this gentleman proceeded to illustrate his arguments in the town of Newcastle. Now, here is another. "Oddfellows' Hall, St. Mary Street"—this, I think, is one of the Southampton advertisements. "Celibacy of Romish Priests Exposed." "This is the strongest of the ex-priest's lectures to a mixed audience"—the strongest! What was the flavouring? Do you think it was filth—indecenty? According to what we have heard that was the flavouring which this man put into his lectures, and if so, were they, in the words of the Defendant, unhealthy lectures or not? One more instance. This is Oval Road, Southampton, "Friday Evening, October 7th. To Men only. On Priests and their Victims, or, the Woman and the Confessional. The Rev. Father Ruthven will also explain nineteen ways in which Romish confessors seduce their female penitents. Admission 1s." What is the meaning of that? Is that a healthy performance? Is that the sort of subject you would wish to bring forward to induce the people under the guise of a Protestant lecture to unveil the errors of the Romish Church?

Now we are told in that book written by a man called Liguori, who was one of the authorities of the Romish Church two hundred or three hundred years ago—two hundred at all events—I thought myself, from the character of the book,

it might be even more—there are passages which had really nothing to do with this matter, but which may be quoted by those who want to give a particular tone to the lectures which they deliver. It must have been perfectly well known to the Plaintiff when he showed me the passage in that book yesterday, with a query in the margin, that that was not an instruction for the Confessional, but Liguori is dealing with his discussion upon the particular subject. He points to that passage and reads it, as I understand, to those at his lectures as if it was a question to be put in the Confessional. He knows the Latin language, and he knows as well as possible the book says nothing of the kind.

We have had before us here witnesses who have spoken in favour of the Plaintiff. You must, of course, judge of them as to whether they do represent what the proper view is that should be taken of these matters, or are they people who from some determined view—I will not call them bigots, but who from some determined view—are willing to believe anything that they can hear against a Church which is not their own? There are such people living in these days—I had hoped there were none. I do not know whether we shall ever reach that millennium when we shall begin to think we are Christians before we think of the particular form of church to which we belong. We do not seem to have got to it yet, in the opinion of some of those witnesses. Perhaps, gentlemen, you may come to the conclusion that they went ready to believe the kind of account given to them from the book as the truth which they were inquiring into; and if so I should hardly think you would be able to weigh their evidence as worth much against that on the other side.

Now comes this fact. Books were sold at these meetings. Are those books in the nature of discussion or articles upon this subject such as I have been pointing out to you should be the character of such a subject? or are they discussing by authorities and by quotations from the fathers of the Church, from our own bishops or writers or from the writers and fathers of the Roman Catholic Church? or are they discussing the subject as to how far this Confessional is a right institution? Gentlemen, this book, if anything, is worse than the lectures. It is nothing whatever, as it seems to me, but indecency. It is picking out as plums the most indecent stories he has been able to hunt up in the literature on this question. What do you say to books like that—"Maria Monk," "Priests and their Victims," "The Confessional Unmasked"—sold at the table at the lectures of this man, who says he is making a healthy investigation into the subject of the Roman Catholic Church? Those are the topics, as it seems to me, that engaged his attention. If you come to the conclusion, as I rather gathered yesterday you had arrived at from what you then said to me, that these lectures are indecent and filthy lectures, I think there can be no doubt that on the first part of this libel you will find they are, within the words of the Defendant in the libel complained of, unhealthy lectures. That is the point in the first place.

Now, gentlemen, there is the other libel. Upon that I have already told you that it rests upon a different foundation, for there was attached to this document, which is the one I have been mentioning, a leaflet which contained statements regarding the personal character of this man. He has not, as I have said, called himself as a witness, and we have

not had the evidence from the Plaintiff in denial of those statements. They are to the effect that "He was partly educated for the priesthood, and had gotten far enough to be tonsured, when he was expelled from the school for drunkenness and disreputable practices. He then left Ireland and went to Australia, where he renounced the Roman Catholic Church and joined the Presbyterian Church, being subsequently ordained a minister and installed as pastor of a congregation. He married a young woman of one of the best families in one of the Australian cities. His wife was soon obliged to separate from him on account of his drunkenness and extreme cruelty. He afterwards professed to have reformed, and she returned to him, but was compelled a second time to leave him. Charges of drunkenness and cruelty were preferred against him before the Presbytery, but he agreed to surrender his ministerial credentials and to leave the country. The charges were not prosecuted, but he was deposed as a minister." Again, that "he was expelled from the Baptist Church and published as a fraud." Then "he took to the lecture-field, and made his headquarters in Philadelphia, travelling through the country with a woman in his wake, of course. It is not known whether she was an 'escaped nun.' He was next heard from as an inmate of the Keeley Liquor Cure Institute, Dwight, Ill., and after remaining there for some time was discharged as cured. He went to Detroit, leaving there without paying his hotel bill, and crossing over to Canada." It is for you to decide, gentlemen, whether you find for the Plaintiff or for the Defendant upon this matter. The Defendant has not proved it, but the Plaintiff has not ventured to get into the witness-box to deny the

truth of these statements, although he comes here to clear his character.

Now, gentlemen, if you find for him, what are the damages to be? Well, it will partly depend on what you find upon the first libel. If you find with regard to the first libel against him, if you find it was a proper criticism to make and that these lectures were unhealthy, you have got him then going about the country sowing this filth and this indecency in all the towns wherever he could get an audience to hear these lectures, and from whom he could collect their sixpences. A man who does that cannot expect to recover much in a libel action where he seeks to clear his character. What else are you certain about? That in the year 1893 or 1895—I am not quite clear which—it was found that he was representing in America that he had authority to collect funds for a charity; that he was tried before a court in the State, I believe, of New York; that he was convicted, and that he got twelve months' imprisonment. He says there is an end of all that. Gentlemen, there may be an end of it so far as the punishment is concerned, but I am sorry to say it is a blot that sticks on his character for ever. If he is to come here to clear his character and say, "I must have damages for you calling me a person who has been dismissed from his school, who has been dismissed from the Baptist Church, who has not paid his hotel bill, who has been doing this, that, and the other," and if he has at the same time to admit that he has been distributing these horrible lectures throughout the country, and has had twelve months for fraud, then I should suppose, even if you found in his favour, you would think the smallest coin in the realm is more than sufficient compensation.

The main question in the case is, What do you say about the first libel? Are you satisfied that these were unhealthy lectures? If so, you must find for the Defendant. If you find the contrary, then you will find for him. If you find for him there, then I suppose you would think that in spite of the character earned in America there ought to be damages in respect of that. I must leave those in your hands. If he can clear himself of having delivered these filthy lectures, it will be a point in his favour. What we are here to determine is whether he did it or whether he did not do it.

Gentlemen, I hope you will come to the conclusion at which you will shortly arrive without bias and without prejudice. It is all important in a case like the present to be sure of what we are about. It is most desirable that this point should be discussed. It must be done upon a proper level and with a proper object, but if you besmear the question with beastliness and with indecency as the main question to be argued, you do immeasurable harm. If you think that is what was done, then, although you belong, as I do, to the Protestant faith, you will resent as much as I do, taking the view I do, these lectures and the way they have been delivered. But the matter is in your hands to determine, and I will ask you to say on the first libel, Do you find for the Plaintiff or the Defendant? I will ask you the same question as to the second libel, and if you find for the Plaintiff, what are the damages?

[As stated in the introductory note, the jury found for the Defendant on the first count, and for the Plaintiff on the second, with 40s. damages.]

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BEYOND all question nothing has so effectually set the minds and hearts of Englishmen against the religion professed by their forefathers for nigh a thousand years as the memory of the “Smithfield Fires,” and of the victims who perished in them for the Protestant cause. It is no less certain that there is no page of our history which Catholics would more gladly obliterate than that which records the “series of miserable executions and burnings,”¹ whereby the Government of Mary Tudor endeavoured to stamp out heresy and restore England to the unity of the Church. Pleas, it is true, are urged by writers against whom the charge of partizanship cannot lie, to palliate the conduct of those who employed such means for such an end. It is said, and with truth, that if she persecuted, Queen Mary did but follow the universal fashion of her times, in which every party alike did the same when it had the power; that

¹ *Short History of the Catholic Church in England*, by Abbot Gasquet, p. 100.

her own sister, Elizabeth, afterwards turned the same weapon relentlessly against the Catholics ; that a larger number of Catholics were executed in her reign than of Protestants under her predecessor, suffering a death no less cruel under the quartering-knife of the executioner ; that several, especially among the more conspicuous of the Marian victims, had committed themselves to overt acts of rebellion against the reigning sovereign far more gross than were even alleged against Elizabeth's victims, who, though branded with the name of traitors, were convicted only of being priests, or harbouring them, or saying Mass, or reconciling persons to the Catholic Church ; that, finally, politics were so interwoven with the religion of the Reformers, and the whole body of their adherents so seditious, as to compel their antagonists to employ force in self-defence. But, all such pleas notwithstanding, and however undeniable their truth may be, the fact that so many persons were put to death in the name of religion is to us no less horrible than it was to Alfonso à Castro, the Spanish Friar, who, from the pulpit, denounced the rising persecution in presence of Queen Mary and her consort, King Philip, declaring such proceedings to be contrary not to the spirit only but to the letter of the Gospel, as it was by mildness, not severity, that men should be brought into the fold of Christ. Nor can it affect this our judgement of the matter that the more vehement of our accusers on this head are inclined to make no such acknowledgment in regard of cases in which their own friends were the persecutors and Catholics the sufferers.¹

¹ "A certain reaction has set in against a kind of cant that Macaulay did much to make popular, according to which the statutes of Elizabeth against Roman Catholic nonconformity are no mean counterpoise to the enormities of papal rule under Queen Mary" (*The Programme of the Jesuits*, by W. Blair Neatby, M.A. (1903), p. 80).

But if the tale of Marian cruelty has so profoundly affected the popular mind as to become almost an element of our national life, such a result is mainly due to the form in which the tale has been told, and to the pains that have been taken to make this one particular version familiar to all classes of men by securing a monopoly for it with which no other could possibly compete.

It is from the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe,¹ commonly called the *Book of Martyrs*, that information upon the subject has, for three centuries, been universally drawn; a work not only remarkable in itself, but publicly invested with an authority which might almost compare with that of the Bible and Prayer Book. On the 3rd of April, 1571, the Convocation of the Church of England resolved that copies of the book should be placed in cathedral churches and in the houses of archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons; and although this resolution, being unconfirmed by Parliament, never obtained legal force, it was speedily adopted throughout the country on a still more extensive scale, copies being provided in many parish churches for the public benefit—of which a few specimens probably still survive in nooks and corners of the land—chained to a desk near the porch of the church. Being thus thrust upon the notice of all, the book could not fail to make a great impression upon the popular imagination. Its style is simple, direct, and vigorous, and in more than two thousand folio pages is printed an almost inexhaustible store of picturesque narratives such as the people love, detailing the savage fury of the persecutors and the meek heroism of the

¹ This form of the name is so generally adopted in his case as to have acquired a sort of prescriptive title, although authorities so weighty as Dr. Maitland and the British Museum Librarians decide in favour of "Fox."

persecuted ; while for those who could not read, an abundance of large woodcuts depicted men and women lifting hands and eyes to heaven amidst faggots and flames, or meekly enduring other horrible tortures at the hands of pitiless papists.¹ The clergy, moreover, frequently based their discourses upon some incident in these narratives, or read a portion from the pulpit as from a sacred book, and thus it naturally came to pass that "with the Puritan clergy, and in almost all English households where Puritanism prevailed, Foxe's 'Actes' was long the sole authority for Church history, and an armoury of arguments in defence of Protestantism against Catholicism."²

Is it not clear that in the case of an author invested with authority so extraordinary and unique, one quality at least should imperatively be demanded in fullest measure—namely, absolute honesty and veracity, and that, if this be lacking, no other can possibly supply its place? Can it be supposed that eloquence, earnestness, or graphic power will invest a tale with historical value, unless the tale itself be true? Yet, although, as will be seen, it is impossible to pretend that the writings of Foxe have any claim whatever to the character which alone could justify the position assigned them, so secure has that position become through long prescription, that a strange reluctance is manifested even by men of high standing, and from whom we might expect better things, to depose him from the place he has so long occupied. It is certainly startling to find such an authority as Mr. J. R. Green writing thus :³

¹ One illustration frequently serves for many different martyrdoms.

² Mr. Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "John Foxe."

³ *History of the English People*, authorities for Book VI. (vol. ii. p. 195) ; the italics are mine.

"In spite of countless errors, of Puritan prejudices, and some deliberate suppressions of truth, its mass of *facts* and *wonderful charm of style* will always give importance to the 'Acts and Monuments' or 'Book of Martyrs' of John Foxe, as a record of the Marian persecution."

When historians of good name can write thus, it is scarcely wonderful that amongst multitudes of plainer folk the name of Foxe should still be one to conjure with, and that "facts" (unless otherwise disproved) should be held to be sufficiently established by being referred to his authority. Yet no vast extent of research is required to disclose the true character of the man and of his work.

No sooner had the book appeared, in 1563, than its statements were vehemently challenged by Catholic writers led by Alan Cope (or rather Nicholas Harpsfield), in his *Dialogi Sex* (published 1566), and followed, amongst others, notably by the Jesuit, Father Parsons, who, in his *Three Conversions of England*, subjected the book to criticism in detail.¹ How notorious and sweeping were the charges brought against him, we have the witness of Foxe himself, who, in his second edition, plaintively protested against the unfairness of those who, "as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this story of Acts and Monuments, with tragical voices exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases, to make it appear as full of lies as lines."²

The charges thus brought were manifold. Foxe, it

¹ "He that will consider the proportion of John Foxe's book of *Acts and Monuments* in the later edition, will find it the greatest perhaps in volume that was ever put forth in our English tongue, and the falsest in substance, without perhaps, that was ever published in any tongue" (*Three Conversions*, pt. ii. c. ii. n. 1).

² *The Epistle Dedicatorie to the Queenes Majestie*, Ed. 1570.

was said, wrote not as an historian, but as an unscrupulous partizan; he altogether misrepresented and caricatured the doctrines of those whom he wished to discredit—not Catholics only, but Protestants as well who were not, like himself, Puritans; he counted every one as a martyr who was put to death by Catholics for any cause, even malefactors upon whom the law was righteously exercised, and reckoned all as members of the Church of God who repudiated the Pope, even though they repudiated Christ as well, and who would have been sent to the stake by the reformers themselves had they been in power; he was so credulous and dishonest as to relate the martyrdoms of many who were alive when he wrote, or judgements of Heaven on their persecutors which had no foundation in fact. How freely accusations of this kind were brought against the Martyrologist we have the evidence of his admirer and apologist Fuller, who, after extolling the merits of his work, goes on to complain, “All this will not content some morose cavillers, whom I have heard jeeringly say, that many who were burnt in Fox in the reign of Queen Mary, drank sack in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.”¹

In such circumstances it behoves all who value historical truth to ask what is to be said concerning charges so grave brought against an author who has so long held the public ear. What, therefore, is to be thought of this famous Martyrology? And what manner of man was the Martyrologist himself?

Commencing with the latter of these questions, we find information abundantly supplied by Foxe himself and the undisputed features of his life and writings. He belonged, as we have already heard, to the Puritan party or faction, and he was, moreover, one of its most extreme specimens, so thoroughly possessed by its spirit

¹ *Worthies of England*, p. 92, Ed. 1662.

as to be satisfied with any evidence, or rather to require none, against those whose doctrines were antagonistic to his own — most especially against the abhorred Romanists. He was thus able, as we gather from his own admission, to convince himself of the rights and the wrongs of any incident, on the simple and easy principle that whoever resisted the power that he hated was on the side of the angels, and must have been possessed of every virtue; whilst those who assailed such a one must have been monsters of iniquity, capable of any enormity. Thus, as Mr. Gairdner points out,¹ Foxe, on his own showing, calmly suppresses as obviously untrue evidence which proves those arraigned before Catholic prelates to have been prosecuted for mere blasphemy; and as Dr. Maitland demonstrates² in several instances he lauds as faithful champions of the truth men who according to his story and their own endeavoured to deceive their judges with every species of falsehood. As Maitland observes, this throws much light upon Foxe's own attitude in regard of truth, when it conflicted with the interests of what he considered the good cause.³

We can also learn from his own admissions that he felt himself absolved from the necessity of laboriously

¹ *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 56.

² *Essays on the Reformation*, 1 and 2.

³ "There is something very frank (one is almost inclined to say honest) in the avowals, either direct or indirect, which various Puritans have left on record, that it was considered not only allowable, but meritorious, to tell lies for the sake of the good cause in which they were engaged, and for the benefit of those who were fellow-helpers in it. . . . The distinction which Fox must have made in his own mind, and expected to be made by his readers, between *truth* and *the truth*, must be kept in mind during this inquiry; and it may be feared that it was not peculiar to him, or to his times, but that it characterized the party to which he belonged, and survived the age in which he lived" (Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 and 28, Ed. 1849).

verifying statements of whose truth he was otherwise convinced. Thus he wrote in reply to the criticisms of Alan Cope :¹

"I grant that in a laboured story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter as this doth, much more time would be required : but such time as I had, that I did bestow, if not so laboriously as others could, yet as diligently as I might. But here partly I hear what you will say : I should have taken more leisure, and done it better. I grant and confess my fault, such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day (Maister Cope) fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing myself all the day at the glass of Cicero. Yet notwithstanding, doing what I can, and doing my good will, methinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed of at M. Cope's hand."

Sometimes, when Foxe *did* profess to have recourse to original sources, his methods do not show to much greater advantage. As Mr. Sidney Lee tells us :²

"It has been conclusively shown that his chapter on the Waldenses is directly translated from the *Catalogus* of Illyricus, although Illyricus is not mentioned by Foxe among the authorities whom he acknowledges to have consulted. Foxe claims to have consulted 'parchment documents' on the subject, whereas he only knew them in the text of Illyricus's book. This indicates a loose notion of literary morality which justifies some of the harshest judgements passed on Foxe."

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, i. p. 691, Ed. 1570.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Foxe."

It is also instructive to learn that so sound a Protestant as Grindal—afterwards successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury—who furnished Foxe with many of his materials for the *Martyrology*, was by no means satisfied with much of the evidence they afforded, and urged upon his friend counsels of caution, which the other appears to have considered quite superfluous. As Strype tells us :¹

"Many accounts of the acts of the godly men under Queen Mary came from time to time into Grindal's hands. . . . And as they came to his hand, he conveyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this, but withal frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them ; always showing a most tender regard to truth ; and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands. And because a complete account of all particulars of those that suffered in that sharp persecution could not so soon be procured, he advised Fox for the present to print separately the acts of some particular men of whom any sure and authentic relations came to hand."

As has already been said and will further appear, Foxe extended his hostility to that section of his own communion which in doctrine or ritual was "higher" than his own, and when the proceedings of his ecclesiastical superiors were distasteful to him, he manifested his disapproval by his conduct. Receiving a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral (1563), he presently declined to conform to the regulations which enjoined the wearing of the surplice—to which he was violently

¹ *Life of Grindal*, p. 25, Ed. 1821.

opposed; neither would he attend regularly to his duties, nor devote a tithe of his income to the repairs of the cathedral, nor present himself at Jewell's visitation of 1568, and in consequence of such behaviour he was pronounced contumacious. At a later period (1572) he was similarly installed at Durham, but resigned his prebend within a year, rather than wear the surplice.

But undoubtedly his chief antipathy was the papists, in whose regard he was ready to go farther than with others. In 1575 he laboured earnestly, though in vain, on behalf of two Dutch Anabaptists condemned by the Government of Queen Elizabeth to be burnt as heretics; but four years earlier he had taken a leading part in endeavouring to pass into law Cranmer's abortive *Reformatio Legum*, which would have extended to adherents of the ancient Faith holding the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Papal Supremacy, or the necessity of good works, the same horrible punishment which he so fiercely denounced for its inhumanity when inflicted on any one else.¹

We can thus understand what manner of man he was who wrote this famous Martyrology, and few will think that the qualities we find in him are such as we are accustomed to desire in an historian. Foxe was evidently a zealot of a very extreme type, for whom any stone was good enough to throw at those whom he set down as the enemies of Heaven, having convinced himself that it was the Spirit of God which inspired him, and not only justified but sanctified whatever might damage and discredit so accursed a race.² But apart from the

¹ Cf. Strype, *Annals*, sub. an. 1571, and Lingard, *History*, vol. v. c. vi.

² "It seemeth that he came to persuade himself in conscience, that supposing (as he did) that the Protestant or Puritan profession of England was the only true Religion, he might say or write anything in furtherance thereof, without scruple of conscience, whether it were indeed true or false. And that this was his persua-

narrow fanaticism of his sect and its demoralizing influence, there is much in his character to invite sympathy and even respect. He was not only extremely laborious, but unselfish and unambitious. He lived a poor and hard life rather than compromise what he held for principles; he was less bloodthirsty towards opponents—papists alone excepted—than the greater number of his contemporaries; he felt for the poor and afflicted, and gave practical expression to his sentiments not only by a powerful appeal on behalf of the plague-stricken (1564), but by spending much time in assisting them.

But such qualities, however they may affect our opinion of the man, have no bearing upon his credit as an historian, with which alone we are now concerned. This must be judged solely by the merits or demerits of his great work, which has now to be examined.

As we have already seen, the *Book of Martyrs* was, on its appearance, denounced by Catholic writers as utterly untruthful and replete with every species of dishonesty,

sion I am induced to believe rather (as I have said) for his excuse than commendation. For that otherwise, if he had not had that opinion, I can hardly think so evil of any man christened, as that he would recount so many false things, as Fox does, against his own conscience. For truly to speak as I think, after I had read over the whole work with some attention, and to speak without all exaggeration or passion, as one that doth heartily pity the man's case, and must follow him out of this world ere it be long (though I hope to another place) I do not think there be many stories in this whole volume (though so huge and vast as you see) but that one way or other, if they belong to matters of controversy, he corrupteth or falsifyeth some part thereof, either in the beginning, ending, entrance, going forth, matter, manner of handling, or some other kind of adulteration; and yet doth he use everywhere such holy protestations of piety, as never perhaps any author before or after him. . . . And for that commonly soon after these godly protestations, you shall find him in divers falsehoods, falsifications, deceits, and shifts, I am rather induced to think that he esteemeth this manner of dealing lawful in so good a cause, as he presumed his own to be, than that he did it expressly against his conscience and judgement" (Parsons, *Three Conversions*, part iii. c. 18 n. 4).

and Father Parsons in particular was at great pains to demonstrate its real character. But although his style may claim merits not inferior to those of Foxe's own,¹ it is hardly probable that Parsons will on that account be accepted as a good witness by those who are satisfied to believe Foxe because they find that he writes charmingly. It will accordingly be necessary to confine ourselves to the evidence of non-Catholic writers.

It is clear, in the first place, that, as Mr. Gairdner says,² "Various, indeed, were the human materials out of which Foxe manufactured martyrs." He seems in fact to have persuaded first himself, and afterwards many others, "that whoever was punished by a papist was a true lover of the Gospel";³ so that Collier thinks it necessary to caution the reader "against believing too fast," adding that "we ought carefully to distinguish between martyrdom and treason, and not to be over fond of the memory of those who suffered for a practice against the State."⁴

As a sample of the men whom Foxe was prepared to canonize we may begin with Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the minister and tool of Henry VIII., and undoubtedly one of the least reputable figures in our history. But he had the supreme and saving merit of having suppressed monasteries and hanged monks, and accordingly—though he was likewise responsible for the burning of "martyrs"—Foxe spoke of him as "this valiant soldier and captain of Christ, most studious in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the Gospel,"⁵

¹ "His English is commended by Swift (*Tatler*, No. 230) as a model of simplicity and clearness" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Robert Parsons," by T. G. Law).

² *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 129 n.

³ Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 21, Ed. 1849.

⁴ *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, iii. 326, Ed. 1852.

⁵ *Acts and Monuments*, 1st Edition (1563), p. 598; replaced in Edition of 1846, vol. v. p. 403. See Maitland, *Essays*, &c., p. 236.

and composed for him a highly eulogistic biography, of which such a judge as Dean Hook declares,¹ "The life of Cromwell from the pen of Foxe is found, upon investigation, to be little better than a romance."

Foxe does not go so far as to say that Cromwell was actually a "martyr," but inasmuch as he died a violent death, his claim to the title is about as good as that of many upon whom it is bestowed. Thus Mr. Gairdner tells us² that in the time of Henry VIII.—

"Besides heretics burned, Foxe mentions three men hanged in chains for burning the Rood of Dovercourt—an exploit to which he says, 'they were moved by the spirit of God'—and also a kinsman of his own, John Randall, who, even from his account, evidently either was murdered or hanged himself. And Alan Cope, soon after the publication of Foxe's book, had no difficulty in showing the latter to have been the case (*Dialogi Sex*, 550, Ed. 1573)."

Of those who actually suffered death during what may be styled the Catholic persecution in Henry's time—that is, in the five years 1528–1532, who amounted to six in all—we find that five of them at one time or other abjured their heresy, and that two died professing the Catholic faith.³ In regard of two of them, Tewkesbury and Bainham, Foxe, in his first edition, told exactly the same story of savage cruelties practised upon them by Sir Thomas More. In subsequent editions, says Mr. Gairdner, "he had the grace to omit it" so far as Tewkesbury was concerned, though retaining it for Bainham. "It seems," Mr. Gairdner continues, "to be the same

¹ *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vi. 119.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 128 n.

³ Gairdner, pp. 129–133.

legend in both cases ; and suppressed as it was in the case of Tewkesbury, we may be sure that it was equally untrue in that of Bainham. Indeed, we might suspect its falsehood from Foxe's own statement. . . . The story is in fact one of those malicious lies which began to be circulated about More even in his own days, and which More himself expressly denounces as such in one passage in his writings. But Foxe was above all things credulous, and accepted with little difficulty every idle tale to the discredit of the old religion."¹

It is, of course, impossible to dispose in the same manner of those who suffered at a later period. As has already been fully acknowledged, we have no word to say for the wretched policy which sent men to the stake on account of their religious opinions ; and many, doubtless, of those who perished were no less sincerely persuaded than Foxe himself of the righteousness of the cause for which they died, and he composed "history." But can we, like Mr. Green, regard his history as a serious authority, or suppose that those whom we find in his roll of martyrs are therefore proved to have been punished solely for their religious belief? What we know concerning some of his instances cannot but make us hesitate before implicitly trusting such a guide in other cases.

We read, for example,² of "William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portyngale for the testimony of God's truth," who was, we are assured, "comparable with the martyrs of the primitive Church," and taught "a lesson to the Portugales," for which they should have been thankful. The manner of it was this. On occasion of a royal wedding at Lisbon, the King and Court being present in the Cathedral at High Mass,

¹ Gairdner, p. 131.

² *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 1541 *seq.*, Ed. 1570.

Gardiner, rushing to the altar, snatched the Host from the officiating Cardinal, trampling it under his feet, and overturning the chalice. It is true that he was therefore burnt, but it can scarcely be said that his religious convictions were his sole offence. What would have happened in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth had a papist, or even an Anabaptist, "worked such a feat" in a Protestant church?

An outrage of a still more determined kind was perpetrated in England, on Easter Sunday, 1555, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, by one William Flower, otherwise Branch, who with a knife assaulted a priest giving communion to the people, wounding him in the head, arm, and hand, so that the consecrated Hosts he carried were sprinkled with his blood. Flower suffered in consequence, like Gardiner, and is ranked by Foxe as a martyr, a "constant witness and faithful servant of God."¹

These are, it is true, extreme examples, but considering how our Martyrologist approved and panegyricized them, we can have no assurance that similar manifestations were not the true cause of the punishment of others also. That the same spirit was widely prevalent in the reforming party we are assured by Dr. Maitland, who, discussing the causes that kindled the Marian persecution and having enumerated those commonly assigned, thus continues : ²

"There was undoubtedly one other cause ; which if it be too much to say that it has been studiously concealed or disguised, has certainly never occupied that prominent place to which it is entitled in such an inquiry. I mean the bitter and provoking spirit of some of those who were very

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 1749.

² *Essays*, &c., p. 41.

active and forward in promoting the progress of the Reformation in the political opinions they held and the language in which they disseminated them—the fierce personal attacks they made on those whom they considered as enemies—and, to say the least, the little care which was taken by those who were really actuated by religious motives, and seeking a true reformation of the Church, to shake off a lewd, ungodly, profane rabble, who joined the cause of Protestantism, thinking it in their depraved imaginations, and hoping to make it by their wicked devices, the cause of liberty against law, of the poor against the rich, of the laity against the clergy, of the people against their rulers.”

Of what Foxe was capable in the way of actual fiction one notorious example must suffice. A favourite topic with him was that of the manifest judgements inflicted by God upon those who took an active part in the persecution. Thus he tells a tale concerning the death of Bishop Gardiner, Queen Mary’s Chancellor, pithily described as “his stinking end,”¹ which, on the face of it, is absurd and impossible.² So again he narrates³ how the Catholic bishop, Henry Morgan, having in Queen Mary’s days been intruded into the see of the “blessed martyr, Bishop Ferrar,” was afterwards stricken with a painful and disgusting malady most horrible to behold, which afflicted him to the day of his death. Commenting upon this story, Anthony à Wood, after

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, ii. 2300.

² “Foxe confessed that his story of Bishop Gardiner’s death was derived from hearsay, but it is full of preposterous errors, some of which Foxe’s personal knowledge must have enabled him to correct” (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

³ *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend’s ed., 1849), viii. 629.

showing¹ that all the evidence he could obtain confuted it, goes on to express his opinion that—

Whether there be anything of truth in it may be justly doubted, and especially for this reason, that in the very same chapter and leaf containing the severe punishment upon persecutors of God's people, he [Foxe] hath committed a most egregious falsity in reporting that one Grimwood,² of Higham in Suffolk, died in a miserable manner for swearing and bearing false witness against one John Cooper, a carpenter, of Watsam, in the same county, for which he lost his life. The miserable death of Grimwood was, as J. Fox saith, thus : that when he was in his labour stacking up a goffe of corn, having his health and fearing no peril, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately most miserably he died. Now it so fell out, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one Prit³ became parson of the parish where the said Grimwood dwelt, and preaching against perjury, being not acquainted with his parishioners, cited the said story of Fox, and it happening that Grimwood being then alive was in the said church, he brought an action upon the case against the parson."

The issue of the action we have on the authority of Sir Edward Coke :⁴

"Coke cited a case where Parson Prick in a sermon recited a story out of Fox's *Martyrology*, that one Greenwood being a perjured person, and a great persecutor, had great plagues inflicted upon

¹ *Athene Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, ii. 789.

² Or Greenwood.

³ Or Prick.

⁴ *Croke's Reports*, ed. Leach, ii. 91.

him, and was killed by the hand of God ; whereas in truth he never was so plagued, and was himself present at that sermon ; and he thereupon brought his action upon the case ; and the defendant pleaded not guilty. And this matter being disclosed upon the evidence, Wray, Chief Justice, delivered the law to the jury, that it being delivered but as a story, and not with any malice or intention to slander any, he was not guilty of the words maliciously ; and so was found not guilty.”¹

Thus the parson was exonerated ; not so the author of the story, which, it is clear, no one attempted to defend. It by no means mends matters that Foxe, having been assured that the whole of his history concerning both Cooper and Grimwood was fictitious, went down to Suffolk to inquire about it, but made no change in consequence. This is quoted by Strype “to show what care and diligence were used that no falsehood might be obtruded upon the readers, and Fox and his friends’ readiness to correct any mistakes that might happen.” Strype, however, is content to “leave the matter undecided to the reader’s judgment and discretion,” in which we may follow his example.

Such are some flagrant instances by which we may test the trustworthiness of the Martyrologist. It can scarcely cause surprise to find that the scholars who have made themselves most familiar with the contents of

¹ Coke’s evidence obviously disposes of the plea attempted by Strype (*Annals under Elizabeth*, xxi.) and Townsend (*Acts and Monuments*, Ed. 1849, viii. 631 n.), that “there were two Grimwoods, one who sued a minister for relating the story from Foxe’s book, and another to whom alone the narrative referred.” Had this been so the case would have collapsed at once, and Wray would never have been called upon to explain the point of law on which Prick’s acquittal turned.

his work are the least disposed to attribute to it any historical value. Testimonies to this effect shall be drawn solely from non-Catholic authors.

"Had Foxe, the Martyrologist, been an honest man," says Professor J. S. Brewer,¹ "his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents."

Dean Hook's opinion of Foxe's life of Thomas Cromwell we have already heard. From the same source we obtain the following terse statement of the views of Dr. Maitland, who devoted so much labour to Reformation history. Dr. Hook having consulted him as to the amount of credit to be given to the Martyrologist's statements, Maitland thus replied:²

"You may regard Foxe as being about as trustworthy as the *Record* newspaper. You must not believe either when they speak of an opponent; for though professing Protestantism, they are innocent of Christian charity. You may accept the documents they print, but certainly not without collation. Foxe forgot, if he ever knew, who is the father of lies."

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth,³ although he does not appear to have quarrelled with Foxe's attitude towards Catholics, had a poor opinion of him when he attacked forms of Anglicanism "higher" than his own. Thus we are told⁴ that Foxe frequently indulges in a kind of representation which is "neither just nor prudential,"

¹ Preface to *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, i. p. 80 n.

² Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vi. 148.

³ Some time Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁴ *Ecclesiastical Biography*, ii. 363, Ed. 1853.

and that he must have known better than to suppose that things were as he said. Dr. Wordsworth goes on :

“Why then should Fox lend the weight of his respected name to such injurious misrepresentations, and introduce into these *Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs*, otherwise so valuable and so interesting, materials thus wholly incongruous and out of place, making his book the unsuspected and therefore the more dangerous vehicle for misleading, at that time, a large and growing party of Protestants, who of themselves were sufficiently perverse, wrong-headed, and ignorant, and doing injury to the cause of sound judgement, discretion and truth, in every age? This it should seem is nothing better than another example how utterly delusive it is to think by concession and conciliation to content and satisfy a *Puritanizing* (not less than a *Popish*) spirit.”

“Though I have no design to charge this historian with insincerity,” says Collier,¹ “yet it is plain his prejudices and passions governed his pen in some cases.”

Much more outspoken was the late Dr. Littledale in his lecture on *Innovations*, delivered at Liverpool in 1868, of which the following are specimens :—

“Two mendacious partizans, the infamous Foxe and the not much more respectable Burnet, have so overlaid all the history of the Reformation with falsehood, that it has been well-nigh impossible for readers to get at the facts” [p. 16].

“Bible reading [was] joined on, as we must remember, to the encouraged perusal in our churches of that magazine of lying bigotry, Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, a book which no educated man now living,

¹ *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, iii. 325, Ed. 1852.

possessed of any self-respect or honesty, does otherwise than repudiate with contempt and aversion, but which then was put on a practical level with the Scriptures" [p. 21].

"There are two points into which it is impossible to enter here. . . . The first is the systematic literary dishonesty of the Reformers, and particularly the 'martyrologist' Foxe. I must refer readers on this head to the unimpeachable authority of Dr. Maitland" [p. 52].

About the same period the *Church Times*, then edited by Dr. Littledale, spoke in the same strain. Thus :

"The fictitious martyrs whose names that unmitigated liar, John Foxe, has enshrined in the pages of his book" [February 15, 1868].

"It is noteworthy that the *Reformatio Legum*, which continued to make heresy a capital crime, was drawn up by Cranmer with the assistance, in the main, of that prince of mischief-mongers and stirrer up of hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, Foxe, the martyrologist." [Nov. 2, 1867].

"The gospel of hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, of evil-speaking, lying, and slandering, is not the one which we have been taught to regard as coming from above. Yet this is manifestly Foxe's gospel, for there probably never was a book written which was intended to be, or has proved to be, a more virulent source of religious animosity than the one lying before us." [Feb. 1, 1868. Review of *Book of Martyrs*, new edition].

Mr. Sidney Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, tells us that the enormous size of Foxe's work has prevented a critical examination of the whole.

"But" (he continues) "it is plain from such examination as the work has undergone, that Foxe was too zealous a partisan to write with historical precision. He

is a passionate advocate ready to accept any *prima facie* evidence. His style has the vigour that comes of deep conviction, and there is a pathetic picturesqueness in the forcible simplicity with which he presents his readers with the details of his heroes' sufferings. His popularity is thus amply accounted for. But the coarse ribaldry with which he belabours his opponents exceeds all literary license . . . Foxe's mistakes sometimes arise from faulty and hasty copying of original documents, but are more often the result of wilful exaggeration."

But more damaging than any other is the criticism which Foxe receives at the hands of Mr. James Gairdner, the fulness of whose knowledge is matched only by the calm judicial manner in which he deals with the Martyrologist's stories as he encounters them in his own history.¹ Discussing each case on its merits, and giving full weight to the evidence on either side, Mr. Gairdner finds charges of untruthfulness and dishonesty established at every turn. Foxe, he declares, ignores or misrepresents evidence that tells against him [p. 38]; he manipulates it to suit his purpose [56]; he counts as martyrs offenders of all kinds [129 n.]; he "was above all things credulous [131]; he tells stories the falsehood of which may be gathered from his own relation [*ibid.*]; he suppresses facts furnished by the authorities upon whom he draws [133]; he insinuates what is utterly false [135]; he evidently wishes his readers to understand what he does not venture openly to say [220-1]; he prejudices readers by irrelevant gibes [271]; he has made people believe what is untrue [333]; he was quite as prejudiced and unfair as the notorious Bishop Bale [342]; his narrative has been exposed as untrustworthy by reason of its bias, but has not even yet been subjected to complete and thorough

¹ *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century.*

criticism [352]. In consequence of all this, says Mr. Gairdner, Foxe has given a false colour to the history of the times, and especially to the sentiments and motives of the persecutors. "It is quite untrue, as Foxe and his school have made the world believe, that the authorities were savage or ferocious. . . . The burning of heretics was a barbarous old-fashioned remedy, but it is not true that either the bishops or the Government adopted it without reluctance" [349, 355]. And again, "A royal commission, issued on February 8, 1557, is printed by Foxe with the title, 'A bloody commission given forth by K. Philip and Q. Mary to persecute the poor members of Christ.' If we read the preamble, however, we find that it was provoked by the assiduous propagation of a number of slanderous and seditious rumours, along with which the sowing of heresies and heretical opinions was merely a concurrent" [387].

Such is the book upon which so important a chapter of our history has been well-nigh wholly based, and for which down even to our own enlightened days some would claim an almost sacred character. In the first half of the nineteenth century an appeal on behalf of a new edition of "that admirable book" thus urged its claims to public support¹ :—

"When we consider the high character of the work for accuracy of detail; its full exhibition of the Gospel in all its holy and triumphant efficacy; the bulwark it has proved to our Protestant faith; its peculiar seasonableness to meet all the fresh dangers from Popery in the present times; and its intrinsic value, as forming a sound standard of

¹ 1836. To the Editor of the *Record*; printed by Maitland, *Six Letters*, p. xiv.

24 *John Foxe and his "Book of Martyrs"*

Reformation divinity, we find it an exercise of Christian charity to call the public attention to it. We might further adduce the *imprimatur* of our own Church, by her act of Convocation appending it to all the ecclesiastical establishments in the land, as giving to Foxe's work an additional claim of regard."

When a cheap edition for the million appeared, some thirty years later (1868), a prelate of the Anglican Establishment,¹ furnished it with a preface, giving it his benediction and declaring—though his history, as we have seen, was not quite accurate—that—

"The Convocation of the English clergy did wisely, when, in the days of Elizabeth, they enacted that every Parish Church in this land should be furnished with a copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*."

But is it creditable to us as a nation that such a position should be assigned to such a book?

¹ Bishop Waldegrave of Carlisle.

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“THE SCARLET WOMAN”

OR

THE METHODS OF A PROTESTANT NOVELIST

BY

JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.



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Catholic Answers to Protestant Charges

COMPILED BY

G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER

PREFATORY NOTE

THE object of this little book is to supply very briefly an answer to some of the objections to the Catholic Church and to some of the charges against Catholic practices. It does not profess to deal with anything like the full number of such charges, for misunderstanding of Catholic teaching is widespread, and calumny has many tongues. But the most popular objections and mis-statements have been met, so far as the size and scope of the book will allow.

At the end of most of the notes a reference is given to one or more pamphlets which deal with the subject at greater length, and of which the note itself is frequently an epitome.

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"THE SCARLET WOMAN"

PREFACE

IN 1899 the Rev. Joseph Hocking published in volume form a novel entitled *The Scarlet Woman*, which had previously appeared as a serial. This story formed the subject of an article in the *Month* for January, 1900, in which its preposterous nature was exposed and its author's claims to have based his ridiculous statements upon authentic information were proved, by his own admissions, to be devoid of foundation. Mr. Hocking thereupon addressed a letter of protest to the *Month*, which was printed with a footnote by the Editor in which the charges against him were maintained.

Undeterred by this exposure, Mr. Hocking in the following year published another novel on the same lines, called *The Purple Robe*, which was received with favour by that section of the press which admired the previous work. From a circular issued by the publishers (Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co.)—which begins with the ludicrous misstatement that both of the works "have been placed in (*sic*) the Index Expurgatorius—the list of books which Roman Catholics are prohibited from reading"—we learn that the *Church Intelligencer* (the organ of the Church Association) considers that "since the days of Kingsley and Charles Reade, no novelist has contributed to the Protestant cause anything nearly so attractive or so convincing: it is the interest and duty of Protestants to procure for these volumes as wide a circulation as possible." The same paper summarizes *The Purple Robe* as "a story in which the cultured Nonconformist minister well-nigh falls a prey to the social wiles and 'spiritual sorceries' of the titled lady who is uncon-

siciously manipulated for this purpose by her Jesuit director." So far as knowledge of the Church is concerned, it is on a par with the former volume, and, like it, is disfigured by the crudest of Protestant misconceptions; e.g., the Catholic heroine says that the New Testament "is a forbidden book to Catholics: that is, no Catholic is allowed to read it except under the supervision [!] of the priest." The Jesuits are once more in evidence, and behave in the manner dear to Protestant tradition: Father Ritzoom "looked at Rutland as a skilled mesmerist looks at his victim" (p. 384); a Protestant lecturer "gave hard, irrefutable facts to prove that one infallible Pope had denied the pronouncements of another infallible Pope"; "proved that Papal Infallibility was an insult to the intelligence, a violation of the known facts of history, and an impious fraud" (pp. 83, 85); and later explained that "for fifteen hundred years [the Catholic Church] has been proclaiming aloud that its vaunted infallibility is a mere will-o'-th'-wisp, the veriest phantasmagoria that was ever foisted upon an ignorant community" (p. 307).

The most hopeless feature about Mr. Hocking and those of his stamp is their complete inability to realize their ignorance. When *The Purple Robe* appeared, a Catholic reviewer (in the *Literary Churchman* for June 15, 1900) said: "We have not attempted to reply to Mr. Hocking's onslaught upon Catholicism, for the simple reason that to do so we should first have to acquaint him with the entire contents of a child's catechism of the Catholic faith"—a perfectly accurate statement of the position; indeed, in his comment on this, Mr. Hocking confirms its accuracy, for he tells his readers that "salvation (!) is said to be obtained by acts of childish credulity—e.g., a thousand years' indulgence may be obtained (so Catholics teach) by going up the Santa Scala (some sacred steps in Rome) on one's knees."

After a period of rest from his labours for Protestantism, Mr. Hocking has returned to the fight with a new story

bearing the suggestive title, *The Woman of Babylon*, which is now being printed in the *Quiver*, a magazine published by Messrs. Cassell. These publishers have attained a well-deserved reputation for their enormous output of educational literature; it may be doubted whether any firm has done more to promote popular knowledge, in which promotion, indeed, it may claim to have been a pioneer. It is thus a matter of regret that such a firm should lend itself to the publication of a story which must come into the hands of thousands of readers, many of whom will take for granted the statements it contains.

Although only the earlier chapters have as yet been published, there is ample material to show that the story will be equal to its predecessors. The night after Mrs. Raymond had been received into the Church by the Jesuit Father Brandon, he instructed his "assistant," Father Kelly, "to go down to [her husband's] home and hunt out everything." "Do not go as a priest," he added—"You make up well as a layman, and none would take you for a priest when you wear a suit of tweeds¹ and a bowler; so go right away and get ready." Father Kelly apparently went off that night, and on his return reported to Father Brandon, who said, "You are a good detective; neither of us was trained as a Jesuit for nothing."

Even these preliminary chapters have sufficed to rouse Protestant enthusiasm. It will surprise no one that Lady Wimborne (according to Messrs. Cassell's advertisement) thinks the story "likely to have a very useful influence in arousing people to see the insidious manner in which Roman Catholics effect an entry into English home life. Anything that can be done in this direction is of the utmost value." It is fitting that the discoverer of an imaginary donkey—it is said that donkeys in High Church families are named Cornelia in compliment to her ladyship—should

¹ This seems the most popular Jesuit disguise; Father Kelly (*Scarlet Woman*, p. 31), was also "clothed in a tweed suit."

congratulate the manufacturer of impossible Jesuits; nor are we surprised that the Rev. F. B. Meyer should thank the editor of the *Quiver* for "Mr. Hocking's timely story." What is surprising is that publishers who have done much to propagate good and useful literature (which in its turn has done much for them) should pander to the most ignorant Protestant prejudice by publishing such matter in a periodical which, according to another evangelical lady, carries out St. Paul's injunction as to "speaking the truth in love."

It is right to add that, so far, *The Woman of Babylon* seems unlikely to attain the heights of absurdity reached by her Scarlet predecessor. As I look through *The Scarlet Woman* again, I am more than ever astounded at the depths of ignorance it reveals, at its preposterous statements, and at its author's inability to perceive that he is writing nonsense. Unfortunately, those for whom Mr. Hocking chiefly caters are the blind led by the blind; the readers of *The Protestant Woman*, for example, are not likely to question any of Mr. Hocking's assertions, to which their own journal every month affords abundant parallels.

But there must be others who are not so blind, and it is in order that unprejudiced folk may have an opportunity of forming an estimate of Mr. Hocking's knowledge of Catholic faith and practice and of his qualifications for dealing with them, that the Committee of the C.T.S. have decided to reprint my article from the *Month*. It is printed without alteration, in order that Mr. Hocking's attempted refutation (also printed) may be estimated at its proper value; the note by the Editor of the *Month* is also given. It is hoped that, by its distribution among fair-minded Protestants, the eyes of some, at any rate, may be opened to a knowledge of the absurdity and unfairness of the fictions which even now find favour not only with the uninstructed but with those who should be better informed.

J. B.

January, 1906.

"THE SCARLET WOMAN"

By JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.

FROM time to time the attention of readers of this Review has been invited to certain aspects of "Protestant Fiction." When these essays were reprinted in a volume,¹ a friendly but somewhat perfunctory reviewer expressed an opinion that, as fiction of this kind was a thing of the past, it was a little unnecessary to write about it. As a matter of fact, the aim of the essays was to show how, in spite of the growth of toleration, the diminution of bigotry, and the spread of education, the most absurd fictions about the Catholic Church were daily disseminated. Since the papers were written, the supply of such stories has by no means diminished. On the contrary, since the renaissance of the cruder and more vulgar kind of Protestantism—that of which Mr. Kensit is the chief apostle—there has been a steady growth of fiction, ranging from the volumes in the circulating libraries to the "penny dreadfuls," in which the doctrines, practices, and ministers of the Catholic Church have occupied a conspicuous place. In so far as these works have been favourable to Catholics, they received notice in these pages last August; of the others, whose "name is legion"—a reference to the context of this phrase will show that it is not inapposite—it has not seemed necessary to speak.

But an exception must be made in favour of a novel by

¹ *Protestant Fiction*. Catholic Truth Society. Price One Shilling.

Mr. Joseph Hocking, the suggestive title of which stands at the head of this article. From whatever point of view we regard it—its large circulation, its pretensions to absolute accuracy, its careful avoidance of certain objectionable subjects which offer an irresistible attraction to prominent Protestants, or its colossal ineptitude—it suggests reflections which seem worth recording. It is only by examples of this kind that we can gauge the depth of the prejudice and ignorance which have yet to be overcome before the Church can, as it were, be brought within speaking distance of masses of the people in this land. Let us take these points in order.

The circulation of *The Scarlet Woman* began in serial form in the *Temple Magazine*, wherein by a judicious economy—hardly in accordance with the editorial promise that "long instalments" would be given each month—it ran from October, 1898, to September, 1899. It has also appeared in various newspapers, and *The Christian Budget* gives a first instalment in its issue of December 13th. The publishers' advertisement, last October, of the story in volume form, announced: "First Edition of 6,000 sold before publication; Second Edition, making 10,000, sold before publication; Third Edition, making 15,000, now ready."

Its publication in the *Temple Magazine* was heralded (in the number for September, 1898) by a "talk with the author," and by a "puff preliminary" which went the round of the newspapers. Mr. Joseph Hocking, we learn, is one of the not inconsiderable number of ministers who have found literature—if the word may be employed in this context—more attractive (and more profitable) than preaching. He was minister of Brunswick Chapel, at Burnley, "one of the largest Methodist Free Churches in England." The "Methodist Free Church," we are told, is a body which flourishes chiefly in the north of England, and it is in that part of the country that the novels both of Mr.

Joseph, and his brother, Mr. Silas Hocking, are in particular request. Of his other books I know nothing ; but so far as one can judge from *The Scarlet Woman*—and "men of the keenest literary judgement agree that it bids fair to be Mr. Hocking's greatest novel"—their attractiveness cannot lie in any literary charm, which is, indeed, conspicuously absent. Mr. Hocking, himself modestly "ventures to think it is an exciting tale, full of movement and adventure," and that the field "seems to offer immense possibilities" ; it also shows "the subtle influence of Jesuit teaching," as well as "the struggle between monastic vows and the promptings of the human heart." Elsewhere in the same number, we are told that the story is "brilliant" and "striking" ; "it abounds with thrilling incidents, and is certain to attract widespread attention ;" "it is a Love Story, whose threads are interwoven in the meshes of the Jesuit system, a subject which is just at present particularly topical"—this sentence is an admirable example of the literary standard of the *Temple Magazine*—and "is one of the strangest and most thrilling we have yet published."

It is an ungrateful task—it seems even cruel—to cast doubt upon any of the details of Mr. Hocking's narration, much more to call in question its main features ; and I will postpone doing so until I have paid a perfectly genuine tribute to that feature of his book which I have already singled out for approval. There is absolutely no reference to the matters which form the subject of some of Mr. Kensit's most popular (and most indecent) publications. Some may question how far this is due to Mr. Hocking, and how far to the fact that the *Temple Magazine* is a respectable publication, and appeals to a public who are above retailing filthy fictions in support of Protestant principles. It seems to me a hopeful sign that Protestants are beginning to recognize that breaches of the sixth commandment form no portion of the monastic code of morals ; and that the "Maria Monk" class of fiction, patronized as

it still is by Mr. Kensit's *clientèle* and by Holywell Street, finds no countenance either from author or editor.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Hocking makes up for his reticence on this one point by the formulation of charges so appalling, so terrible, and so impossible, against both Jesuits and nuns, that it becomes necessary to examine more closely his claim to speak with authority. If his pretensions are unchallenged, it will go forth to the world, on the authority of "heads of Jesuit institutions," that abduction, unlawful imprisonment, and murder are among the recognized methods by which their ends are obtained; and that the authorities in some of the principal convents acknowledge openly to the passing stranger that the dark cell, the penance of thirty or forty years, and cruel torture, are among their approved forms of discipline. In a sense, it may be said that the very omission of the grosser kind of calumny renders Mr. Hocking's pretended portrayal of conventual life more dangerous, because less disgustingly improbable, than the current Protestant fictions. It is therefore necessary to examine his credentials.

We now come to consider Mr. Hocking's claims to accuracy; and it must be admitted that, on his own showing, the preparation for his undertaking was varied and extensive. He tells us:

[1] I did not begin to write it until I had read an immense amount of history with regard to the Reformation. [2] I had been preparing a series of addresses on the history of the Catholic Church, and my mind became pretty well saturated with its peculiar doctrines and dogmas. [3] I also read the life of St. Ignatius and the history of the Society of Jesus, and tried to understand something of its influence on character and life. . . . [4] I had seen the working of Roman Catholicism on the Continent and in Palestine, but I had never studied it in relation to the life of Great Britain. [5] I therefore [!] went to Ireland, and had long and interesting conversations with many Catholic priests. [6] I was received with boundless kindness by the heads of the Jesuit institutions. [7] Men of the highest positions in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland cordially welcomed me, and gave me all the information I desired. They knew I was a Protestant—I made no

secret of that, or of my purpose in visiting them—but they offered me every facility for securing information, and were most ready to help me in my work. [8] I visited some of the principal monasteries and convents, read their rules, saw their methods of life and study.

The foregoing extract is not what Dr. Horton calls a "conflation": I have merely added numbers for the convenience of reference. It is pleasant to notice how at the very outset Mr. Hocking gives the death-blow to that notion of secrecy and mystery which the Protestant mind loves to associate with Catholics in general and with Jesuits in particular. An avowed Protestant with the "purpose" of writing a novel, showing (as Mr. Hocking tells us) "the subtle influences of Jesuit training," is "cordially welcomed," receives "boundless kindness" and "every facility" from the "heads of Jesuit institutions," and "men of the highest position" in the Church vied with each other in being "most ready to help (him) in (his) work." Nay, more; "some of the principal convents and monasteries," for whose inspection some are so anxious, laid "their rules, their methods of life and study," open to Mr. Hocking's gaze: who will, after this, be able to maintain belief in the mysteries of the convent?

I am the better able to examine Mr. Hocking's claims to credence, because, with a frankness and courtesy which I gladly acknowledge, he has been good enough to supplement his published statement by more definite information as to the sources of his knowledge. The book was written, he tells me, "not as a polemic, but as a romance;" but unfortunately, if words mean anything, the printed account claims for it an authenticity beyond what is usually attributed to works of fiction. I take his statements from the passage already quoted.

Nos. 1-4 may be dismissed briefly with the remark that there is no trace anywhere in the book of study or reading other than such as might be obtained from any ordinary Protestant manual of controversy. Mr. Hocking has never

published his addresses "on the history of the Church," but his curious contrasting of "doctrines and dogmas" leads one to doubt how far he has assimilated either our teaching or our terminology—a doubt which is strengthened by the novel itself. It is impossible, for instance, to decide what meaning Mr. Hocking attaches to the word "vocation," which is of frequent occurrence: it sometimes seems equivalent to the taking of vows: the Jesuit Superior says to the novice, who had spent two years in an "Institution for Novitiates" (*sic*):¹

In a few days you will be able to take the vows of our most Holy Order,² . . . you are fully prepared for your vocation?³

It is long years since I lived in the world. I have been preparing for my vocation.⁴

Father Relly, although "apparently about eight-and-twenty,"⁵ was a Jesuit priest: Mr. Hocking's reading of the history and constitutions of the Society has not made known to him that its members are not usually ordained priests until thirty-three. All, or many of the priests in a Jesuit house seem to hear the confessions of the inmates of a "nunnery attached to this [the same] building."⁶ The "Mother Superior" of several preceding pages suddenly becomes "the Abbess" on p. 199; the Jesuits are styled "monks,"⁷ and their houses, monasteries; the door of the "Institution for Novitiates" is opened by "a young man in monk's attire."⁸ These are but illustrations of the faulty terminology which permeates the book, and which, while sufficiently accurate for the Protestant reader, betrays to a Catholic the ignorance of the author.

Passing by the singularly Hibernian proceeding of going to Ireland to study Catholicism in Great Britain, we come

¹ P. 52.

² Imagine a Jesuit speaking of "the Society" as "our most Holy Order"!

³ P. 58.

⁴ P. 45.

⁵ P. 27.

⁶ P. 107.

⁷ P. 53 and elsewhere. ⁸ P. 54.

to more definite statements. The “heads of the Jesuit institutions” received Mr. Hocking with “boundless kindness,” which he has requited by endeavouring to fasten upon them the most hateful crimes. Mr. Hocking names to me Father Finlay as one of his informants, and says he gave “a complete outline of the training of the Jesuit priest, from his novitiate to his solemn vows.” Father Finlay—who, by the way, is not the “head of a Jesuit institution”—writes to me :

I gave Mr. Hocking no other information about the methods of the Society than is contained in any of the many works on its aims and its discipline which are at the disposition of the public, but of which Mr. Hocking appeared to be altogether ignorant.¹

Mr. Hocking also visited Milltown Park, where he saw Father Sutton; but “he got no information from me,” writes Father Sutton, “except what he could have got from any one, or from books easily procurable.” The “cordial welcome,” the extensive “information,” and the “readiness to help,” which Mr. Hocking acknowledges with such effusion, seem to reduce themselves in both these cases to such communications of knowledge as would in common courtesy be extended to any ordinary and not too intelligent inquirer.

But besides the Jesuits, “men of the highest positions in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland cordially welcomed [him] and gave [him] all the information [he] desired.” “Men of the highest position”—a Cardinal, perhaps; an Archbishop assuredly; a Bishop at least? No, none of these. “All I saw were, I believe,” Mr. Hocking wrote to me, “Jesuit priests, with one exception.” Was that exception a Bishop? I asked. “No,” replies Mr. Hocking, “I did not see a Bishop in Ireland. The excep-

¹ It will be noted (see No. 3) that Mr. Hocking said he had “tried to understand something of the influence and life of the Society” *before* he went to Ireland; his efforts do not seem to have been very successful.

tion to which I referred was a parish priest, whose church is situated some few miles from Killaloo [*sic*]; I *think* that is the name of the place." This worthy priest, whose name even does not remain in Mr. Hocking's memory, will be astonished, if he ever sees this paper, to find himself pluralized into "men of the highest positions" in the Church: is it uncharitable to suppose that the "cordial welcome" and "readiness to help" are susceptible of similiar reduction?

"The principal monasteries and convents" whose "methods of life and study" were laid open to Mr. Hocking's inspection, resolve themselves into "the Loretta [*sic*] Convent, Dublin." But besides this Mr. Hocking tells me that "a lady who was acting *pro tem.* as Mother Superior of a convent, gave me as much information as she was able concerning the daily life of the nuns." "I asked for printed rules," he continues, "but was unable to obtain them." Yet in the course of his interview (see No. 7 above) he distinctly says he "read the rules" of "the principal monasteries and convents"! As to their "methods of life and study," those who have been privileged to share the hospitality of religious houses—Jesuit, Benedictine, Dominican, or what not—know that this does not involve a participation in the community life: even the most credulous will hardly believe that the casual Protestant visitor would have access to domestic details from which the invited Catholic guest is excluded.

In justice to Mr. Hocking, I must add that he tells me that he has in his possession "letters from the Mother Superior of a convent, telling (him) how the Church regarded those nuns who by any chance went back to the world; also she enlarged upon the distinction between 'simple' and 'solemn' vows." Nor is this all. Although "the novel is fiction pure and simple," "an ex-Catholic priest" recently told Mr. Hocking in a letter, that "it describes what has happened, and is happening every day in

one form or another.” Is Mr. Hocking acquainted with the reputation attaching to some of the most prominent “ex-Catholic priests”? Presumably not, or he would hardly attach much value to their testimony.

This, however, seems to Mr. Hocking confirmation strong, and appears to show that even when he thinks he is writing fiction he is really describing fact. So it is not surprising that the converse is true, and that his facts are fictions. For let us put side by side his printed account and his private admissions.

Mr. Hocking in Temple Magazine.

I was received . . . by the heads of Jesuit institutions.

Men of the highest position in the Catholic Church in Ireland cordially welcomed me.

I visited some of the principal monasteries and convents, read their rules,

saw their methods of life and study.

Mr. Hocking in private letters.¹

He was received by Father Thomas Finlay and by Father Sutton, only one of whom is the head of a Jesuit institution.

“All I saw were Jesuit priests with one exception, . . . a parish priest whose church is some few miles from Killaloo” [*sic*].

[None mentioned.]

“Loretta Convent, Dublin.”

“I asked for printed rules, but could not obtain them.”

!

I should like to obtain Dr. Horton’s opinion as to whether Mr. Hocking’s statements come up to the high standard of truthfulness which he theoretically upholds, and the maintenance of which distinguishes so favourably the Protestant minister from the Catholic priest.

I will now give a brief summary of the story, premising that almost every page affords matter for comment, for laughter, or for indignation, according as misunderstanding, misconception, or misrepresentation predominates.

¹ It is right to say that Mr. Hocking was told that the information asked for was for use in a review of his book,

Jack Gray and Gertrude Winthrop quarrelled. Both being "of a religious turn of mind" and Roman Catholics, it was natural for Jack to "determine in his despair to enter the Roman priesthood," while Gertrude took "a similar course." This of course constantly happens—in books; and equally of course they were "in reality breaking their hearts" for each other. Neither could get out. Here I pause to inquire whether Mr. Hocking's Irish informants encouraged him to believe that novices are 'received on such insufficient grounds? But such a question is idle: for every one knows or should know that they would have been sent away at once as not having the true signs of a "vocation" or call from God. Even if by some accident these motives had escaped notice at first, they could not fail to have been detected during their noviceship of two years; and they would assuredly have been told that by staying they would infallibly make themselves miserable, and that they had better return to the world. However, in Mr. Hocking's pages, they could not get out; so Norman Lancaster—an idle man whom one would not hesitate to describe as a cad, if both Mr. Hocking and himself were not so sure that he was a "gentleman"—went over to Ireland, with the intention of seeing each of them and restoring them to each others' arms. Jack had been a Jesuit novice for two years, and was "imbued with all the sophisms of the order," and Gertrude was "closely guarded by her superiors," though "not so closely immured" as she would have been if she had taken vows.¹

Lancaster set off to Ireland; but his intention was divined by Father Ritzoom, a Jesuit of the deepest dye, with "a mind like a corkscrew,"² a "repellent expression of face, thick lips, deep-set, searching eyes, raven-black hair, blue chin, large head, of the shape which is often designated as square," which he "did not easily lose," and "a soft and musical voice."³ It is unnecessary to say that he was

¹ P. 15.² P. 18.³ Pp. 21-25.

disguised—in a "long, heavy ulster" and "a suit of blue-black cloth, rather rough in texture, the coat being short and double-breasted." He travelled across with Lancaster, and with him was another Jesuit, Father Relly, who plays a useful part in making it plain to the Protestant mind that all Jesuits are not as clever as they are supposed to be. He also was disguised, in a tweed suit and a moustache, which latter Lancaster at once detected to be false. Having told two or three unnecessary lies on his arrival in Dublin, Relly disguised himself still further—this time in drink: then he took to gambling, lost, and gave an I.O.U., which he signed "Father Relly"—that being apparently the usual way in which Jesuits write their names.

Lancaster paid his debt, and Relly told him all about his career, and how the tweed suit had brought back to him the old days before he "ceased to be a man and became a Jesuit." Then Lancaster went to the "Institution for Novitiates" (or "monastery") where Jack Gray was "immured." Having "tried to formulate plans for entering the old castellated building," it suddenly occurred to him to go up to the front door and ring, and by this bold expedient he obtained admission. "A quiet inoffensive-looking man with large, mild eyes and a somewhat ruddy face"—a new kind of Jesuit, but doubtless disguised—came in with "a small, black book," and asked Lancaster "in a low tone" if he had come for confession, but Lancaster said he had come to see Jack Gray. (It may be noted here, once for all, that the fact that Lancaster was not on this and on almost every other occasion kicked out of the room, speaks volumes for the Jesuit training; a more offensive personage it would be impossible to conceive.) The priest did not seem inclined to allow this, but when Lancaster said:

It strikes me as peculiar, aye, and would appear very strange to the British public, if a University graduate who has become a novice was not allowed to see an old friend of his brother.

"the superior seemed to be in deep thought for a few minutes," and finally succumbed. The interview came off, a priest (who is also styled a "brother") concealed in the next room taking it all down in shorthand.

The interview contains much that is remarkable, but we must pass on. At its conclusion, Lancaster was invited to stay to dinner, which he did, though "he was careful not to drink anything. In spite of the evident [apparent?] goodwill of the priests, he was afraid." (Just as if they couldn't have put powdered glass in his pudding!) Then they sent him to the station; and on his way he was dragged from his carriage and chloroformed. When he regained consciousness he was Father Ritzoom's prisoner. The wily Jesuit soon visited his victim, "clad in ecclesiastical attire, and the garb made his presence more imposing."¹ They had a long and curiously worded discussion—" 'What do you adduce from it,' said Ritzoom "²—in which Lancaster talked like Dr. Horton's anti-Catholic lectures, but with an added vulgarity to which Dr. Horton is a stranger.³ Next day, Rely waited upon him, and Lancaster availed himself of his knowledge of the Father's Dublin escapade to suggest that he, Lancaster, should gain access in the disguise of a priest to Gertrude Winthrop, whom he discovered—how, is not stated—to be in the nunnery which was "another part of the same building" [!]⁴ Does Mr. Hocking mean his readers to understand that he saw or knows of any convent of nuns in such relations to a Jesuit

¹ Presumably he wore a cassock, but Mr. Hocking cannot resist these appeals to the gallery. Of this there is an excellent example on p. 313, where the preacher is described as "arrayed in gorgeous robes," although the picture opposite depicts him quite accurately in surplice and preaching stole.

² P. 89.

³ *E.g.*, "There are three kinds of fools: fools, blithering fools, and typical, lisping, high-church, frocked curates. At any rate, that is the opinion of the intelligent Englishman" (p. 89).

⁴ P. 113.

house? They will certainly suppose that this is his intention: it is even more certain that no such proximity exists.

Relly will not allow what is asked of him—although later on he yields, and this English "gentleman" carries out his programme—but he agrees to tell Gertrude to meet Lancaster at midnight in the convent garden. This he does, after she had confessed to him "her love, her fears, her struggles, her desires." Here is Father Relly's conversation with his penitent:

"And do you desire to destroy this love?" asked the priest.

"I do not know," was the reply: "sometimes I think I do, at others it is as dear to me as my own life—aye! dearer than life, for without it all is blackness."

"And do you still desire to take vows?"

"When I think of the torments of the lost I do; but, oh! the memory of my love is very sweet to me."

The priest hesitated a second, when he said: "Yours is a strange case, my daughter, and I am going to inflict a strange penance; perchance it will lead to a removal of your difficulties."

"Yes, father," said the novice; "what is it?"

"I wish you to go to the eastern wall of your garden to-night at midnight. I think a messenger will come to you. Keep this a secret from the Reverend Mother."¹

Lancaster's interview with Gertrude (Sister Theresa) duly comes off, and is followed by another with Sister Constance—a real nun this time who had taken vows, and whose "contralto voice, full of music and beauty," so impressed Lancaster that he promptly fell in love with her. His affection, as they say in books, "was reciprocated." Her character may be estimated from the fact that Lancaster said to himself, "She is a lady, and priestcraft has not killed the fact."² They continued to hold secret nocturnal interviews in the grounds—a thing hardly in accordance with custom or convention, even had the lady not been a nun—accompanied with somewhat unnecessarily detailed demonstrations of affection; but when Lancaster said:

¹ P. 120.

² P. 137.

"No power on earth can separate us now," he reckoned without his host, Father Ritzoom, who was standing by, and who observed: "It is my duty to tell you that you are quite mistaken."

Then followed a long course of lying, threats, dark cells, bread and water, and all the other features of convent life familiar to readers of Protestant fiction, including "discipline, prayer, and the virtue of that blessed relic of St. Theresa." By these attractive methods Constance was induced to see the beauty of religion. Then she was taken away in a closed carriage by two women, "clothed from head to foot in black," whose "faces were completely hidden."¹ These were Sister Ursula and Sister Mary, who were kept busy at this kind of work, and who "travelled a great deal."² Which of all the nuns belonged to the Convent of "Our Mother of Good Counsel" and which to the Sacred Heart, I do not know, and I do not think Mr. Hocking knows either; they seem mixed. But Sisters Ursula and Mary and their convoy turned up at a convent near Southgate, Middlesex; and Lancaster, who had left his prison, promptly found them out, with the aid of Relly (who had turned up again, more idiotic than ever), a disguise, some private detectives, and a cabman. Such a combination, one would have thought, might have been a match for Father Ritzoom; but it was not. I have said that Mr. Hocking deliberately charges Jesuits with murder when this is necessary for their purpose: this charge will be found on p. 237, in the mouth of Relly, who, having told the story of an accidental poisoning, adds:

If Ritzoom wanted to kill a man, he would take a similar course, except that nothing would depend on accident. If he so desired he would get you out of his way, only he would do it in such a way that nothing could be traced to him.

By such gross and calumnious insinuations does Mr.

¹ P. 206.

² P. 246.

Hocking reward the "boundless kindness" of the Irish Jesuits.

Lancaster got a ladder and carried Sister Constance down in his arms. But Father Ritzoom or his agent was at the bottom; the ladder was shaken, Lancaster fell to the ground, a stunning blow rendered him insensible, and for a week he lay unconscious in a London hospital.

Then he went home, and "The Rev. Anthony Ritzoom, S.J.," sent in his card. He told him that Constance was a hopeless cripple—which of course was a lie, but he had reflected that "even Newman said a man was justified in deception if thereby he could serve the cause of God, while Prunes (*sic*) as well as St. Alfonso de Liguori both taught the same."¹ He proceeded to "warn" Lancaster that

"we allow nothing to stand in the way of accomplishing our purpose . . . the shepherd will have a keen look-out for the wolf, and—he *will have no mercy on the wolf*,"² . . . the Church will not deal lightly with the man who will drag one of her children to perdition, . . . if ever there is an obstacle in the way of a precious soul, *we remove the obstacle*."²

"I shall be sorry to harm him," he said when he got outside, "but—well, I have warned him."

Then there comes an interval of years, during which Gertrude has become a Mother Superior, while Jack Gray was an eloquent preacher. Lancaster spent his time and his income "hunting up information concerning the convents of Europe"; he "also employed the cleverest detectives in London," with the usual result. (I may note incidentally that when Mr. Hocking attempts to describe a Catholic service, he runs Newman's classical "Scripture-reader" very close.) Then Lancaster went to see Gertrude, whom he addressed with his habitual grace and charm:

¹ P. 213. ² Italics of original.

“ Look you, Gertrude Winthrop,” he said, “ this not another Jesuit trick, is it? It is not a lie to throw me on a false scent? . . . Tell me, is this a hoax?”

It was no hoax; Constance *was* supposed to be dying; and for some reason, inexplicable to any one less “ saturated ” than Mr. Hocking with the “ peculiar doctrines and dogmas of Rome,” Father Relly was travelling “ night and day ” from the Continent to hear her “ dying confession,”¹ although Gertrude said she could not live to see him, and no other confessor had been provided!

Lancaster rushed back to London, waylaid the idiot Relly, changed clothes with him, went to the convent, lied like a pickpocket — apparently remembering and adopting the principles attributed by Mr. Hocking to Newman — administered a restorative, made Constance speak (in italics), and finally carried her off!

The poor girl was ill, and the interview was exciting, so she had to have a nurse, and a doctor, who “ was by religion a Presbyterian, and as a consequence was much in sympathy with what [Lancaster] had done.” Then Father Ritzoom and Jack Gray turned up, and Ritzoom said, “ For a man to enter a convent, and through lies and fraud to take away——” But Lancaster interrupted what seems to have been a fair statement of what had occurred.

Then the Jesuit resolved “ to play his last, his final card.” By forged letters he obtained a change of nurse. The new nurse was a Papist, under Ritzoom’s direction, and Constance was to have been smuggled out of the window—she was on the ground-floor. Frustrated in this, Ritzoom developed a still more mysterious plot—so mysterious that I am not clear about it myself. Anyway, that too was frustrated. The marriage duly came off, and they went to the “ sunny South.” Thus was Protestant virtue rewarded, and Jesuit vice punished.

I must ask the reader to take my word for it that there

is hardly a page in this monstrous book that does not contain some misrepresentation of Catholic teaching or practice. This article is already too long, and the reiterated evidence of ignorance and incapacity becomes monotonous, and even wearisome. It is true that it is chiefly the Jesuits who are animadverted upon, but this is because Mr. Hocking, like other ill-informed persons, apparently regards the Society as co-extensive with the Catholic Church. But the lay Catholic is not allowed to pass without misrepresentation. The ineffable Lancaster—who has "read Church history and theology"—says:

Suppose England were to become Catholic, what would be the next result to the community? What if we prayed to the Virgin Mary, the saints, and accepted all the rest of the paraphernalia [a favourite word with Mr. Hocking], how should we be the better? I should perform all your ceremonies, I should be sprinkled with holy water, I should kiss the cross on certain occasions, I should mumble a set of words at stated times—what then?¹

This is Mr. Hocking's conception of the spiritual life of a Catholic! It is no wonder that

Ritzoom rose to his feet. "It is useless to talk," he said. "You do not understand; you are blind."

This is the most charitable verdict that can be passed on the writer of *The Scarlet Woman*.

It may be said that Mr. Hocking expresses admiration of the sincerity and earnestness of the Jesuits. This is true, but he does so in such a manner as to disparage by his very admiration. It is a "wonderful organization—which can destroy the individuality of many thousands of men";² a "system as relentless as fate";³ the Jesuits had "implicit faith," but this was not strange, because "they had stultified the critical faculty; they had destroyed a great part of their lives";⁴ their constitutions are wonderful, but they "undermine manhood";⁵ they are "suspicious and

¹ P. 155.

² P. 61.

³ P. 178.

⁴ P. 66.

⁵ P. 129.

subtle-minded”;¹ the “Jesuit order” possesses “unknown forces.”² I have read no book in which every prejudice which pervades the Protestant mind with regard to the Society of Jesus is so sedulously emphasized and insisted upon—and that on the pretended authority of the Jesuits themselves.

It remains to be added that the Protestant press hails with enthusiasm this addition to the great anti-Jesuit tradition. The first review said of the book—I quote the publisher’s advertisement—‘Powerful and human from beginning to end, and throbbing with the moral healthiness of a work by a writer who, while he interests more than many who merely interest, has the right purpose of inculcating truths that lead to healthiness of life and human endeavour.’ This sentence is more enthusiastic than intelligible; but it no doubt indicates the verdict of the lower middle class upon Mr. Hocking’s latest novel. An intelligent non-Catholic reader will agree with the *Spectator*, which said:—

An illustration of a gentleman descending a ladder with a nun in his arms, combined with the title *The Scarlet Woman*, tell us what to expect from Mr. Hocking’s book. When nuns want to leave a nineteenth-century convent in the British Isles, a far more convenient method is to walk out of the front door.

¹ P. 97.

² P. 56.

A LETTER FROM MR. JOSEPH HOCKING

To the Editor of "The Month"

SIR,—Will you allow me space in your magazine to offer some remarks on the fifteen-page review which Mr. James Britten has contributed to the January number of *The Month*, on my romance entitled *The Scarlet Woman*?

With regard to his opinion of the story, as a story, there is but little need to say anything. Indeed, he has scarcely offered an opinion. I should judge that he approached the book with the intention of saying everything he could to its detriment, and I hope he is satisfied with his work. Neither will I refer at length to his two suggestions: first, as to the motive which led me to become a novelist; and second, as to the reason why I did not treat of indecent subjects. No man with self-respect would care to answer them. If Mr. Britten had confined himself to adverse criticism and unworthy imputation, I should have taken no notice of his effusion, but as he has touched on more serious matters, I am naturally anxious, although I know these lines will be read by unsympathetic eyes, to call the attention of your readers to certain facts.

First of all, I would like to deal with Mr. Britten's endeavour to destroy whatever weight the romance may have, by seeking to prove (by a peculiar method of placing statements in private letters, and public statements to a reviewer in parallel columns) that I am guilty of lying. These I will take in order, as well as Mr. Britten's somewhat complicated narration will allow me.

1. I stated in a review in the *Temple Magazine*, in whose pages *The Scarlet Woman* appeared as a serial, that when I went to Ireland for the purpose of writing the story, I was received by the heads of Jesuit Institutions, while he infers, from private letters, that I was received by the Rev. Thomas Finlay, and by the Rev. W. Sutton, only *one* of whom is at the head of a Jesuit Institution.

Let me say, in answer to this, that I had long interviews in Dublin, first, with the Rev. Father Bannon; second, with the Rev. Wm. Sutton; and third, with the Rev. Thomas Finlay. If those gentlemen are not the heads of Jesuit Institutions, I was simply misinformed. Certainly Father Finlay was mentioned to me as one of the principals of the Jesuit Institution at St. Stephen's Green, while Mr. Britten admits that Father Sutton is the head of Milltown Park College.

2. I stated in the *Temple Magazine*, that I was received by men of the highest position in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. In my *private* letter, I said that I saw only Jesuit priests. These two statements, according to Mr. Britten, contradict each other. It is perfectly true, that the only ecclesiastics of note whom I saw in Ireland were Jesuits, but I still hold that I was justified in my statement, that is, if the information I received was correct. Take the names in order. (a) The Rev. Father Bannon has been, so I was told, a chaplain of Jefferson Davis, in the American War, and that he has been repeatedly employed on important affairs at several European Courts. (b) An Irish ex-Member of Parliament, who gave me a letter of introduction to Father Finlay, spoke of him to me as the ablest man in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, one whose opinion had more weight than that of Bishop or Archbishop. This opinion, I may add, was repeated to me more than once by more than one person. (c) The Rev. Father Sutton is the rector of Milltown College, for the training of priests, and was spoken of to

me as a gentleman of great intelligence, and one who was much trusted. My statement, therefore, that I was received by men of the highest position in the Catholic Church in Ireland does not seem to be exaggerated. It is true, I did not mention the Rev. Father Bannon in my letter to Mr. Britten, simply because I did not think his questions necessitated it.

3. In the *Temple Magazine*, I stated that I read the rules of some of the principal monasteries, and saw their method of study and life. In a private letter to Mr. Britten, I said that I asked for the printed rules of a convent, but was unable to get them. Both these statements are perfectly true. I *did* ask for the printed rules of a convent, and was unable to get them, but I read the rules which Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, drew up himself for his followers, rules which two out of the three gentlemen I have mentioned, told me were authoritative to-day in Jesuit Institutions.

4. In the *Temple Magazine*, I said I was given all the information I desired, and that priests offered me every facility for obtaining knowledge. Mr. Britten quotes letters from Fathers Finlay and Sutton, to the effect that they told me nothing which I could not get from any one, or from books easily procurable. Let me, in answer to this, say distinctly that, after Father Finlay had given me a minute description of the daily life of the novice (*he* said it was minute), he informed me that what he had told me was unknown to the ordinary secular priest. Moreover, beyond the book, entitled *The Jesuits: their Foundation and History*, which I quoted in my story, neither of these gentlemen mentioned these easily procurable books, although, I repeat, they expressed themselves as desirous of giving me whatever assistance lay in their power. Let me add, however, that their information was in the main technical, and had nothing to do with the *incidents* of the story. Of course, too, not a word to which either of them gave utterance, suggested

to me either the characters or the actions of Ritzoom or Relly in the story.

These, as far as I can see, are the only "inaccuracies" of this sort which Mr. Britten points out, and I think I have fairly shown that they are not inaccuracies at all, but perfect statements of fact.

In answer to Mr. Britten's charge of ingratitude, that after receiving such kindness from Jesuits, I wrote such a book as *The Scarlet Woman*, let me say that for many Jesuits, as men, I have the highest esteem ; and I have not the slightest doubt, that there are among them men of the most unblemished character. I was not, in writing the book, thinking of the individual, but of the system. Again, his statement that I deliberately charge the Jesuits with murder, is a gross perversion of the passages from which he quotes. Even the extract he gives does not prove it, while the passages as a whole, can be made to bear out his suggestion only by the most unjustifiable method of exegesis. If Mr. Britten wishes to find justification for murder, under certain given circumstances, he should go to such Jesuit writers as Escobar, or to Mariana in his *De Rege et Regis Institutione*. He might also read with profit the history of Henry IV of France, or of William of Orange. But his statement that I charge the Jesuits with such a crime, can nowhere be borne out by facts.

Concerning the general summary of what Mr. Britten calls a monstrous book, I am afraid you will not allow me to answer *in extenso*, but will you permit me to put a few questions as briefly as possible, which may help to sum up the situation ?

1. Is it true that the main purpose in the training of a Jesuit novice is to teach him the lesson of obedience ? That it is intended that he (the novice) shall lose his will, and affections in his Order, and that the command of the Superior in matters of duty shall be regarded as Divine ?

2. Is it true that the Founder of the Society of Jesus taught that the "Superior is to be obeyed simply as such, and as standing in the place of God, without reference to his personal wisdom, piety, or discretion"? Is it true that he insisted that the novice should desire to be ruled "by a Superior who endeavours to subjugate his judgement, or subdue his understanding?"

3. Is it true that no matter what his age may be, any letters sent to the novice, are, or may be, intercepted and opened by the Superior, and if he, the Superior, thinks fit, may be kept from the novice altogether?

4. Is it true that during his novitiate even his parents cannot see him, except by the permission of the Superior?

5. Is it not true that it is the duty of the novice, if so ordered, to watch the actions of other novices, and report the same to the Superior?

6. Is it not true that after having taken "solemn vows," it is with the greatest difficulty that any one can leave the religious life? In other words, is it not extremely difficult for a nun after having taken the "black veil" (as *per* the quotation which Mr. Britten makes from the *Spectator*), to walk, without let or hindrance, "out of the front door"?

7. Is it not true that, if a nun who has taken "solemn vows" does by any means go back to the world, and gets married, she is regarded as having committed a deadly sin, and that if she dies without repenting of that sin she will, unless canonically freed from those vows, suffer everlasting torment in Hell?

8. Is it not true that St. Alphonso de Liguori teaches the following: "*If a man is questioned about anything that it is expedient to conceal, he may reply, 'I say no,' meaning 'I say the word "no,"' and this because the word 'say' hath truly a double meaning, for which reason it is lawful, for a just cause, to use equivocation in this mode among others, and to confirm the equivocation with an oath*"? And further, "A

just cause is any honest end, in order to preserve good things for the spirit or useful things for the body."

9. Is it not also true that Liguori was canonized in Rome in 1839, and that he is regarded as a high authority on morals by the Roman Catholic Church?

If there is but one answer to these questions, and I have the gravest and most authoritative reasons for believing such to be the case—reasons which I shall be prepared to state, if necessity occurs—then I cannot see how, to use Mr. Britten's term, *The Scarlet Woman* is a monstrous book. It is true, I may have made technical errors, although I took the greatest care to avoid them, and if they are pointed out, will do my best to rectify them; but unless the history of the Jesuit Order is a figment of the imagination, and the writings of its most renowned teachers mere waste paper, my novel is not monstrous. If, I repeat, there is but one answer to the questions I have asked, then I have simply described what, under certain circumstances, is the natural outcome of the Jesuit system, and perhaps I ought to add, of the whole Roman Catholic system, when followed to its logical issue.

Yours truly, .

JOSEPH HOCKING.

EDITORIAL.—As Mr. Hocking considers he has a grievance we are willing to let him state it, but he does not improve his case. The charge against him was two-fold, (1) that he had given an excessive account of his Irish Catholic sources of information, and (2) that by his mode of depicting the characters in his romance, he had practically announced that his Catholic and Jesuit informants confessed to the justice of the ordinary ultra-Protestant conception of Jesuits and nuns.

As regards the first of these points, it now appears that the priests he saw were three Jesuit Fathers, who will doubtless be flattered by the high opinion he has conceived

of them, and one unnamed parish priest from near Killaloe. Yet these under his pen "expanded" into three apparently numerous categories—"Many Catholic priests" who "had long and interesting conversations" with him, *plus* "the heads of the Jesuit institutions" who "received (him) with boundless courtesy," *plus* "men of the highest positions in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland" who "cordially welcomed (him) and gave (him) all the information (he) desired." The rules of the Society of Jesus, which has neither monasteries nor convents, according to his present letter are all that he read, and these have become similarly "expanded" into the rules of some of the principal monasteries and convents—"I visited (he says) some of the principal monasteries and convents, read *their* rules," &c.

This first point is matter perhaps more for amusement than grave censure, though the exaggeration has its bearing on the second point, and this, if Mr. Hocking were a person to be taken seriously, is serious enough. Mr. Hocking offers to meet this second charge by proposing nine questions which he thinks we must answer to his mind. They rest chiefly on the false Protestant notion of Jesuit Obedience, on which we have written quite recently in an article bearing this name. (See *The Month* for December, 1899.¹) There is no need to answer them further now, for they barely touch on the matters for which Mr. Britten criticized them, they are full of misleading phrases, bogus quotation marks, and insinuations, to deal with which would require many words, nor are they put for their own sakes, but to draw off attention from the real points. Here are the questions Mr. Hocking should have asked, and been prepared to stand by, had he really wished to justify his book; and here are the answers they require:

1. Is it not true that Jesuit Superiors listen behind doors

¹ [Now issued as a penny pamphlet by the Catholic Truth Society.]

when outside visitors are conversing with their novices?

Answer: *No.*

2. Is it not true that Jesuit Colleges are liable to be built with the same party walls as neighbouring convents of nuns, with holes in such walls through which conversations may be held? Answer: *No.*

3. Is it not true that Jesuit confessors impose on their penitents such penances as to hold nocturnal meetings with persons of the other sex in convent gardens or elsewhere? Answer: *No.*

4. Is it not true that when a nun begins to repent of her solemn vows, not only is she not allowed to go out freely by the front door, but Jesuit Fathers conspire with Mother Superiors to imprison her in a cell, and torment her? Answer: *No.*

5. Is it not true that Jesuits have the practice of shadowing persons in whom they take an unkindly interest from end to end of the country, dressing up in disguise that they may do it the more effectually? Answer: *No.*

6. Is it not true that Jesuits have the practice of chloroforming unwelcome visitors, of abducting them, and holding them in illegal imprisonment? Answer: *No.*

7. Is it not true that "if (a leading Jesuit) wanted to kill a man he would take a similar course [*i.e.*, administer poison] except that nothing would depend on accident . . . (and) he would do it in such a way that nothing could be traced to him"? Answer: *No, there is no ground either for the statement or the implication.*

8. Is it not true that Jesuits "allow nothing to stand in the way of accomplishing their purpose . . . (and that) if ever there is an obstacle in the way of a precious soul, they remove that obstacle [which, *pace* Mr. Hocking, obviously means that they are prepared if need be to 'murder' the obstacle]"? Answer: *No.*

9. Is it not true that by representing Father Ritzoom as

the type of a leading Jesuit, after having first stated that he had prepared for his book by interviewing "the heads of the Jesuit institutions," Mr. Hocking inevitably suggests to the reader that Father Ritzoom was the sort of character he had found these to be? Answer: *Yes, although he has to confess that "not a word to which either of them (i.e., any of his Jesuit informants) gave utterance suggested to him either the characters or actions of Ritzoom or Relly in the story."* Of course the readers of *The Month* knew this already. But Mr. Hocking's Protestant readers may well not suspect it, until he repeats this confession in some of their papers.

Mr. Hocking seems more at ease when he can turn from contemporary facts with which he can be confronted, to arguments borrowed from the ordinary Protestant stock-in-trade of false history and misleading quotations. On his use of these the following observations must suffice: (1) There are some generally recognized occasions when it is difficult to protect lawful secrets, and on such occasions, and those only, whilst moralists like Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Paley, and others, teach that the proper course is to tell a plain lie, Liguori and others say you must not do that, but may use a phrase in a sense which is verbally true, though sure to be taken by the questioner in its more usual sense. For some account of this question the reader may refer to a Catholic Truth Society's tract, entitled, *Dr. Horton on Catholic Truthfulness*. Mr. Hocking must know, however, that this teaching has nothing whatever to do with the special ways of Catholics or Jesuits, or is intended to justify in any way the kind of lies he ascribes to them. (2) If Mr. Hocking will take the pains to inform himself more correctly as to the teaching of Mariana and Escobar, and as to the circumstances of the attempted assassinations of William of Orange and Henri Quatre, he will find that the Jesuits are wholly blameless of the cruel charge which originated only in the malevolence of their adversaries.

As to the use made of his private letters by the con-

tributor, Mr. Hocking must know that it was perfectly justifiable. In these letters he was supplying information which was asked for expressly with a view to a criticism of his book.

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The following letter was sent by CARDINAL VAUGHAN
to the author on receipt of a copy of the first edition:—

“ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

“WESTMINSTER, S.W.,

“September 4, 1896.

“Dear Mr. Britten,

“I have just returned and found your book of Fictions
awaiting me. I have looked into it with great laughter, and
shall recommend it to any one who wishes to see the comic
side of Protestant prejudice. It is one of the best things you
have done. I hope it will have a great circulation. I am
very grateful to you for this new contribution to our literature
and controversy. God bless you.

“Your faithful and devoted,

(Signed) “HERBERT CARD. VAUGHAN.”

THE METHODS OF A FANATIC

BY THE
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THE METHODS OF A FANATIC :

SOME COMMENTS ON MR. H. STUTFIELD'S " PRIESTCRAFT "

BY THE REV. O. R. VASSALL-PHILLIPS, C.SS.R.

IF any one is in search of an example of the method by which anti-Catholic falsehoods are wont to be propagated throughout the land and violent prejudice thereby created against Catholics and their Faith, he may find what he is seeking ready to his hand in the story of a recent episode.

Mr. H. L. Stutfield in 1921 published a book called *Priestcraft*,* filled with the bitterest attacks upon the Catholic religion. Before their actual publication in book form, several of the chapters of this work were printed in the *National Review* by Mr. Maxse, its owner and editor. In the September 1921 issue of that magazine, there appeared a chapter of Mr. Stutfield's new book entitled : *Are you a Jesuit ?*

To Catholics of course—and indeed to all right-minded people who are not prepared to think evil, without overwhelming proof, of millions of their fellow Christians—Mr. Stutfield's allegations were untrue upon the face of them ; but they were put forth in so categorical and explicit a fashion—several appearing in inverted commas in order to convey the absolutely false impression that they had been quoted textually—

*The *National Review* Office.

that Protestants, filled already with life-long prejudice against Catholics, might be forgiven if they accepted them as true. Consequently, having carefully investigated Mr. Stutfield's charges and demonstrated their untruth, I offered the *National Review* an article in which I stated the exact facts. This was refused by Mr. Maxse, on the alleged ground of want of space. In these circumstances the Editor of the *Month* printed my paper in his issue for October, 1921. Mr. Maxse has made no attempt to justify his conduct, and Mr. Stutfield has republished his slanders in book form, neither withdrawing nor attempting to justify any of them excepting a comparatively innocuous accusation against Pope Clement XIV.

Since by English Law we have no legal remedy—the slanderous calumnies are directed against the dead, or against the principles of a religious body—nothing is left but to bring the facts of the case before the notice of as wide a public as we can reach. The Editor of the *Month* has therefore kindly allowed the substance of my article to be reprinted in this pamphlet.

In the sixteenth century there flourished two moral theologians, Diana and Escobar, the first belonging to the Theatine Order, the second to the Society of Jesus. To Catholics they are but names; their works are practically inaccessible, and it is safe to say that there are not ten priests in England, nor a hundred in the world, who have ever consulted their pages. But when Pascal was engaged in his attacks upon the Society of Jesus, he attempted to justify these attacks by certain references to writings of these old theologians, con-

fessing that he had not himself ever seen them, but relying upon the word of the Jansenist Arnauld.¹ Mr. Stutfield has certainly never seen either of them ; but he has read a diatribe by a certain violent Protestant controversialist of the last century, Archdeacon K. Sinclair by name (an Anglican), and on his authority has brought terrible and quite baseless charges against these defenceless men.

Calumny I. (against Diana) (1586-1663)

Mr. Stutfield writes as follows : " Persons addicted to strong language will be interested to learn that the great Diana, Examiner of Bishops to three successive Popes, says that *a man may blaspheme freely, and without grievous offence, before five people ; if there are six or more listeners, he will be guilty of mortal sin.*" Who, we may well ask, was this Diana, thus lightly accused of incredible folly as well as wicked disregard of the law of God ? Father Slater² tells us that he was a man of noble birth who early in life entered a Religious Order—a course he would hardly have been likely to adopt if he had been recklessly indifferent to the respect due to the Divine Name. " Popes Urban VIII., Innocent X. and Alexander VII., who condemned severely certain lax opinions advanced during their pontificates, esteemed him for his learning, though according to St. Alphonsus and the common opinion of modern theologians, Diana not infrequently went too far in the direction of laxity." On the frontispiece of his *Resolutiones Morales* round a figure of the Cross we read the legend " Non ferro, sed ligno " : this was Diana's aim—to lead men to God

¹ See *Pascal's Provincial Letters*, by Hilaire Belloc, C.T.S., 2d.

² See article *Diana* in *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, iv. 773.

not by rigid iron, but by the sweet wood of the Cross. What can be the ground of Mr. Stutfield's grotesque accusation against such a man?

Mr. Stutfield gives no reference for the passage he professes to quote; but after much laborious search I discovered that in his treatise on Reserved Sins (Tom. I. Tract. 5. *De aliquibus Reservatis atque eorum absolutione*. Resol. lii. p. 297), Diana discusses incidentally the question as to what constitutes *public* blasphemy. It should be explained to readers who are not Catholics that by a "reserved sin" is understood a sin which can ordinarily be absolved only by the Bishop of the penitent if the sin has been "reserved" by the Bishop, and only by the Pope if the sin has been "reserved" by the Pope. There is no question whatever of the *guilt* of sin, but only of its "reservation" by ecclesiastical authority. Moreover it is a recognized principle of Canon Law that all question of reservation (as distinct from guilt) must be interpreted "strictly"—as indeed equity demands to be the case with regard to all penalties. All this being understood—as Diana, of course, took it for granted that it would be understood by all his readers—we may turn to his solution of a difficulty that presented itself to his mind. He states it as follows:

We have here to remark, by the way, that the reserved case of blasphemy concerns blasphemy which is public and habitual. The difficulty that arises is as to what constitutes public blasphemy. I reply that where a blasphemy is pronounced in the presence of at least six persons, there you will find public blasphemy—for that which is uttered in the presence of five people is said to be almost private.

Here we have the foundation for Mr. Stutfield's

statement that Diana teaches that "a man may blaspheme *freely, and without grievous offence* before five people; if there are six, or more, listeners he will be guilty of mortal sin"!

Diana, it must be remembered, was writing for the use of confessors. Obviously there was no use in telling them that a sin was not reserved unless it was public, without explaining what constitutes publicity. Diana suggests that blasphemy is not public and therefore not reserved unless at least six people are present—as it seems to me, a very reasonable and moderate opinion.

When Mr. Stutfield's attention was drawn in the *Month* to these facts, he contented himself with writing to me: "As to Diana, sin was only reserved to the Pope if it was a heinous one?" Undoubtedly, but does Mr. Stutfield really imagine that it follows from this that no sin is heinous, unless it be reserved to the Pope, and that therefore blasphemy in the presence of five people was not judged by Diana to be heinous (or mortal), because he held that it was not reserved? If he does not mean this, it is impossible to see any relevance in his observation. Mr. Stutfield has published this calumny in his book without correction.

Calumny II. (against Diana)

Mr. Stutfield writes "Both Diana and Escobar thought it hard lines that a priest should be excommunicated merely because he laid aside his habit" to commit certain enormous sins.

Answer—Both Diana and Escobar hold, as we shall see, that excommunication is *not* incurred under such

circumstances. They therefore could have had no reason for pitying the criminal.

In the days of Diana, a monk or friar who laid aside his habit, became what is known technically as an apostate, and incurred excommunication. It is obvious that this extreme penalty would not be incurred merely by a casual laying aside of the habit; therefore Diana discusses under what circumstances and for how long a time the habit has to be put off, to incur the legal penalty. Having laid it down that a Religious did not incur excommunication who failed to wear his habit in his room, or in any other private place—that he might study or rest the better, nor, were he to do so “out of levity—for example, to run or play the better”—he adds: “Nay more, I hold that a Religious does not incur the above-mentioned excommunication, even if he does so ‘ut eat ad lupanar ad fornicandum, vel ut secreto furetur’—provided he assume it again immediately afterwards.” There is not here one syllable about Diana “thinking it hard lines” that a Religious be excommunicated for these offences. Indeed, how could he, when asserting that the offender does not incur the excommunication at all? Self-contradiction would seem to matter little to Mr. Stutfield, if he can thereby indulge in some grotesque caricature of his author’s meaning.

I do not know what Mr. Stutfield may think of my laxity, or rather of the laxity of our modern Canon Law, if I state the fact that, at present, excommunication is not incurred by a Religious laying aside his habit under any circumstances whatsoever, provided he does not intend absolutely to abandon his Order—however grave

and deplorable may be the sin that he commits. Yet, as Mr. Belloc observes :

If you say that a man is not excommunicated who has put on lay dress when he was occupied in some evil work, you are not approving the evil work, nor his disguise. What you are saying is that it does not fall into the particular category of that open renunciation of the habit which was envisaged in the decree of excommunication. So a soldier may be shot for desertion ; if you say that mutiny is not desertion, you are not, therefore, excusing mutiny."¹

Notwithstanding this having been brought to his notice, Mr Stutfield has in his book republished the slander as it stood in his article,

Calumny III. (against Escobar)

Mr. Stutfield writes :

I append a few doctrinal gems from the divines upon whose treatises Liguori's monumental *Theologia Moralis* is based. Escobar, one of the greatest Jesuits, was *great on the veniality of "short sins."* He saw no particular harm, for instance, in a priest's laying aside his clerical vestments to visit a house of ill-fame, but says that he must not stay longer than one hour. *If he exceeds that time, he sins mortally.*

Now, who was Escobar against whom this unspeakably vile charge has been brought more than three centuries after his death ?

Escobar (1589-1669), like Diana, left the world with all its pleasures at the age of sixteen. We read in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (v. 534) that his writings "are recognised as classical and challenge criticism as far as their

¹ Belloc *op. cit.* p. 9. I advise my readers to obtain this pamphlet. They will then see for themselves how untrustworthy is the source from which so many anti-Catholic controversialists have drawn much of their ammunition.

orthodoxy is concerned. Pascal's efforts to fasten the charge of laxity on Escobar's 'Manual of Cases of Conscience' are too base and cowardly to merit serious consideration." He was in his day a famous preacher, as well as moralist; the Catalogue of the British Museum Library informs us that he published several commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, as well as books of devotion.

Answer.—Mr. Stutfield in his article gave no reference for his calumnies; but as the result of correspondence referred me to a quotation given by Archdeacon Sinclair from a work not to be found in the British Museum Library. When at last, after much search, I obtained access to this very rare book, I found that Escobar expressly states that of course a grave sin has been committed (according to its own malice); but, like Diana, he holds that there was no excommunication incurred by the laying aside of the *Habit* (not of "clerical vestments") unless the commission of the sin of *itself* involved excommunication. In other words, the mere assuming of mufti for a short period (Escobar says "an hour") did not then involve excommunication; nor does it do so now in any religious body in the world.

I may add that, though Mr. Stutfield writes that "Escobar was great on the veniality of 'short sins,'" I read through another Manual of Moral Theology by Escobar which I found at Downside without finding any Latin expression that could be translated "short sins." I do not believe that Escobar, or any other theologian, has ever used the expression "*peccata brevia*," and I challenge Mr. Stutfield to produce a single instance.

Calumny IV. (against St. Alphonsus de' Liguori)

“ Liguori also holds that a just cause (the good of the Church is such a case) forms a sufficient justification for various reprehensible actions ” (1).

In other words, we are told that St. Alphonsus holds that the end justifies reprehensible or evil means ; this is the old charge, a thousand times repeated, brought so often against the Catholic Religion, and especially (without the slightest reason) against the Jesuits.¹

Answer.—Catholic Theology teaches that the morality of an act depends upon (1) The nature of the act itself ; (2) Its circumstances ; (3) The end for which it is done. It is an axiom that an act is good only if there be nothing forbidden either in the nature of the act, or in its circumstances, or in the end in view ; but wrong and sinful, if there be anything sinful either in its nature, or in its circumstances, or in its end (*bonum ex integra causa malum ex quocumque defectu*. In judging the nature of an act, we must remember that some acts are good in themselves, some evil ; some (most of the actions of life) are in themselves “ indifferent ” : evil actions are always forbidden—“ indifferent ” actions become good only when their circumstances as well as the end in view are good. This is the unanimous teaching of all Catholic theologians—Jesuits of course included. For example, Fr. Noldin, S.J., writes : “ It is then manifest that a man would sin against the very first principles of morality, were he to teach that the end sanctifies the means—that is to say, that a good end makes an action good which is evil either in itself, or by reason

¹ See *Does the End Justify the Means ?* by the Rev. J. Gerard, S.J. C.T.S., 2d.

of its circumstances ; for though a good end may bring it about that an action becomes good when it is ' indifferent ' either in itself or in its circumstances, it can *never* make a bad action good." (*De actibus moralibus* 768).

In other words, no end can ever sanctify (or justify) evil means. I put this to Mr. Stutfield as follows :

Neither St. Alphonsus, nor any other Catholic writer, has ever held that either " the good of the Church," or any other cause whatsoever, forms a sufficient, or any, justification for any action that is in itself evil—that is to say, forbidden by the Law of God. For example, no cause will ever justify bearing false witness against our neighbour, or untruthfulness—a lesson which I trust that Mr. Stutfield, if he will condescend to learn from a mere Papist, will lay to heart. On the other hand, it must be clear to all that there are many actions, not in themselves evil, which would indeed be " reprehensible " if performed without a cause, but which are amply justified (sometimes, indeed, become obligatory upon the conscience) where there is " a just (that is an adequate) cause."

For example, it is lawful to shoot a man in one's own self-defence—a duty for a soldier in a just war ; it is lawful for a surgeon to amputate a limb. Without a just and adequate cause, to kill my neighbour is an act of murder, to mutilate the body (of myself or another) is a crime against God and man. Examples to the same effect might be multiplied indefinitely, and will occur to the meanest intelligence. Mr. Stutfield's mare's-nests are manufactured by his brain, because he will not read the authorities whom he criticizes so

freely, nor master their principles and the meaning of the technical terms which they employ. This is the only possible excuse that can be made for him. It would be generally recognized to be a poor excuse indeed, if urged on behalf of critics who were ignorantly to calumniate the works of medical or scientific men—or of Protestant moralists. Cardinal Newman pointed out long ago how easy it would be, by following the methods that Mr. Stutfield has so complacently assimilated, to make nonsense of the writings of our great authorities on constitutional law—by, for example, taking out of its true context and meaning such an axiom as “The King can do no wrong.”

Moral Theology is a science. Before any man can hope to understand the works of moral theologians he must understand the first principles of their science and its terminology. Mr. Stutfield’s hopeless misunderstanding of that which is clear to anyone who has ever studied Jesuit or other Catholic authors exemplifies this fact, and shows the danger of accepting calumnies second or third hand.

Calumny V. (against St. Alphonsus)

A further example of Mr. Stutfield’s methods may be found in another assertion in the note from which I have already quoted :

By the way, I quoted in my former book Liguori’s statement that it is not a *grievous offence* for a son to steal a moderate amount from a rich parent (see *Theologia Moralis* iii. 543), I now learn that the amount *that may be so stolen* varies with the rate of exchange ; that is to say, if it was permissible for the son before the war to steal £5 from his father, he *might now presumably help himself* to a larger number of Bradburys.

Answer.—In the passage quoted from St. Alphonsus, the question concerns *mortal sin*. Every Catholic theologian holds not only that to steal any amount, however small, from a parent or from anybody else is always sinful, but also that sin known technically as “venial” (*i.e.*, in comparison with “mortal” sin) is the gravest evil in this world next to mortal sin, and deserves purgatory in the next. St. Alphonsus gives no special teaching of his own on the subject of stealing from parents, but gives the ordinary teaching, endorsing the statement of Busenbaum, on whose work he is commenting: “Filius peccat graviter, invitis parentibus, notabilem summam accipiens” (a son sins mortally by taking a considerable sum from his parents against their will). He adds that it is not always a *mortal sin* if a son takes an amount from his father—provided it be not really large—which might constitute a mortal sin if taken from a stranger; the reason being given “quod parens sit minus invitus, et filius sit aliquid patris” (the father is less unwilling than others, and the son forms as it were part of his father). Whatever we may think of this doctrine—and it seems to me that few will quarrel with it who bear in mind that the essence of theft consists in taking another’s goods *against his will*—it concerns only the distinction between mortal sin and sin which is still sin, though it does not doom the unrepentant sinner to Hell. Yet, Mr. Stutfield writes complacently about its being “*permissible* for the son before the war to steal,” and “*presumably*” permissible to steal now. “*Presumably*” in whose view? one wonders. Certainly in no Catholic’s.

Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Stutfield has reprinted in his book his grotesque misrepresentations of Catholic moral teaching in general and in particular his calumnies against St. Alphonsus—*i.e.*, that St. Alphonsus teaches that “the good of the Church forms a sufficient justification for various reprehensible actions,” after it has been carefully pointed out to him that St. Alphonsus teaches nothing of the kind but the exact opposite, and that after the war, in accordance with the teaching of St. Alphonsus, “it is permissible for a son to help himself to his father’s Bradburys.”

Calumny VI. (against Pope Clement XIV.)

It is well known that Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus. The Pope considered himself compelled to take this course, in order to avoid what he considered even greater evils that might have come from the persecution threatened by the Bourbon Courts ; but we are here concerned not with the causes of the suppression, but with Mr. Stutfield.

(1). Of course Mr. Stutfield gives no references, but I feel sure that the sentence placed in brackets is interpolated to stir up prejudice.

Mr. Stutfield wrote as follows :

The Pope stigmatized the practices and precepts of the Order as “so absolutely infamous and demoralizing that I do not wish to use the language which is necessary to describe them.” He therefore said that he was compelled to do his duty to God, to the Church, and to the World, and abolish the Order, even though it might be at the cost of his own life.

It is difficult to believe, but it is the fact that there is not a word in the Brief in any way corresponding to

all this. The words placed by Mr. Stutfield in "quotes" are not to be found there, nor any words in any way like them, nor does the Pope say a syllable about risking his life.

When I pointed this out to Mr. Stutfield he wrote to me as follows: "I am satisfied that certain expressions I attributed to Clement XIV. are of doubtful authenticity, and I have therefore altered them in accordance with the *Bullarium Romanum*. I hope they will be in time for the book."

This is the one and only withdrawal with which we can credit Mr. Stutfield. His answer is characteristic. He says not a word of apology or regret for his calumnies—for example, for stating that Clement XIV. said "he was compelled to abolish this Order, even though it might be at the cost of his own life," plainly insinuating that he was in fear of being murdered by those Jesuits—though he acknowledges that he cannot bring any proof of their authenticity.

The only possible explanation of this is that Mr. Stutfield is of opinion that any means, "however reprehensible," are lawful if the end be to calumniate a Pope and cast uninvited odium upon his supposed enemies, the Jesuits—in fact he himself acts on the principle falsely attributed to the Jesuits, that "the end justifies the means."

Mr. Stutfield's article is full of various inaccuracies and absurdities. For example, he has written not only that St. Alphonsus is "the darling of the Jesuits," but also that "the Society was instrumental in obtaining his canonization. Moreover, it induced Pius IX. to make him one of the nineteen great Doctors of

the Church, and heaped on his head every possible honour." As a matter of sober fact, the Society of Jesus was not in existence when the cause of St. Alphonsus's canonization was introduced ; while no Religious Order, however powerful, can induce the Pope to declare a Saint to be a Doctor of the Church. In the case of St. Alphonsus, between 1865 and 1870, over seven hundred Bishops, Archbishops and Cardinals, several Universities, and *twenty-five Heads of Religious Orders*, prayed the Pope to confer this honour on the great moral theologian. So that Father Beckx, the General of the Jesuits, in petitioning the Pope to this effect, only represented one Religious Order out of many, and specifically relied in his request upon the petitions of Bishops throughout the world.

Though this was pointed out to Mr. Stutfield, he has republished these false statements in his book. Has he any regard for his own reputation when he declares the Jesuits were "interested" in obtaining the canonisation of a Saint, although it has been proved to him that at the time the Society of Jesus was not in existence ?

These few comments may serve to show Catholics what prejudices still exist amongst their fellow countrymen and how these prejudices are fed. May we hope that they will open the eyes of non-Catholics as well ?

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"The Decay of the Church of Rome"

BY THE
REV. JOSEPH KEATING, S.J.



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SOME REFLECTIONS ON MR. McCABE'S "THE DECAY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME"

BY THE REV. JOSEPH KEATING, S.J.

ONLY last March an orator² at the National Free Church Council thrilled his audience by describing what he called "The Alarming Development of Modern Romanism"—a portent which, according to the testimony of a kindred spirit,³ was "burning and working in the minds of millions of quiet Englishmen," to the grievous disturbance, no doubt, of their rest and their digestions. But now in August arises another prophet to banish the spectre evoked by the first, and to bring peace to the Rome-haunted minds of the Hockings and the Hortons and the millions aforesaid. A certain Mr. McCabe has written a large book,⁴ full of facts and figures, of deductions and comparisons, of analyses, tests, and generalizations, the purpose and upshot of which is to demonstrate that, so far from increasing in England, the Church of Rome is in a

¹ Reprinted from *The Month*, October, 1909.

² Mr. Joseph Hocking at Swansea, March 10, 1909.

³ Dr. Horton in *The Daily News*, March 15, 1909.

⁴ *The Decay of the Church of Rome*. By Joseph McCabe. London : Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.

process of speedy decay, both there and all over the world. It is a book sure of a wide welcome, because it aims at stilling the doubts and satisfying the desires of that multitude of people to whom the continued existence of the Catholic Church seems a menace or a reproach. It will, doubtless, prove a godsend to writers in the less reputable Protestant journals, never too careful in their choice of material in their desire to besmirch Catholicity, and we are not sure that our Anglican friends will not allow their prejudice against things Roman to blind them to the real purpose and the questionable methods of the author.

It certainly makes a brave show, does this thick volume, with its air of moderation and scientific impartiality, and, were they as thoughtless and liable to panic, it might possibly cause amongst "Romanists" as much alarm as Mr. Hocking's diatribe did amongst the Free Church Council. But we fancy such announcements have been made too often to cause a shock to any member of the ancient Church. They have been heard at every desperate crisis of her history, at each stage in her age-long fight with the world, when her powerful foe has seemed to be successful at last, but, as often as uttered, they have been falsified by the event. And, even without this light from the past, we may scan Mr. McCabe's pages of carefully-marshalled statistics with nerves quite unruffled, for our belief in the perpetuity and indefectibility of the Church does not rest on numerical computations, but on a certain saying of Him whose word shall not pass away.

To do him justice, Mr. McCabe has some apprehension that he may be taken merely as the latest of a very long line of false prophets, for he is at pains to describe his method as something hitherto untried,

and he claims to have discovered in our modern world the presence of certain "new and subtle forces,"¹ whose effect on the Church will surely be "thoroughly and once for all, and for the very last time, and for ever and ever, to annihilate her once more."² However little of the history of the Church he knew, he could not be unaware of those features of her career developed with such brilliant emphasis by Macaulay in his famous essay. He must have felt that an institution which has survived nineteen centuries and has passed, with essential features unchanged and with vitality unimpaired, through such trials as the early persecutions, the recurrent State-fostered heresies, the barbarian invasions, the Great Schism, the corruption of the Renaissance, the revolts of the sixteenth century, Jansenism, the French Revolution, the destruction of the Temporal Power, possesses a source of life and a secret of recuperation quite beyond the reach of ordinary human vicissitudes. Still, he does not hesitate to imply that it has been reserved to him in these late days to discover what so many generations of subtle and powerful and bitter foes have missed—the real weakness of the Roman system and the signs that betoken its speedy decay. The claim is certainly not wanting in hardihood, and its very boldness has imposed upon various indolent reviewers, who have hastened to take Mr. McCabe at his own valuation and to give him, as the soldiers did the famous cobbler of Köpenick, their unquestioning adherence. More thoughtful, less prejudiced, readers will pause before they believe that the world has only now found a weapon hitherto unused with which to accomplish the destruction of its ancient enemy.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 2.

² Newman, *Present Position of Catholics*, Lect. I, § 1

It may be asked why we should trouble to examine these latest pretensions in any detail when we know beforehand that they must be illusory: why we do not allow *The Decay of the Church of Rome* to pass in silence to its place on the anti-Catholic shelf, to be perused with a pitying smile by far-off generations of our declining Church. Well, it is certainly not out of regard for the intrinsic value of the argument, nor, be it said without offence, for the literary standing of the author, that we devote a few pages to the consideration of this volume. It is rather because it gives occasion for a re-statement of the true nature of the Catholic Church, an idea misunderstood and obscured not only by free-thinkers like Mr. McCabe, but also by many modern heretics who seek to mould Christianity to suit their philosophic theories. The book, besides, gives a useful insight into the "After-Christian"¹ mind, illustrating its prepossessions, as well as the arguments and historical views that weigh with it; and again, so far as its facts and inferences are sound, it indicates the character of the fight which the Church of the future will have to wage, when the disruptive tendencies of the Protestant principle have fully worked themselves out. And furthermore, we can gather from these bitterly hostile pages a useful and stimulating idea of the forces at work in various lands which have the overthrow of the Church as their main object.

The plan of the book, then, is briefly this. Mr. McCabe, himself holding no form of creed but contemplating all, looks abroad over the Christian world, taking particular notice of the historic Church of

¹ "After-Christians"—the term is defined by Mr. C. S. Devas in *The Key to the World's Progress*—are those, or the descendants of those, who have passed through Christian influence and rejected it for something that seemed to them better.

Rome. Regarding that Church he asks himself—is her membership increasing in proportion to the increase of the earth's population, or does it maintain the same percentage, or is it falling short of it? In answering these queries, he discards, of course, the *à priori* methods, which have led, he considers, many previous prophets astray. The state of Catholicity, he maintains, is not to be ascertained by considering whether that religion is the best fitted to satisfy the spiritual or emotional cravings of men, or to solve their mental questionings; nor even by studying its past history, which records so many unexpected triumphs. Its actual condition, in his view, can only be rightly determined by trying to estimate what number of Catholics there actually are and whether that number falls short of, or exceeds, the number there ought to be, supposing the Church to have held her own. For this purpose the only fitting method is that of collecting and classifying and analyzing statistics; to statistics, accordingly, Mr. McCabe betakes himself, considering separately, for clearness' sake, the Latin world (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Spanish America), the English-speaking world (the British Isles, the United States, the British Colonies), and the Germanic world (the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland). A minor sub-division is devoted to Russia, and Foreign Missions fall under one or other of the main headings. The author takes the estimated Church-membership of these various countries, and subjects it to various tests, with comments dictated by his own experience, by the views of his authorities, and by what purport to be glimpses of contemporary history. Having by these means reduced it to what he thinks a reasonable figure, he then calculates what

it ought to be at the natural rate of increase, going back for the purpose to the middle of last century,¹ and, as a result, he has no difficulty in pointing out a very grave deficit. His conclusion, which he claims to be capable of "rigid demonstration," is stated as follows² :—

"Instead of showing signs of increase, the Church of Rome is rapidly decaying, and only a dramatic³ change of its whole character can save it from ruin."

Now, with regard to the first part of Mr. McCabe's thesis we may remark that, if it is at all true, it points to a decay not of Catholicism only but of all belief in revealed religion. The author concentrates his attention on the Catholic Church, but in reality what he seeks to prove is the decline of Christianity. For it cannot be seriously doubted that, if decay is at work in the chief upholder of the dogmatic principle, revelation is being discredited all along the line. And, as a matter of fact, however it be with Catholicity, we have explicit testimony from the various Protestant bodies that, as far as numbers go, such is the case with practically all of them. Statistics of church-attendance, of baptisms, confirmations, and ordinations, point, we are told, to a steady and even rapid falling off. And so we think it rather disingenuous in Mr. McCabe to imply, as he does,⁴ that it is merely Catholicism and not Christianity as a whole that he

¹ P. 6. Sometimes he reckons a whole century back : his whole time-limit is vague and arbitrary.

² P. 5.

³ Why *dramatic*? We may notice that the second part of this proposition is not provable by statistics, but is merely a conjecture of Mr. McCabe's, quite incapable of "rigid demonstration."

⁴ "Rome has now far less than 200,000,000 followers : the Protestant Churches have some 300,000,000" (p. 4). Of course, as a man may disbelieve in Christ's Divinity and other fundamental doctrines of Christianity and still be reckoned a Protestant, the latter figures have no real significance.

thinks is declining. Still, the good man had to write a saleable book, one that would attract public attention and flatter popular prejudice, and so he does not head it, as he just as well might, "The Decay of Revealed Religion." It would attract still less attention were he to describe the decline of Anglicanism or of Methodism, or to indicate that the Particular Baptists are becoming more particular or the Peculiar People more peculiar still. So he singles out the one institution that embodies the whole essence and principle of Christianity, convinced that, if only he can demonstrate its decay, he has *eo ipso* proved the spread of the contrary principle, the spirit of atheistic free-thought.

This book, then, is to be regarded as a piece of rationalist propaganda—a fact which must be borne in mind if we are rightly to judge of its methods and of its results. It is also necessary, since no critical effort can be properly appreciated without a knowledge of the credentials of the critic, to devote a few lines to Mr. McCabe personally, pointing out his peculiar standpoint and discussing his first principles, on the correctness of which the value of his judgement must depend. He professes, indeed, an absolute impartiality, a strictly scientific attitude, an almost unnatural moderation.¹ The publisher's "puff," on the wrapper of the book, even ascribes to him a "detached sociological temper," as if sociological study *could* be dissociated from theories of man's origin and destiny. Let us carefully inquire into the validity of these lofty claims.

First of all, then, antecedently, the author is known as a vigorous upholder of the system of free-thought. One of his objects in life, if not the chief, is to popularize in this country the materialistic philosophy

¹ See especially pp. 9, 299, 308.

of Professor Haeckel, whose writings form the Gospel of his creed. And, furthermore, Mr. McCabe is not only an unbeliever, but he is a man who once believed, one who was once a Catholic priest and a Religious. We are not concerned with the moral causes or consequences of his change, which are properly his own affair: our one object in mentioning these details is to ascertain his intellectual point of view. He, indeed, makes no secret of his antecedents: on the contrary, we gather from his frequent references to his *Twelve Years in a Monastery*, from his describing himself as "formerly the Very Rev. Father Anthony" that he regards his career as a progress from darkness to light, of which he has no reason to feel ashamed. Be that as it may, in virtue of that career he must have approached his present study with the strongest possible bias against the institution whose fortunes he contemplates. If sincere in his present belief he must regard the Church of Rome as a stronghold of degrading superstitions, based upon illusion, falsehood, violence, and fraud, and maintained by ignorance and "obscurantism." He must look upon its claims as a monstrous obstacle in the way of human progress and must welcome every seeming indication of its decay. Such is necessarily the temper of mind of the convinced and ardent rationalist, for "Rome" stands as the negation of his most cherished ideals. How then, we ask, could prepossessions such as these permit a really unprejudiced estimate of the character and history and future of the Church?

* In *Who's Who*. We must protest, however, against the assertion made in the publisher's "puff" aforesaid, that Mr. McCabe once occupied "a high position in the Church of Rome," with the implication that he is therefore exceptionally well qualified to judge of her decay. Ecclesiastically, his status never rose above that of a simple priest, although in his Order he was given charge of a small preparatory school for a short time.

And as we should antecedently expect it, so we find it. There is little sign of impartiality about the work, or, rather, signs are not wanting but the substance is. And this, notwithstanding its professedly statistical character, for even statistics can be made to take colour according to the views of their manipulator. However, without accusing Mr. McCabe of consciously distorting his figures, we can trace the partizan in nearly every page of the book. For it is not wholly statistical: Mr. McCabe philosophizes freely, he describes events, he suggests causes, he traces results, he selects authorities, he narrates anecdotes, and all under the influence of such bitter prejudice that the whole volume, which one sapient reviewer finds "wholly free from controversial bias,"¹ positively reeks with anti-Catholic animus. Not without reason is it elsewhere² remarked that Mr. McCabe has turned "King's Evidence." A few examples must suffice to illustrate our charge, although many pages could be filled with them. In no case does he touch modern history without betraying the rankest anti-clericalism, as thus:—

"In Spain, secure in the general illiteracy of the people, the Church of Rome has retained to our day the open sale of Indulgences that inflamed the moral sense of northern Europe four centuries ago."³

The following, again, is his facile explanation of the French Government's war upon the Religious Orders; its cynical disaccord with facts will be very evident to

¹ In *The Spectator*, August 28, 1909.

² In *Truth*, September 8, 1909.

³ P. 12. He elaborates this impudent assertion still more unblushingly on p. 92, and without the excuse of ignorance, for he shows he has read the clear explanation of the Spanish practice given in the C.T.S. tract, *Are Indulgences sold in Spain?*

readers of the C.T.S. shilling volume—*The Crisis of the Church in France*.

“Besides this huge capital locked up in mortmain [the milliard, forsooth!] many of the congregations had enormous incomes. The *French nation* determined to put an end to this irritating and economically unhealthy state of things, and the Orders were mostly expelled, *after being allowed time to realize their property.*”¹

We notice throughout the secularist assumption that what is legal and harmless in the case of ordinary corporations, becomes noxious when the corporations have a religious object. Moreover, trusting to his readers' ignorance of Canon Law, or, it may be, in virtue of his own ignorance, Mr. McCabe endeavours to cast odium on French monks and nuns, by insinuating² that no Orders can, with due regard to their religious obligations, hold property either individually *or collectively*; the truth, of course, being that, since the Council of Trent,³ all Religious Orders can own property collectively, with the sole exception of the Capuchins and Friars Observant. The ordinary practice of employing *prête-noms* or lay substitutes in the tenure of property is simply adopted to comply with the requirements of civil codes which do not recognize Canon Law. Some elementary knowledge of the subject might have saved us several pages of sneering comment on the part of our unfrocked friar, whose bias against the religious state is deplorably evident all through his book.⁴

¹ P. 35. Italics ours throughout.

² Pp. 35-37.

³ Sess. 25, c. 3.

⁴ For instance—“They [the religious congregations] performed no service in the least proportionate to the vast wealth they accumulated, and they were instinctively disloyal to the form of government that has proved best for the country” (p. 38).

Here, again, is the sort of evidence he offers for his strictures on Papal policy :—

“*It is recorded* that Leo XIII said to the Archbishop of Albi when he came to pay his annual (*sic*) visit, ‘Well, monseigneur, is it to be schism?’ ‘Ça dépend’ (*sic*), the Archbishop *is reported* to have said.”¹

Thus is history (and French) *à la McCabe* written.² Similarly, in his chapter on Italy, he makes much of unsavoury gossip, collected at third and fourth hand, to vilify the authorities at Rome.

It were a loathsome, it is happily an unnecessary, task to cite further evidences of the bitter and wholly unscientific bias of our impartial sociologist. He gives the usual anti-Catholic version of the religious history of modern Europe. Everywhere the Church appears the same, corrupt, reactionary, blundering, narrow-minded, selfish, despotic, the foe to civil freedom, to education, to progress. He cites Mr. Michael M’Carthy as his authority for the religious state of Ireland; he quotes the excommunicated Murri as “one of the chief Catholic protagonists” in Italy! His pages abound with stories to the discredit of the Church, but he gives no references or means of checking them. He groups together all the shortcomings of the Catholic nations—racial, social, educa-

¹ P. 39.

² P. 65. A further instance of gross historical inaccuracy may be seen in the following: “In the reign of Charles X [1824–1830] a zealous, astute, intriguing body spread throughout the kingdom [France] under the name of the ‘Peccaminaristes’ [*sic*]. Every child knew that they were the followers of St. Ignatius” (p. 19). Every serious historical student, at any rate, should know that the “Paccanarists” were not Jesuits, but a body of priests instituted by the Abbé Paccanari during the period of the suppression of the Society and dissolved a few years after its informal restoration in 1803. If the zealous and astute Jesuits were intriguing during the reign of Charles, it was under their own name.

tional, political—and ascribes them all to their religion and to the tyranny of the priests. When it suits his argument he calls attention to the superior morality of Catholics in prohibiting any restriction on the fruits of marriage: on the other hand, he has the impudence to assert more than once that Catholic countries and districts show a larger percentage of illegitimate births.¹ In his longing to damage the Church, he does not shrink from statements which are manifestly silly in their wild exaggeration, as when he says:—

“They [Modernist heretics] have been betrayed by *thousands of priests* whom they know, and many of us [who are *we*?] know, to be in *complete* sympathy with them.”²

Even Mr. Arthur Galton’s lively imagination did not venture beyond a hundred or so crypto-heretics in the priesthood.³

But we have spent quite enough time to show Mr. McCabe’s initial incompetence for the task he undertook and how it has affected his performance of it. Another volume bigger than his own would be required to point out and correct all his errors. It remains now to examine, as briefly as we may, the result of his labours, and to determine whether, in spite of his methods, he has made any contribution of value to this important sociological investigation.

In his original proposition, we may remember, he asserted that “the Church of Rome is rapidly decaying.” Now, by decay it is clear that he means mere

¹ Not even the fair fame of the women of Ireland is safe from his cowardly slanders, unsupported by any evidence. In the case of Austria-Hungary, the nation is assumed to be Catholic when the statistics of illegitimacy are concerned, whereas the whole aim of his chapter is to show that the number of lapsed Catholics there is enormous.

² P. 306.

³ See *The Tablet*, August 28, 1909, “Mr. Galton as a Prophet.”

decrease in numbers. He makes no effort to show that she has become corrupt in doctrine, that she has ceased to possess the spirit and to reflect the mind of her Founder ; in fact, by stating that "a dramatic change in her whole character" is necessary to save her from ruin, he bears testimony to her consistency. If she is to remain immortal, to use his not inapt epigram, she cannot remain immutable. What are we to say to that ? Well, it is clear that wide fluctuations of numbers have marked her whole career. It is a necessary feature to her human lot, indicative of nothing but of the freedom of man's will and the strength of man's pride and passion. "But," replies Mr. McCabe in effect, "hitherto losses have been compensated for by gains ; in recent times it has not been so : during the last century, the loss has been incessant and increasing, without any substantial offset." And if we say—"Well, what is a century in the life of the immortal Church ?" he invokes triumphantly the agency of these "new and subtle forces," on the discovery of which, as we have seen, he rests his claim to stand apart from the ordinary prophet of Rome's decline, and to figure as a genuine seer. These forces we shall turn to in a moment ; meanwhile, on the question of numbers, without attempting to check in detail Mr. McCabe's statistics, we may offer some reasons why they should be considered in the main untrustworthy.

To start with, Mr. McCabe's whole basis of computation seems to us wholly arbitrary. Why does he limit his survey, roughly, to the last century ? And why does he ascribe to the Church of to-day the results of defections which occurred so many years ago ? "Decay" of this sort is accumulative : one apostate a century ago may be represented at the

present moment by a hundred non-Catholic descendants. If he applied his system logically, he should reckon from the time when practically all Christendom was Catholic, and he should count, therefore, among the Church's losses the 300,000,000 he claims for Protestantism to-day. This logical application shows his contention to be absurd. It is no reproach to the Church and no sign of the untenableness of her doctrine, *i.e.*, of her decay, that millions who have no real knowledge of her claims do not accept them. When Mr. McCabe can tell us how many persons there are now living who, having been Catholics and having carefully examined the tenets of the Church, have *for clear and creditable reasons* rejected them, then we shall have material for judging of the alleged decay of "Rome." Till then, his sums in addition and subtraction have mainly an arithmetical interest.

Once more, Mr. McCabe has quite an erroneous notion of what constitutes membership of the Church. He knows that Catholics are bound to hear Mass on Sundays and to go to their Easter duties, under pain of grievous sin. He knows, besides, that Catholics hold that to die in grievous sin is to incur eternal damnation. Thereupon, he argues, with the lack of logic that mars so much of his writing, Catholics who neglect the grave obligation must have ceased to believe in the grave penalty, and so must have rejected an article of faith and put themselves out of the Church. Such, we conceive, is his argument, for he mentions Mass-attendance over and over again as a test of Catholic *belief*.¹ In his anxiety to reduce the number of "Rome's adherents" our statistician fails to realize that, according to his logic, no member of the Church could commit a mortal sin without

¹ Cf. pp. 23, 141, 142.

thereby ceasing to be a Catholic. If ex-Father Anthony has so completely forgotten his theology, his experience of human nature at any rate should have taught him that there is no necessary connection between belief and practice, between faith and works—a fact which has been the theme of moralists from the beginning of time. *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. The Church, too, from the start has included both sinners and the righteous. According to the idea of her Founder, she is as a net gathering together all kinds of fishes, and as a wheat-field wherein the enemy has over-sowed cockle. The ordinary life of many of her members is a series of risings and relapses, according as grace or nature gains the upper hand in their life-long contest. If she has been endowed with so many wonderful gifts, if she is so prolific in loving devices, it is mainly to recall the erring to her fold and to strengthen the wavering. So long, therefore, as the sinner does not put himself outside her pale by the formal rejection of some point of faith (an act which means the rejection of faith altogether), so long will she wait in patience and pray with hope for his recovery. While faith lasts, grace has material to work upon, there is a chance of a return to love, the state of the soul is not desperate.*

And so with Mr. McCabe's leave she must have back again those multitudes of careless livers of whom he would deprive her because *hic et nunc* they are not as

* Mr. McCabe, and the tribe of anti-Catholic controversialists who think with him that the Church is responsible for all the delinquencies of the mixed multitudes that form her visible body, would do well to clarify their ideas by the perusal of those two luminous essays of Newman—*The Social State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church*, and *The Religious State of Catholic Countries no Prejudice to the Sanctity of the Church*—both published at 1d. by the C.T.S.

good as they ought to be. *He* may try, if he likes, to break the bruised reed and to quench the smoking flax ; that is not the spirit of our tender mother, the Catholic Church. Of course she is not proud of such children ; they are no credit to her : there is no human organization but would gladly cast them off : but so long as they believe in her, although at the moment they do not obey her, she will not, she cannot, reject them. Mr. McCabe's estimates, therefore, so far as they involve this fundamental error, need fundamental revision. Not until he can show us that all those who do not now practise their religion will never again practise it, will he be justified in reckoning them as lost to the Church.¹

It seems hardly worth while to point out further fallacies in Mr. McCabe's treatment of statistics. He pursues several distinct lines of proof, but in each we find some flaw of greater or less consequence. We may, perhaps, call attention to a few. He assumes that, because of the absence of "race suicide" amongst conscientious Catholics, the Catholic rate of reproduction is greater than the non-Catholic, but he makes no allowance for unconscientious Catholics, nor, indeed, for conscientious non-Catholics. He ignores, moreover, the fact that the practice of voluntary celibacy amongst Catholics naturally lowers their marriage rate, and he takes for granted that, in the case of mixed marriages, the offspring are Catholic, as if prenuptial promises were not often, as we know to our cost, dishonourably disregarded. Once more, because the Church condemns the practice of sending Catholic children to non-Catholic schools, he supposes that our school-attend-

¹ We are well aware that neglect of practice may, and sometimes does, harden into positive unbelief. But statistics can give no evidence of this.

ance in England and America may be taken as an accurate basis on which to calculate our numbers. And even so, he considers only elementary schools, leaving out of count the children in private schools, orphanages, and other institutions. Careful inspection, furthermore, reveals that his figures in many cases are not up to date. In the United States, for instance, where the population increases so abnormally, we are given no returns later than 1900, and much of the calculation is based on returns ten years older.¹

If it were not that Mr. McCabe makes such parade of exactness and sobriety of estimate, some of these assumptions might be disregarded. Independent of the information he purports to give us, we are only too well aware that men in every land are continually falling away from the Church, as well as joining her fold, and that the losses are very great where Catholics are oppressed by iniquitous political or social conditions, and where the clergy are too few to minister effectively to all their flock. If Mr. McCabe's book, by bringing this fact, deplored by the authorities of the Church, thoroughly home to the ordinary Catholic, serves to awaken him to a keener sense of his obligation to help in spreading the knowledge of his faith, we shall not regret its publication.

We have left but little space to discuss the point on which Mr. McCabe really lays the most stress—the existence in our modern civilization of a disruptive agency which has never before effectively applied to the Roman system, and under which, unless it changes

¹ His final conclusion in regard to the States is that Catholics there number less than 9,000,000. Dr. H. K. Carroll, a well-known non-Catholic authority, using the latest census, estimates their number in his annual report as 12,394,731, *exclusive of children below Communion-age*. The official *Catholic Directory* for 1909 gives the whole number as 14,235,451.

"dramatically," it must inevitably succumb.¹ Little space, happily, is needed, as our readers will at once perceive, when we mention that this potent weapon is merely—Education! So the Church, which has stood for education from the beginning, which has founded Universities, erected Colleges, established Teaching Orders, which never builds a temple for God's worship without trying to construct a school as well—this Church is finally to be destroyed by her own foster-child! The idea is, on the face of it, so preposterous, that one is forced to conclude that the education Mr. McCabe speaks of is not the ordinary variety. And so, indeed, it turns out; Education in this free-thinker's mind is, of course, Secular, Non-Religious—in other words, Anti-Religious Education. This, then, is his "new and subtle force," about the character and tendencies of which we may freely grant all that he says. It is quite true that the Church declares war upon such education; that, although no friend of ignorance, she esteems a virtuous life far beyond the vastest knowledge uncontrolled by faith; that she prefers her children to be saved with one eye than to be lost with two: it is quite true that where such education prevails, her rule is apt to be shaken off as a burden which has no sanction. Mr. McCabe has simply wasted many pages in proving that godless education results in godlessness. But what our logician has not shown, and cannot show, what he is therefore content with asserting, is that real education necessarily results in the rejection of the Church's claims, that, in proportion as the human mind develops, belief in Rome's supernatural pretensions becomes more difficult.² The existence of *one* highly-educated and sincere

¹ P. 2.

² The attitude of the Church towards secular knowledge and accomplishments is admirably sketched in the essay on "The

Catholic is enough to disprove that assertion. Mr. McCabe is talking the language, not of science, not of history, not of truth, but of the low anti-Catholic pamphleteer, when he says that "culture" and the Church are necessarily opposed, and that the decrease in her membership is due to the spread of "enlightenment."

Similarly, when he declares that the vast majority of the Church's children are illiterate,¹ what is he doing but unconsciously echoing St. Paul's² description of the first Christians and claiming for "Rome" what Christ gave as one of the signs of His mission?³ He does not believe, we presume, in a spiritual soul nor in any life beyond the grave, and so, from the heights of his "enlightenment," he looks down with scorn on what the Church considers one of her chief glories—the fact that she has a message to the lowest races of mankind as well as to the highest. The Church teaches them to save their souls: Mr. McCabe would have them taught that they have no souls to save. In his eyes, it would seem, the spread of education means ability to read Haeckel! And so we are not much impressed by our free-thinker's "cultural" statistics and his constant charge of "obscurant-

Church and Culture" in Mr. Devas's *The Key to the World's Progress* (Longmans, 6d.). In this work we have a classic example of sociological study, as truly scientific as Mr. McCabe's is the reverse.

¹ Illiteracy is determined, in census returns, by inability to read, an inability, as history shows, quite compatible with considerable moral and even mental development. Judged by the secular standard of their time, the Apostles themselves were "ignorant and illiterate men" (Acts iv. 13). But of course Mr. McCabe takes little stock of Apostles.

² "See your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" (1 Cor. i. 26).

³ "The poor have the Gospel preached to them" (St. Luke vii. 22).

ism" brought against the Church. The Church was founded to bring men to God, and men are brought to God by the will rather than by the intellect.' It is no news to be told that where the Church is hindered by iniquitous legislation in the exercise of her divine commission to secure the religious training of the young, there her numbers are decreasing: it is obvious, we hope, that, if "culture" and "education" are held to include abandonment of Catholicity, where "culture" and "education" spread, Catholicity will be abandoned. Really, if Mr. McCabe had had the honesty at the start to define his standpoint and to state the real meaning he attaches to these ambiguous terms, he might have spared both himself and his readers a good deal of unnecessary work. The Church has nothing to fear from education, if the result is that the *whole* man, heart and will as well as mind, is developed proportionately.

Again, that so many eminent persons are to be found outside her pale is not a sign that Catholicity is incompatible with eminence in any sphere of human activity. The fact that so many eminent men also belong to the Church in every country and in every profession may be held to disprove that theory. Mr. McCabe, however, asserts that there is not one at present "of the world's leading figures in philosophy, history, science, or letters," who accepts the Catholic scheme of theology²—a good specimen, by the way, of the unprovable generalizations with which his book abounds. Well, not to make an invidious selection between living

¹ It is only another instance of Mr. McCabe's inconsistency that in the beginning of his book (p. 3) he owns that the Church has always been the champion of reason, within its proper sphere.

² P. 147.

celebrities, we may surely point to a goodly list of saints and heroes and geniuses, acknowledged as eminent even by the world, who in their time professed the Catholic faith. But that is not enough for Mr. McCabe. "Where," he asks in regard to English Catholics, "in the Catholic England of to-day are the successors of Wiseman, Newman, Pugin, Digby, Ward, Hope-Scott, T. Arnold, Coventry Patmore, Aubrey de Vere, Mivart, and Lord Acton?"¹ Well, even granting that there are no living Catholics of equal eminence to these, a matter on which posterity can best pass judgement, what help is that to his argument? Does the fact that those witnesses are now dead weaken their testimony to the complete accord between intellectual eminence and the profession of Catholicity?

So much for Mr. McCabe's fatuous attempt to claim a higher mental development for non-Catholics as such. We have only to read his pages to see that enlightenment, such as he advocates, produces on the Continent nothing but a goodly crop of socialists, atheists, and anarchists. The Barcelona rioters are the natural outcome of his type of education;² the *Asino*, which he mildly stigmatizes as "bitter and satiric," gives it appro-

¹ Pp. 147, 148.

² As we should expect, Mr. McCabe is full of sympathy for the anarchist Ferrer, whom the Spanish Government arrested and executed for his connection with the Barcelona outrages. The programme of this "cultivated and high-minded Spaniard" (p. 79), which has been published in English papers, aims at the destruction of the religious, political, and social order, and shows what is the real object of the "secular" schools which he has laboured to establish. Ferrer, according to Mr. McCabe, was "a man of culture and of great humanity and *notoriously opposed to violence*" (p. 79). As who should say—"he is fond of throwing matches into powder-magazines, but is notoriously opposed to explosions." The recent action of "enlightened" England in suppressing the *Indian Sociologist* bears a curious resemblance to that of "reactionary" Spain.

priate literary expression. In view of the known moral condition of the bulk of seceders from the Church the effrontery of the whole contention is really astounding.

One word more about the author's spirit. In all his three hundred pages he says no word in commendation of the Church, ascribes not one benefit to her influence, quotes not a single testimony in her favour. It is *écrasez l'infâme* throughout. And as with the body, so with individuals : nowhere does he point out the relative value of conversions and perversions as testimonies to the character of Catholicism. This omission we may venture to supply.

In a very true sense, then, it is "natural" not to be a Catholic ; one has simply to let oneself go, to ignore one's obligations, to forget one's responsibility, to swim with the stream. To produce apostasy the devil and the world join hands with the flesh. On the other hand, all three generally combine to oppose conversion. There is need of a determined will, of a clear understanding, of a decided effort. The convert is assuming obligations, both intellectual and moral, which *ceteris paribus* involve a harder rule of life. There are a number of burdensome duties imposed under serious sanction—fasting, abstinence, Sunday Mass, confession, and obedience to the teaching of the Church. There is, generally speaking, the contempt or hostility of the world to be faced : there may be alienation of friends, abandonment of career, at least a check on social and professional advancement. Hence, one sincere convert is of more value as a witness to the true nature of Catholicism than a hundred lapsed Catholics, however "cultured." Herein lies the consolation of the Church in face of the fact that many of her children, out of reach of her teaching

or seduced by temporal advantages, cast off her yoke. That yoke is voluntarily assumed day by day by a number of chosen souls who sacrifice much of their worldly prospects for the privilege of belonging to her fold. Herein she experiences what she knows already by faith—that the divine impulse is as strong within her to-day as on the first Christian Pentecost, that the Gospel message is as potent to satisfy the cravings of the modern world as it was in any previous age. And within her fold, under the inspired guidance of that holy Pontiff at whom Mr. McCabe so often and so unworthily sneers, she feels divine life energizing as it has rarely done before. By his legislation concerning Holy Communion alone Pius X has done more to stir the fervour of the faithful and to unite them in the bonds of charity than any imaginable series of diplomatic triumphs could have accomplished. Cut off from the life of the Church, Mr. McCabe has studied it from a distance and from the outside. He sees the leaves withering here and there and falling off: what he does not see, what only a Catholic can feel, is the vigour of the sap working in the mighty trunk and far-flung branches. His assertions of present decay, his prophecies of decay in the future, alike spring from a merely superficial survey of the situation.

In the last pages of the book, where the argument is summarized, its defects and its offensiveness are more glaringly apparent. The writer who cannot see what is before his face attempts to penetrate the future. "I shrink from forecasts," Mr. McCabe exclaims, after indulging in three pages of them. They are of the usual sort: "Come down from the Cross and we will believe in Thee." The Church must accommodate itself to the world, must abandon its mediævalism,

must cease to meddle with politics and economics. In any case, whatever she does, the present is dark and the outlook is darker. But the fault, we fancy, lies in the purblind gaze that scans it.

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BOOK, BELL, AND CANDLE

A FEW WORDS ON EXCOMMUNICATION AND ANATHEMAS

BY THE REV. H. THURSTON, S.J.¹

IT is in all probability from "The Jackdaw of Rheims" that the average Englishman derives whatever vague ideas he may possess on the subject of mediæval anathemas. Certainly Richard Barham never had a moment of happier inspiration than in his well-known description of the Cardinal's curse and its effects :—

"The Cardinal rose with a dignified look
He called for his candle, his bell, and his book.
In holy anger and pious grief
He solemnly cursed that rascally thief.
He cursed him at board, he cursed him in bed,
From the sole of his foot to the crown of his head ;
He cursed him in sleeping that every night
He should dream of the devil and wake in a fright.
He cursed him in eating, he cursed him in drinking,
He cursed him in coughing, in sneezing, in winking,
He cursed him in sitting, in standing, in lying ;
He cursed him in walking, in riding, in flying,
He cursed him in living, he cursed him dying !—
Never was heard such a terrible curse !
But what gave rise to no little surprise
Nobody seemed one penny the worse !"

Even the most ardent admirers of the *Ingoldsby Legends* would probably hardly think of appealing to them as an authentic source of information concerning the ecclesiastical manners and customs of former days, and hence it may be a matter of astonishment to many to learn that this burlesque

¹ From *The Month*, November, 1909, revised by the author.

anathema is not so entirely the invention of the humorist as they might be tempted to suppose. Undoubtedly in certain out-of-the-way historical sources and local Uses we do occasionally come upon forms of malediction of a very extravagant kind. One of the most fantastic of these, adopted by Bishop Ernulfus of Rochester († 1123) and entered in the ancient manuscript known as the *Textus Roffensis*, has been turned to account by Laurence Sterne in the third part of *Tristram Shandy*, while every now and again some copy of this or a similar anathema is exploited by controversialists of the Protestant Alliance type to illustrate the vindictive intolerance of the Church of Rome. As these attacks are apt to repeat themselves, it has occurred to me that it may be worth while to say a word upon the general question of such maledictions. They offer certain points of wider interest, even apart from the controversial aspect of the case. But before dealing with the general question it may be convenient to have before us one or two specimens of the kind of literature we are discussing. An extract from the Ernulfus anathema, just referred to, may serve as one such illustration. It begins thus—I borrow Sterne's translation :—

"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness¹ of our Saviour, and of all the celestial virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubins and seraphins, and of all the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles and evangelists, and of the holy innocents, who in the sight of the Holy Lamb, are found worthy to sing the new song of the holy martyrs and holy confessors,² and of the holy virgins and of all the saints, together with the holy and elect of God, we excommunicate and anathematize him, and from the thresholds of the holy church of

¹ This is, of course, Sterne's ridiculous addition. There is nothing in the original Latin of Ernulfus to correspond with "and patroness." Ernulfus only says: "sanctæque et intemeratæ Virginis Dei Genetricis Mariæ."

² Sterne and not Ernulfus is again responsible for this nonsense.

God Almighty we sequester him, that he may be tormented, deposed and delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord God, 'Depart from us, we desire none of Thy ways.' And as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him and he shall make satisfaction for them. Amen. . . . May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or the stables, the garden or the field, or the highway, or in the path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church. May he be cursed in living, in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in walking, in standing, in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, etc. . . . May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly. May he be cursed in the hair of his head; may he be cursed in his brains, and in his vertex, in his temples, in his forehead, in his ears, in his eyebrows, in his cheeks, etc., etc. . . . May he be cursed in all the joints and articulations of his members, from the top of his head to the sole of his foot. May there be no soundness in him. May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of His Majesty curse him, and may Heaven, with all the powers which move therein, rise up against him, curse him and damn him, unless he repent and make satisfaction. Amen. So be it, so be it, Amen."¹

Another passage may be extracted from an equally extravagant anathema which has been translated into English for controversial purposes and which is supposed to have been directed against a group of Protestant ministers by Cardinal Pazmány, the primate of Hungary, in 1632. This document, which rests upon no contemporary evidence, is certainly not authentic,² but the forgery may have been elaborated out of some fantastic mediæval formula of the same kind as that just quoted. Here is the concluding paragraph :—

"Moreover, let the earth be cursed in which^o they are buried; let them perish in the future judgement; let them not have any conver-

¹ *Works of Laurence Sterne*, ed. G. Saintsbury, London, 1894, vol. i, pp. 173–81.

² This is proved, among other reasons, by the fact that the wording of the document is irreconcilable with the circumstances which are supposed to have led to its issue and also by the impossibility of supposing that Cardinal Pazmány, who was a distinguished classical scholar, would have allowed an edict in the most barbarous Latin to be issued under his name. See *The Month*, November, 1909, pp. 486–9.

sation with Christians, nor when they are in the article of death let them receive the Lord's body ; let them be as dust before the wind ; and as Lucifer was cast down from heaven, and as Adam and Eve were cast out of Paradise, so let them be expelled from the light of every day. Let them also be associated with those to whom the Lord will say at the day of judgement : ' Depart ye cursed into the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels, where their worm shall not die nor their fire be extinguished.' And as this candle, being thrown out of my hands, is extinguished, so let their bodies and souls be extinguished in the stink of hell unless they restore what they have stolen within a certain limit.

" Let every one say Amen." *

What is the explanation of these bizarre maledictions which, even apart from their violence of language, seem to strike at the root of Christian charity and all social life? It cannot in any case be disputed that the pronouncing of an anathema " with book, bell, and candle " has long been familiar in the Church, and that it is still provided for (even if seldom or never employed) in the Roman Pontifical at the present day. Again the reader will hardly require to be reminded that curses and anathemas, commanded, or at any rate fully endorsed, by Almighty God, occur repeatedly in the Old Testament. Without speaking of Noe, Josue, and others, we have the curses pronounced by Moses and recorded in chapter xxviii. of the Book of Deuteronomy. It may be well to recall a few of these verses :—

" But if thou wilt not hear the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep and to do all His commandments and ceremonies which I command thee this day, all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee.

" Cursed shalt thou be in the city, cursed in the field.

" Cursed shall be thy barn and cursed thy stores.

" Cursed shall be the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy ground, the herds of thy oxen and the flocks of thy sheep.

" Cursed shalt thou be in coming in and cursed going out. . . .

" May the Lord set the pestilence upon thee, until He consume thee out of the land which thou shall go in to possess.

* I quote from a copy printed in the *North Middlesex Chronicle* for September 18, 1909.

"May the Lord afflict thee with miserable want, with the fever and with cold, with burning and with heat and with corrupted air and with blasting and pursue thee till thou perish.

"Be the heavens over thee of brass and the ground thou treadest on of iron. . . .

"And be thy carcass meat for all the fowls of the air and the beasts of the earth, and be there none to drive them away.

"And the Lord strike thee with the ulcer of Egypt. . . .

"The Lord strike thee with madness and blindness and fury of mind. . . .

"Mayst thou take a wife and another sleep with her. Mayst thou build a house and not dwell therein. Mayst thou plant a vineyard and not gather the vintage thereof. . . .

"May thy sons and daughters be given to another people, thy eyes looking on and languishing at the sight of them all the day, and may there be no strength in thy hand. . . .

"May the Lord strike thee with a very sore ulcer in the knees and in the legs, and be thou incurable from the sole of the foot to the top of thy head."

We have not quoted here anything like the half of all the curses which the chapter contains, and it may further be observed that the note of coarseness which is found in some, though only a very few, of the mediæval anathemas, is distinctly not without precedent in this biblical prototype.¹ We may add that the curses of Psalm cviii. are but little milder than those of Deuteronomy. Note, for example, such sentences as the following :—

"May his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.

"Let his children be carried about vagabonds and beg ; and let them be cast out of their dwellings.

"May the usurer search all his substance ; and let strangers plunder his labours.

"May there be none to help him ; not any one to pity his fatherless offspring.

"May his posterity be cut off ; in one generation may his name be blotted out."²

Again the vengeful spirit which seems so terribly conspicuous in the account of the death of King David is recorded without any perceptible

¹ See verses 27 and 57 of this same xxviiiith chapter of Deuteronomy.

² Psalm cviii. 9-13. It is noteworthy that no mediæval anathema, however extravagant, invokes curses upon any one but the wrongdoer himself.

hint of the Divine reprobation.¹ Neither can it be pretended that all this belonged to a dispensation that was entirely swept away by the New Law. St. Paul's sentence upon the incestuous Corinthian is well known :—

"I indeed absent in body, but present in spirit, have already judged, as though I were present, him that hath so done, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, you being gathered together and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ."²

Similarly in 1 Tim. i. 19, 20, the Apostle speaks of the heretically minded Hymenæus and Alexander "whom I have delivered over to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme." Commentators of all creeds, almost without exception, are agreed that we have here a reference to some practice of excommunication which prevailed among the Christians of the Apostolic age (as it prevailed also among the Jews), a practice perpetuated and easily traceable in the history of the Councils of the Church from the beginning. Moreover, seeing the source from which the denunciations of the arrogance of the Roman Church, as manifested in their anathemas, mostly come, it may be well to point out, that many Protestant Churches have retained some form of excommunication, not always couched in the most gentle terms. That drafted by John Knox and printed in his liturgy may appropriately be reproduced here :—

"Our assurance, O Lord, is Thy expressed word ; and therefore in boldness of the same, here I in Thy name, and at the commandment of this Thy present congregation, cut off, seclude, and excommunicate from Thy body and from our society, N., as a person slanderous, proud, a contemner, and a member, for this

¹ See 3 Kings ii., especially verses 5, 8-9 : "But thou art a wise man and knowest what to do with him, and thou shalt bring down his grey hairs with blood to the grave."

² 1 Cor. v. 3-5.

present, altogether corrupted and pernicious to the body. And this his sin (albeit with sorrow of heart), by virtue of our ministry we bind and pronounce the same to be bound in heaven and earth. We further give over in the hands and power of the devil the said N., accursed and unworthy of the familiar society of Christians, declaring unto all men, that such as hereafter before his repentance shall haunt or familiarly accompany with him, are partakers of his impiety and subject to the like condemnation. And this our sentence, O Lord Jesus, pronounced in Thy name and at Thy commandment, we humbly desire Thee to ratify according to Thy promise."¹

That the principle of anathematizing and cutting off the offender, which we find so clearly expressed in the New Testament, continued to receive practical recognition throughout the ages of faith is probably due in large measure to the prevalence of a theocratic conception of Church and State. There was then no such hard and fast line between religious and civil transgressions as we are accustomed to draw nowadays. The sins committed against the Ten Commandments were looked upon as at the same time crimes against society. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that during the greater part of the Middle Ages the functions which we now regard as belonging to police administration were more fully discharged by the bishop and his priests, than by the civil magistrates or the king's officers. At any rate, the evil-doer was apt to stand quite as much in awe of the former as of the latter. Moreover, there were certain very intelligible advantages attending a social theory which regarded sin and crime as convertible terms. One may find this point of view effectively set forth, far from all Roman influences, in one of the romances of the great Russian novelist Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, and seeing that the author was familiar with a social system in which ideas survived not so very far removed from those of the Middle

¹ *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1864, vol. vi, p. 467.

Ages, one is not surprised that the theocratic conception came home to him with especial force. Speaking of the state of things which resulted in the Roman world when the empire of the Cæsars broke up, Dostoevsky makes one of his characters say :—

“The Christian Church entering into the State could, of course, surrender no part of its fundamental principles—the rock on which it stands—and could pursue no other aims than those which have been ordained and revealed by God Himself, and among them that of drawing the whole world and, therefore, the ancient pagan State itself, into the Church. In that way (that is, with a view to the future) it is not the Church that should seek a definite position in the State, like every other social organization or association, but on the contrary, every earthly State should be, in the end, completely transformed into the Church. All this will not degrade it in any way or take from its honour and glory as a great State, nor from the glory of its rulers, but only turns it from a false, still pagan, and mistaken path to the true and rightful path, which alone leads to the eternal goal.”¹

This was, I take it, in brief, however vaguely and imperfectly it was realized, the conception of Christendom formed by the mediæval schoolmen and the Popes. And from this conception, so far as it could be carried out in practice, followed a great advantage in the repression of evil, even though the work were undertaken through what are apt to seem to us the barbarous methods of excommunications and ecclesiastical censures. So, at any rate, it is, that in the novel the saintly monk, Father Zossima, argues the question :—

“‘Why,’ he began, ‘all these sentences to Siberia with hard labour, and formerly with flogging also, reform no one, and what is more, deter hardly a single criminal, and the number of crimes does not diminish but is continually on the increase. You must admit that. Consequently the security of society is not preserved, for, although the obnoxious member is mechanically cut off and sent far away out of sight, another criminal always comes to take his place at once and often two of them. If anything does preserve society, even in our time, and does regenerate and transform the criminal, it is only the law of the Church speaking in his conscience. It is only by recognizing his wrong-doing as a son of a

¹ *The Brothers Karamazov*, Eng. transl. by Constance Garnett p. 60.

Christian Society—that is of the Church—that he recognizes his sin against Society—that is against the Church. So that it is only against the Church, and not against the State, that the criminal of to-day can recognize that he has sinned. If society, as a Church, had jurisdiction, then it would know whom to bring back from exclusion and to reunite to itself. Nowadays the Church having no real jurisdiction, but only the power of moral condemnation, withdraws of her own accord from punishing the criminal actively. She does not excommunicate him, but simply persists in fatherly exhortation.’”[†]

To the writer of this, the older order of things in which the Church pronounced sentence—not an irrevocable sentence, but a sentence which was formidable until reparation was made—had much to recommend it. Such a sentence appealed to the conscience, it enlisted on its side the wrath of God and of man, and it conjured up terrors, not with any vindictive purpose, but with the benevolent intent of changing the heart of the offender. Such a spectacle as that of Henry II scourged at the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury did more for the suppression of crime than a hundred gibbets or a hundred sentences of penal servitude. Can we be surprised that whatever was likely to strike the imagination of the populace, often in those distant days little raised above barbarism, was pressed into the service? Which of us will venture to say that the same purpose does not form the justification of those passages from the Old Testament which we have just quoted? We are by no means called upon to declare that no extravagance is to be found in any of these formulas of malediction, drafted many centuries ago by eccentric and often irresponsible bishops. Neither is it necessary to hold that this rather dangerous weapon of excommunication was always prudently employed or with a good and exalted purpose. But admitting that the practice was subject to abuse, and that human passion

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

and infirmity adopted it sometimes for base and selfish ends, the fundamental fact remains that it was in itself designed for the amendment of the sinner, and that even in the worst and most extravagant cases this purpose was not lost sight of.

But any attempt to discuss these anathemas must obviously make a beginning with the official service book approved by the Holy See, the *Pontificale Romanum*, outside of which no formula can be said to be authorized by the Church at large. The *Pontificale* devotes a whole section to the subject, which begins by pointing out that there are three forms of excommunication—the less, the greater, and the anathema.¹ The lesser excommunication is incurred simply by intercourse with a person excommunicated by name, and from this lesser excommunication any priest can absolve. The greater excommunication is only inflicted through a formal sentence promulgated by a Bishop, at least in writing, after due admonition thrice repeated. The “anathema” does not generically differ from the greater excommunication, but it imports certain ceremonies which surround the promulgation of the sentence with additional terror and solemnity. We are not aware that this solemn anathema, as set down in the *Pontificale*, has ever been used in any part of the Catholic Church within living memory, but it is interesting to note the form there provided, which has not yet been repudiated by any act of authority. According to the *Pontificale*, then, the Bishop on the occasion of such an anathema, which ought only to be inflicted for more serious crimes, comes to the church vested in amice, stole, violet

¹ All this is found in the *Pontificale* as printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the *Pontificale Romanum* actually in use, which was originally compiled by order of Pope Clement VIII, the form of anathema is set down in Part III under the heading *Ordo excommunicandi et absolvendi*.

cope, and plain mitre, assisted by twelve priests in surplices. The Bishop, seated upon his faldstool, and the priests standing on either side of him, all hold lighted candles in their hands, while the Bishop reads the form of anathema, introduced by a long preamble explaining the duty of the pastors of the Church to cut off corrupt members, and specifying the offence committed. The significant part of the sentence is couched in the following terms :—

“For these reasons we, by the judgement of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of all the saints and also of our own insignificance, in virtue of the power of binding and loosing in heaven and upon earth, divinely bestowed upon us, separate him with all his aiders and abettors from the reception of the precious Body and Blood of our Lord and from the company of all Christians ; we exclude him from the precincts of our holy mother the Church both in heaven and on earth, we pronounce him to be excommunicated and under anathema, and we declare him condemned with the devil and his angels and all the reprobate to eternal fire, until he set himself free from the devil’s snares and return to amendment and repentance, making satisfaction to the Church which he has injured. Thus we deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh that his spirit may be saved in the day of judgement.

“And let all answer : ‘So be it, so be it, so be it.’”

The rubric then directs that the Bishop and priests are to throw their lighted candles upon the pavement, and that a notice of the anathema is to be addressed to the clergy of the surrounding districts. The *Pontificale Romanum* says nothing about the ringing of bells, but earlier rituals prescribe that the bells are to be jangled both at the beginning and at the conclusion of the ceremony, seemingly as supplying another element of horror and confusion.¹ The throwing down of the candles, to which many of the older rubrics add stamping upon them, is intended clearly enough to

¹ Angelo Rocca, *De Campanis* (*Opera*, i, 185), seems to connect the use of bells in excommunications with the bell’s special function of putting demons to flight. The persons excommunicated, like so many devils, are to be driven away by the bells from all intercourse with the faithful.

symbolize the extinction of joy or of the light of grace in the soul of the offender. Indeed, many of the early mediæval formulæ, some as ancient as the ninth century, contain the express petition that "his joy may be quenched in the face of all the Saints as these candles are extinguished before our eyes."

**tu carnis: vt spiritus eius saluus
fiat i die iudicii. Et omnes respō-
dent. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat.**



THE SOLEMN ANATHEMA.
(From the *Giunta Pontificale*, 1520.)

And now this authoritative Roman anathema, the text of which we have just given, suggests one or two useful comments. And in the first place we may note that if such extravagant formulæ as those of Ernulfus or the alleged Pazmány curse were ever in practical use (a point which is very doubtful), they certainly form no part of the Church's ritual now. The authoritative Roman anathema, which is relatively quite

moderate and sober in tone, has undergone no change for the past four hundred years, in proof of which allegation I reproduce opposite in *facsimile* the significant portion of it, from what is practically the earliest edition of the *Pontificale Romanum*, printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It stands, as the reader may see for himself, word for word as at present.

Secondly, as regards the text of this Roman formula, bearing in mind the Church's claim to exercise the power of binding and loosing (a claim, as the reader will have noticed, also made by John Knox), we fail to see that this official malediction differs in any substantial respect from the language used by St. Paul, which it in part reproduces. When the Reformer Tyndale complains of the language of the Papists' curse, the comments which he makes, if confronted with the authoritative Roman anathema, are seen to be wholly beside the mark. His words, written in 1528, are not without interest :—

"In their curses, as they call them, with book, bell, and candle, they command God and Christ and the angels and all the saints to curse them. 'Curse them God (say they), Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; curse them Virgin Mary,' etc. O ye abominable ! Who gave you authority to command God to curse ? God commandeth you to bless and you command Him to curse ! . . . Understand therefore that the power of excommunication is this : if any man sin openly, and amendeth not when he is warned then ought he to be rebuked openly before all the parish . . . and all the parish ought to be warned to avoid the company of all such and to take them as heathen people. This is not done that he should perish ; but to save him, to make him ashamed, and to kill the lusts of the flesh, that the spirit may come unto the knowledge of truth." ¹

But this is exactly the purpose we find expressed in the Roman formula, used, as the *facsimile* shows incontestably, before Tyndale's own time. If the anathema pronounces the offender to be condemned with the devil to eternal flames, it also in

¹ Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man* (Parker Society), pp. 272, 273.

its final word declares, with St. Paul, that this is only done "for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of judgement." Moreover, the same is in some measure true of even the most extravagant mediæval formulæ. Out of more than a score of such forms, all in fact that we have been able to find in print after a considerable search, we have not met one which pretends to be a final judgement of reprobation. Invariably the suggestion is introduced of future repentance and amendment. For example, in the curse of Ernulfus, the most extravagant of all, the document ends, even on Tristram Shandy's showing, with the clause :—

"And may heaven with all the powers which move therein, rise up against him, curse and damn him, unless he repent and make satisfaction. Amen."

The same is true of the very oldest anathemas preserved to us ; for example, that printed by Martène¹ from the Llanalet Pontifical formerly preserved at Jumièges, a manuscript of English origin and execution, and it is also true of each of the three different forms which are read in the *Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline* by Regino of Prum belonging to the end of the ninth century.²

Again in the light of the biblical examples quoted above, it is curious to find modern Protestant controversialists exciting themselves so much over the inhumanity of certain episcopal or papal anathemas. One would have expected them to know their Bibles. But we find even a scholar like Dr. David Schaff remarking in a

¹ Martène, *De Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, vol. ii, p. 322.

² In Migne, P.L. cxxxii, 362. The "alia terribilior excommunicatio" there printed ends with the words : "Et sicut hæ lucernæ de manibus nostris projectæ hodie extinguuntur, sic eorum lucerna in æternum extinguatur, nisi forte resipuerint et Ecclesiæ Dei, quam læserunt, per emendationem et condignam pœnitentiam satisfecerint,"

learned contribution to the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*: "Perhaps no excommunications surpass in execration that pronounced by Clement VI (1346) against Louis the Bavarian," and he goes on to illustrate the point by the following extract:—

"Let him be damned ¹ in his going out and in his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness and blindness and mental insanity. May the heavens empty upon him their thunderbolts, and the wrath of the Omnipotent burn itself into him in this present and the future world. May the universe fight against him and the earth open and swallow him up alive."²

In point of fact this language of Clement VI, as the reader may see for himself, is hardly more than a mosaic of phrases borrowed from Deuteronomy, while it is mitigated by such qualifications as the following, which our Protestant critics do not think it necessary to quote: "It is enjoined upon all the faithful to shun all intercourse with the aforesaid Louis *unless it be for his own conversion or for the salvation of souls*,"³ a phrase which clearly proves that the repentance of Louis was the point still aimed at.

Further it should be remarked that the Roman anathema which stands in the *Pontificale* to-day is not any relatively modern compilation, but that it is almost word for word identical with the first of the forms quoted by Regino considerably more than a thousand years ago. Moreover, this moderate form is the one which, with slight variations, is of most common occurrence in Pontificals, Rituals, and Acts of Councils. Martène prints it from four different manuscripts,⁴ and it forms practically the substance of three of the anathemas

¹ The Latin original gives *maledictus*, which simply means "accursed."

² D. Schaff in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 717, and cf. Deut. xi. 6, 2 Kings xxii. 15.

³ Raynaldi, *Annales*, 1346, vii.

⁴ Martène, *De Artiquis Eccles. Ritiibus*, ii, p. 324.

published by Baluze.¹ Again, we may note that where an extravagant curse is found, it constantly happens that a shorter and milder form is provided side by side with it. This is conspicuously the case with the previously mentioned anathema of Ernulfus in the *Textus Roffensis*.²

With regard to the more fantastic features of these ancient anathemas, space will not allow me to illustrate them very fully, and indeed their extravagances are well represented in the documents printed at the beginning of this pamphlet. As examination shows, much that strikes the casual reader as most gruesome in these forms is simply borrowed from the already quoted chapter xxviii. of Deuteronomy. This is especially true of an anathema published by St. Leo IX against the depredators of the Holy See. But of course we occasionally meet with eccentric features which are not biblical. For example, one excommunication published at the Council of Rheims in A.D. 900 contains a reference to the fate of the heretic Arius.³ Another, pronounced by Aimo of Valence against Aicardus and his followers in the tenth century, compendiously calls down upon them "all the curses that are read in the Old and New Testaments, so that they may perish quickly by the sword of God and be cast into the pit of hell where their lamp may be extinguished for ever."⁴ Another rather lurid anathema published by Martène from the Abbey of Fécamp prays that the lot of the persons banned may be with Nero, Decius, Herod, Julian, Valerian, and Simon Magus, and it adds the threat that "neither heaven will receive their souls nor the

¹ Nos. xvii, xviii, xix in Migne, P.L. lxxxvii, pp. 950-2.

² See Hearne's edition, p. 59.

³ "Intestina in secessu fundant sicut perfidus et infelix Arius," See Mansi, *Concilia*, xviii, 184.

⁴ Printed in Mabillon, *Vetere Analecta*, p. 162.

earth their bodies.”¹ While for a final illustration of the curious phraseology in which these documents often indulge, we may note the concluding portion of the Llanalet anathema, which includes several items of less common occurrence :—

“Cursed be they in the house, cursed in the field ; cursed be their food and their fruit, cursed be all they possess from the dog that barks for them to the cock that crows for them. May they have their portion with Dathan and Abiron, whom hell swallowed up alive, and with Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto the Apostles of the Lord and fell down dead, and with Pilate and Judas who betrayed our Lord. May they be buried with the burial of an ass, and so may their light be quenched in the midst of darkness.”²

There is nothing, we think, to prevent the conclusion that in these and similar forms we have traces of a distinctly Celtic imagination and extravagance. The inventory of the members of a man's body, or the exhaustive list of his possible actions, seems redolent of much that we meet with in some old Celtic prayers, notably, for example, in the so-called “Lorica” of St. Patrick.³ We have a good many examples of the wide influence exercised by Irish Christianity throughout Britain and Central Europe owing to the zeal of her early missionaries, and it is possible that the inspiration of some of these fantastic northern anathemas is traceable ultimately to the same source. We may add that while the actual formulæ used by Celtic Bishops do not seem to have been preserved, we have in the Book of Llandaff traces of a certain amount of bizarre ceremonial used on such occasions. The crosses in the church and all the relics were thrown upon the ground, the bells

¹ Martène, *De Ant. Ec. Rit*, ii, p. 325.

² *Ibid.*, p. 322.

³ See this in Dom Kuypers' and Mr. Edmund Bishop's edition of the *Book of Cerne*, as well as several other prayers in the same volume.

were turned upside down, and the doors of the church were obstructed with thorn bushes.¹ All these things, like our denuding of the altars on Maundy Thursday or the veiling of the pictures in Passiontide, were manifestly symbolical of the desolation of the Church, and we may perhaps conjecture that the throwing down of candles and inharmonious clanging of bells recalled in our popular phrase, "book, bell, and candle," had originally no other origin, but became somewhat transformed in character owing to the lapse of centuries.

It is curious to find that either through conscious imitation or through a sensationalism that spontaneously hit upon the same devices for inspiring terror, the Jewish excommunication in later times, not less than the Christian, might well have been described as an affair of book, bell, and candle.

"'In some of the features,' says Mr. Morris Joseph, 'the Jewish ritual of excommunication in the mediæval period bore a close likeness to that adopted by the Church. The excommunicated person, if his case was a bad one, was literally banned with "bell, book, and candle." Led into the synagogue, he was placed beside the reader, who stood at the ark, the most sacred part of the building, with a scroll of the Pentateuch in his arms. Inflated bladders were placed on a bier, candles were lighted, and sackcloth and ashes strewn at the offender's feet. Then the horn (*shôfâr*) was sounded, the candles were extinguished, and the bladders burst—all to strike terror into the culprit's heart. Finally came the pronouncement of the excommunication: "In the name of God, of the tribunal of Heaven and of earth, we solemnly ban and excommunicate the sinner N.N. May all the curses of the Law rest upon his head and this excommunication cling to the 248 members of his body." Whereupon all present, including the culprit, answered Amen.'"²

There is a curious account given in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* of the excommunication of one Thomas Benet at Exeter in 1531. It is difficult to decide how far we can trust it, but the story may really

¹ See the *Liber Llandavensis*, pp. 143-5, etc., and Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, p. 296.

² *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, p. 722.

preserve a trace of some practices which were kept up upon the borders of Cornwall. It is useless to quote the early part of this anathema, which Foxe heads "The Pope's Curse with Book, Bell, and Candle," and which follows an extravagant type; but the latter part, even if fictitious, is curious. He supposes the Bishop to have made an address beside "the cross [probably the processional cross], as the custom was, holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same," and to have continued thus:—

"We give them utterly over to the power of the fiend. Let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles); and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle) except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this Cathedral Church; and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent and show themselves."

"Here, one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down. But Lord! what a shout and noise was there, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven: that curse was so terrible!"

It is more than doubtful whether we can trust the accuracy of this, but we undoubtedly do hear elsewhere of the cross being sometimes dragged upon the ground at these anathemas,¹ and Foxe is particular in stating that the head of the processional cross was removed—it was nearly always detachable—and that only the staff was thrown down. Moreover, it is a fact that in the diocese of Exeter the cross always figured prominently in such excommunications, as we may learn from the Episcopal Registers, where the phrase commonly

¹ See in Catalani's commentary on the *Pontificale Romanum*, iii. p. 173.

used is *pulsatis campanis, candelis accensis et extinctis, cruceque erecta*,¹ or sometimes, *cruce coram eis* (the twelve priests) *delata et erecta*.

On the other hand, there can be no question that a whole crop of fables and misconceptions has grown up around this matter. In fact, they have even invaded that sanctuary of accurate scholarship, the *Oxford English Dictionary*. To begin with, under BELL we find the following :—

“By bell and book, book and bell (i.e. those used in the service of the Mass): a frequent asseveration in the Middle Ages. To curse by bell, book, and candle:² referring to a form of excommunication which closed with the words, ‘Doe to (i.e. close) the book, quench the candle, ring the bell!’”

Amongst the illustrative phrases we have a quotation dated A.D. 1300 from the *Cursor Mundi*, in this form :—

“Cursed in kirk then shall they be
With candle, book, and bell”;

and one from Shakespeare’s “King John” :—

“Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back
When gold and silver beck me to come on.”

But there is absolutely nothing to justify the extraordinary explanation given by the *Oxford Dictionary* based upon the concluding words of a certain unknown form of excommunication, which assuredly cannot have existed in English in the year 1300. The whole thing sounds like Dr. Brewer’s *Phrase and Fable*, undiluted and unregenerate.

Neither are matters mended by what we find in the same *Oxford Dictionary* under BOOK. There,

¹ See Grandisson’s *Register*, 1337, p. 844, in Prebendary Hingeston Randolph’s edition. See also pp. 672, 690, but cf. *ibid.*, pp. 788, 1090, etc.

² The commoner order of the words, despite Shakespeare, seems to have been “book, bell, and candle.” Bradford, Tyndale, Foxe, and many more all give it so.

we are told, *Book* may mean the Book of Common Prayer, "also the Mass-book in the phrase *by bell, book, and candle*"; and we are presented with another quotation from the *Cursor Mundi* :—

"Pilate betokens fiend of hell,
Cursed he is with book and bell."

Whatever book may be meant, it was certainly not the Missal.

There can then, I believe, be no reasonable doubt that the English locution describing this anathema was derived from practices common all over Europe. The sentence must have been read from a book (though the book was not a Mass-book), candles were lighted and bells rung. These were the principal external features of such an occurrence, and there seems no reason to look any further for an explanation.

Again it may be noticed that the forms of the ceremony of excommunication must have been tolerably familiar to Englishmen during the Middle Ages, not so much from those solemn occasions when the Bishop with his twelve priest assessors anathematized an evil-doer or a heretic by name, as from the "General Sentence" which was supposed to be read out four times a year by every parish priest and which was directed against the possible rather than the actual perpetrators of certain specified offences. The form appointed for this promulgation is printed in certain editions of the *Sarum Manuale*,¹ and in an appendix to John Mirk's *Liber Festivalis*, which bore the title *Quatuor Sermones*. This "General Sentence" even as early as the time of Archbishop Hubert (1195) was ordered to be promulgated *accensis candelis pulsatisque campanis*.

¹ It has been republished from this source by Maskell in his *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii. He also prints two ancient forms of anathema, vol. ii, p. clxxv and p. 338.

A good deal might be written upon the subject,¹ but I will content myself with quoting Becon's translation of the more violent of two alternative forms of the anathema which accompanied it. It followed a long recitation of offences for which excommunication was pronounced.

"By the authoritie of God the Father Almyghtie and of the blessed Virgine Marye and of all saintes, we excommunicate, we curse and committe to the Devyll all the aforesayde malefactoures and evil doers. Excommunicate mought they be, cursed and given over to the Devyll. Cursed be they in townes, in fieldes, in wayes, in pathes, in houses, out of houses and in all other places ; standyng, lying, rysing, walking, runnyng, watching, sleaping, eatyng, drinkyng and whatsoever thyng they doe besydes. We sequester them from the thresholdes and all the goodes of the Church and we give them over to the Devill. And let us quenche their soules in the paynes of hell, as this candle is now quenched and put out, except they amende and come unto satisfaction."²

Let me repeat, as suggested above, that since neither Moses nor the Divine Author of Scripture can possibly have wished that the awful catalogue of chastisements in Deuteronomy xxviii. should all be in fact inflicted, it is clear that the motive for the accumulation of all these horrors must have been the charitable one of striking terror into the hearts of an unruly and half-civilized people. Similarly, the Church's object, when she has permitted the use of fierce and apparently inhuman anathemas, or of the ceremony of the clanging of bells and the stamping out of torches, must surely have been the well-intentioned one, which the rubrics or synodal decrees often clearly express, of striking terror into all who were present, *ut adjunctis horrificis solemnitatibus incutiat*

¹ This General Sentence or solemn warning regarding the offences by which excommunication might be incurred seems to have been the direct ancestor, as Maskell points out, of the present Anglican "Commination Service." When the publishing of the General Sentence was abrogated by the Reformers, its place was at first taken by the reading out of the 28th chapter of the Book of Deuteronomy, the chapter of maledictions, from which we have quoted above.

² Becon, *Reliques of Rome* (1563), fol. 242.

auditoribus terrorem. It is not easy to judge from the feeling of contemporaries in our own irreverent age, what "fearsome rites," if we may so translate *horrificæ solemnitates*, would have been most likely to inspire awe into populations a thousand years younger.

As for the practical outcome of these anathemas, popular report has always greatly exaggerated the legal and social consequences of excommunication. Without contending that in the Middle Ages or in a purely Catholic country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no social inconveniences would have resulted to a *vitandus* from his excommunication by name, there can be no doubt that even at the very height of the papal authority the canonists recognized a whole regiment of causes which excused from grave fault, or even from any fault, those who held social relations with the excommunicated person. At hardly any time would a brother or sister, or for the matter of that any near relation or dependent of the person excommunicated have been debarred from such intercourse as was prescribed by necessity or charity. The rude hexameter line which preserves the list of reasons for exemption is to be found in every text-book of canon law :—

"Utile, lex, humile, res ignorata, necesse."

When the serious utility or need of either party, the marriage relation, the duty of service, or the accident of ignorance intervened, civil intercourse was not forbidden. It was not required that all the domestics of an excommunicated man should leave him, or that his wife should quit his house, or that tradesmen should refuse to supply him with necessary provisions. And if this was true in the ages when the State still recognized and upheld the provisions of the ecclesiastical law, much

more has the teaching of canonists inclined towards the side of leniency of late years, now that in almost every country in Europe any rigid adherence to the theoretical requirements of the ban would bring such zealous upholders of papal authority into conflict with the civil law. It would be possible to quote many modern authorities to show how generally it is now recognized that the old prescriptions have fallen into desuetude. Let me be content here with a brief reference to two recent writers, neither of whom can for a moment be suspected of laxity. The first is Hollweck in his work, printed at Mainz in 1899, *Die kirchlichen Strafgesetze* (p. 124) :—

"I believe [he says] that at the present day our judgement concerning all these matters (i.e. social relations with the excommunicated) must be emphatically a lenient one. As long as in such intercourse there is no indication of a flippant disregard of ecclesiastical prohibitions, there can be no question of grievous sin in transgressing them, and as long as there is some definite reason for such conduct we must exclude even the idea of venial sin."

Similarly M. l'Abbé Dolhagaray, in an article in the *Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques* for April, 1903, entitled "Interdiction des rapports religieux avec les excommuniés" (p. 345), remarks incidentally, when dealing professedly with communication in spiritual matters :—

"I am not speaking here of intercourse *in civilibus*, in ordinary social life. In the great ages of faith it was possible to exercise an effective restraint over these social relations, but nowadays such action is impracticable. Social conditions have changed too much, the facility and multiplicity of means of communication, the disappearance of the stricter view of religious obligations, do not permit us to expect that any happy result would follow from a rigorous application of the scriptural injunction : 'Receive him not into the house nor say to him, God speed you ; for he that saith unto him, God speed you, communicateth with his wicked works.'"²

² 2 John i. 10, 11. See also Ojetti, *Synopsis*, s.v. "Excommunication."

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BAGOTRY OR BIGOTRY, WHICH?

BY THE REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

INTRODUCTORY

IN the *National Review*, the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Spectator*, the *Globe* and we know not what journals beside, there has been going on for some months past a sort of no-popery campaign which conceals the real nature of its appeal to religious prejudice under the specious disguise of a protest against the pro-German activities of the Vatican. The most conspicuous and the most intemperate of the organisers of this crusade is a gentleman who having at one time professed allegiance to the Catholic Church, and having been for many years resident in Italy poses as the possessor of special and exclusive information regarding the alleged anti-British machinations of the papal Curia. Mr. Richard Bagot has been vehement and tireless in his denunciations of what he chooses to call "the Vaticanist propaganda against Great Britain and her allies." When, however, he is challenged for proofs, we learn from him that the documents upon which his charges are based are not at present forthcoming. On the other hand, he has promised to furnish full justification in the indefinite future. "After the war," he writes, "I propose to produce some of them (the *pièces de conviction*) which are in my hands, but at present they are in my house in Tuscany."¹ People who remember that for years past Mr. Bagot has made a trade of these insensate allegations of Vatican intrigue will not take the matter very seriously. As far back as May, 1900, he stated in the *National Review* (p. 403) that "the Roman Curia is working, as it ever has worked and ever will work, to promote and encompass the humiliation of England." But for those who may not know

¹ *The Spectator*, February 9th, 1918.

the sort of evidence which is sufficient to convince Mr. Bagot of the criminality of the Catholic Church and her representatives, and for those again who are not unnaturally impressed by this confident undertaking to produce proof of his assertions, we think it worth while to reprint here the text of a series of notes which appeared during the course of 1912 and 1913 in the pages of *The Month*. These comments upon a peculiarly offensive historical slander are reproduced without alteration, except for some slight compression entailed by war conditions. Even apart from Mr. Bagot's later attacks upon the attitude of the Vatican throughout the war, the atrocious charge that the Italian Church during the eighteenth century tolerated human sacrifices, a charge now admitted to be without foundation, has a certain interest of its own. It at least supplies an instructive illustration of the acrimony and gullibility of so many critics of the Papacy who profess to have no other object in view than the quest of historical truth.

I

(From *The Month*, March, 1912)

MYTHOLOGY IN THE MAKING

IN *My Italian Year* (London, Mills and Boon: 1911) by Mr. Richard Bagot a gentleman who claims in his writings to aim at a high standard of truth,¹—we meet, after a characteristic reference to the "atrocities" committed by St. Charles Borromeo, with the following interesting passage:

When we are on the subject of atrocities, however, I think none can equal in grimness an episode which occurred,

¹ See, e.g., *op. cit.* p. 29. "Now I am quite aware that in venturing to say this, I shall be at once accused by my English critics of writing with a preconceived bias against the clergy . . . I frankly admit that in this volume on Italian life I am writing with a purpose, and that this purpose is precisely similar to that which actuated my novels dealing with the same subject—namely, to present my readers with as true a picture of that life as my pen and my competency will allow of my doing."

not in Lombardy, indeed, but in the neighbouring Venetian State, and this as late as 1705. In those days passion plays existed, and one of these representations was usually given in connection with the celebration of the feast of Corpus Domini. It is recorded that on this occasion the procession of the Host was followed by a so-called "car of Purgatory," in which for the edification of the faithful, twenty living infants were thrown into the flames and burned to death. To any person who knows how deep, and even exaggerated, is the love of Italians for children, and how this passionate affection is too often the ruin of the children themselves, such a horror as this would appear to be impossible. The fact, however, has been substantiated, and can only be regarded as another proof of how religion degenerated into superstition may be responsible for the most barbarous crimes against humanity (pp. 67, 68).

Taken to task in the *Eye-Witness* (Nov. 16, 1911, p. 695) and asked for his authority for a statement which, as the reviewer remarked, "sounds very like 'Maria Monk,'" Mr. Bagot replied (Nov. 30, p. 758) in the following terms :

The instance that I described on p. 68 of *My Italian Year* . . . was merely introduced as a comparatively late example of the lengths to which religious superstition is capable of going. The sacrifice of living children on the car of Purgatory which took place in the Venetian State in 1705, is vouched for by a Venetian writer, the Cavaliere Lampertico, who carefully consulted the local records of the period before putting his statement into print. It is also recorded by other writers, including Mr. W. N. Beauclerk, formerly First Secretary of the British Embassy in Rome, in a volume entitled *Rural Italy* which was the outcome of his official researches into statistics of Italian agriculture and the conditions of rural Italian life in and about the year 1888.

It is clear from these pronouncements that Mr. Bagot believed and wished his readers to believe, that, as late as 1705, the inhabitants of certain districts of Italy were so sunk in barbarism that they deliberately committed a number of children to the flames as a human sacrifice, in

the course of a religious ceremonial, with the full connivance of the local clergy. Mr. Bagot cites two authorities as if he had inspected both, but inasmuch as he specifies no book of Cavaliere Lampertico, much less gives any exact reference, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that he knows only Mr. Beauclerk's account of the matter.¹ This runs as follows :

In former times in Valstagna and Bassano passion plays were enacted, and as late as 1705, a score of live children were burned in the fires of the horrible "car of purgatory," following the procession of the *Corpus Domini*.

To this statement a footnote is appended :

This appeared to me so extraordinary an assertion, that I was unwilling to let it stand without further authority. I therefore wrote to Cavaliere Lampertico, the original author of the statement, who has informed me that he quoted the passage from known standard works [not specified], and has no doubt of its accuracy. W. B.²

: Since we had not before us the passage of Cavaliere Lampertico, nor any exact reference, it was impossible to pursue the matter further in London. It was necessary then to lay under contribution the charity of an Italian friend, and after some unavoidable delay, Father Tacchi Venturi, a well-known expert in such historical investigations, was kind enough to send us the following quotation from the best-known modern historical work on Bassano, viz. that by O. Brentari. The passage in which that historian describes the incident which has so profoundly horrified Mr. Bagot is as follows :

On the 11th of June, 1705, Corpus Christi day, in the course of the procession, a huge car (*carretone*) belonging to

¹ We make this assertion with the more confidence because in a private letter which we have seen, Mr. Bagot when challenged for an exact reference, does exactly the same thing, viz. he gives the title of Mr. Beauclerk's book, but omits to mention where the statement was originally made by Cavaliere Lampertico.

² *Rural Italy*, by W. N. Beauclerk, LL.D., Secretary in Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service. Chap. xi., p. 208. London, Bentley. 1888.

the Confraternity (*Scuola*) of the Holy Ghost and representing the Four Last Things (*i quattro Novissimi*, i.e. Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven¹), caught fire, and in consequence sixteen children lost their lives, and some others were injured. A ducal edict was issued to forbid the use of such cars (*carretoni*) in future. Upon this terrible accident Antonio Ambrosi composed twenty-eight *Stanze lagrimevoli* and a sonnet, which are still preserved in manuscript in the library of the town. The same event was also the occasion of a satirical distich, which was heard until quite recently upon the lips of the people and which ran as follows :

O Bassanesi pieni d'ambizion
Brusa putei e strazza procession.²

When we add that Signor Brentari is the author of a number of historical works which are by no means clerical in sympathy, and that he is, among other things, an enthusiastic panegyrist of Garibaldi, the reader will probably be satisfied that the testimony of Bassano's most modern historian is entirely worthy of confidence. Mr. Bagot informs the world in the letter cited above that for years past his favourite study has been the evolution of religions. One cannot help wondering whether this programme also includes mythology.

II

(From *The Month*, May, 1912)

MR. BAGOT'S ITALIAN JUGGERNAUT

THE note which appeared in our March number under the heading " Mythology in the Making," has led Mr. Richard Bagot to address to *The Month* a long and discursive letter of protest. Omitting irrelevant details, we print here the

¹ No mention, notice, of Beauclerk's " horrible ' car of Purgatory.' "

² O. Brentari, *Storia di Bassano e suo Territorio*, Bassano, 1884, p. 753 :

Men of Bassano, full of ambition,
Set the children on fire and wreck the procession.

only portion of the document which has any bearing on the question of fact raised in our note.

I wish to state [writes Mr. Bagot] that before mentioning the fact under discussion [*i e.* the alleged immolation of twenty infants] in *My Italian Year*, I consulted a very well-known Italian historian and antiquarian as to its authenticity. I was assured by him that the episode had undoubtedly occurred;¹ and that although it was immediately afterwards attributed to a deplorable accident, there existed grave reasons to suppose that it was not so—since similar accidents had taken place under the same circumstances at that particular period in Spain and elsewhere.² If, therefore, I have fallen into error, I shall very gladly admit that I have done so, and I shall ask you to allow me to make that admittance (*sic*) in your pages. I am taking steps to investigate the matter more fully, but some little time must elapse before the researches necessary to substantiate the truth or error of my statement can be completed.

This is all very handsome of Mr. Bagot, but he must pardon us for saying that these handsome promises come a little late, and in any case promises are neither expensive nor irrevocable. Handsome is as handsome does, and with regard to what Mr. Bagot has actually done, as distinguished from what after confutation he now promises to do, we have these plain facts.

(1) Knowing that the burning of the children was ascribed immediately after the event to a deplorable accident, Mr. Bagot nevertheless asserted that twenty infants were purposely thrown into the flames “for the edification of the faithful.” Moreover, he represented this atrocity as an absolutely certain fact, and when challenged in the *Eye-Witness* of last November defended

¹ Of course the episode occurred. The poor children were undeniably burned to death. Nobody disputes the fact for a moment. The question is whether they were burned by accident, or were “thrown into the flames” as Mr. Bagot alleges.

² No references are given for this assertion. We are not told who, when, where, how, or why.

it hotly without mitigation of any kind. It is only now when he is confronted with the positive statement of O. Brentari in the most authoritative work on Bassano, that he tells us that he knew all along that the burning had been described as an accident.

(2) The sole verifiable authority which in all these five months Mr. Bagot has been able to produce for his statement, is the book of a Protestant Englishman, Mr. W. Beauclerk. The Cavaliere Lampertico was vaguely cited, but without any reference which would enable us to check his testimony. This reference has apparently not even yet been found. And now we are told of a historian and antiquary who was consulted. Nothing was said of him before, and as Mr. Bagot very prudently abstains from naming him, further investigation is still impossible.

(3) Not the least suggestion has been offered as to any intelligible purpose which could be served by the cruel sacrifice of twenty infants. Why should innocent children who have never come to the use of reason be burned in the "Car of Purgatory"? The mentality of our correspondent is apparently such, that he considers that by breathing the one word *fanaticism* everything is explained.

Finally, to assist Mr. Bagot in his researches, we venture to present him with another extract which seems to us even more conclusive than the statement in Brentari's *Storia di Bassano*, to which we previously referred. It is contained in a little work called *Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, vol. xxx. Venice, 1776. (As the book is a little difficult to find, we add the British Museum pressmark, viz. 247 a. 29). In this are printed some notes upon the literary men of Bassano, and mention is made of a manuscript volume of poems by Antonio Ambrosi, of which we are told :

Near the end may be read certain *stanze lagrimevoli*, which describe the terrible casualties (*gli accidenti funesti*) which resulted from the taking fire of the great car representing the Four Last Things, on Corpus Christi day, June 11th, 1705. In this, sixteen children (*fanciulli*) were

burned to death, and more than thirty others were seriously injured (pp. 10-11).

It can hardly be necessary to point out that if the children had been deliberately thrown into the flames as a human sacrifice, there would not have been more than thirty other people, not burned to death, but "seriously injured." Such a list of casualties is proof positive that the burning was an accident and wholly without intention.

III

(From *The Month*, May, 1913)

MR. BAGOT'S ITALIAN JUGGERNAUT

(*This being the Third Time of Asking*)

It is just a twelvemonth since we printed in these pages the greater part of a letter from Mr. Richard Bagot, in which that gentleman at last announced his intention of making inquiries regarding the murder of twenty children, who, he avers, were thrown into the flames in 1705 at Bassano to add to the solemnity of a Corpus Christi procession. In the March number we made it clear not only that all evidence was lacking for this alleged human sacrifice, but that the statement was flatly contradicted by the best-known modern historical work on Bassano. In the May number, while printing Mr. Bagot's communication, we supplied further evidence supporting the same conclusion. A year has passed, and not one word from Mr. Bagot has reached us; though his book, *My Italian Year*, was printed in 1911, and his statement was challenged in the *Eye-Witness* a few months later. We venture therefore to remind our correspondent of what he wrote in our columns last May.

If [he says] I have fallen into error, I shall very gladly admit that I have done so and I shall ask you to allow me to make that admittance in your pages. I am taking steps to investigate the matter more fully, but some little time

must elapse before the researches necessary to substantiate the truth or error of my statement can be completed.

Mr. Bagot will surely see that after a year's interval we are fully entitled to call upon him as a man of honour either to substantiate his statement or to apologize for having made it. Meanwhile we venture to direct his attention to the fact that this wild assertion is being repeated by fanatical critics of the Catholic Church in various directions on his authority. For example, in the number of *The Bulwark* for April, 1913, the notorious Dr. Alexander Robertson of Venice publishes an article in which, under the heading, "A Roman Catholic on Italian Priests," he gives a synopsis of Mr. Bagot's volume. In the course of this he says :

Speaking of the Italian Lakes, Mr Bagot tells us on page 68 of a celebration of the festival of *Corpus Domini* : "After the Host came a car of purgatory, in which for the edification of the faithful twenty living infants were thrown into the flames and burned to death. . . . This fact has been substantiated, and can only be regarded as another proof of how religion, degenerated into superstition, may be responsible for the most barbarous crimes against humanity."

We leave this extract to speak for itself.

IV

(From *The Month*, August, 1913)

MR. BAGOT AND THE BASSANO HOLOCAUST

It is with feelings of much satisfaction that we publish a letter lately received from Mr. Richard Bagot,¹ author of *My Italian Year*. After three separate appeals and the lapse of considerably more than twelve months our efforts

¹ We do not find Mr. Bagot entered as a member of the Church in *The Catholic Who's Who*, a fact which we notice with relief, considering the tone of his writings on clerical subjects.

have at last borne fruit, as may be seen from Mr. Bagot's letter which we now produce in full.

TRIPALLE, CRESPINA,

June 30th, 1913.

To the Editor of "The Month."

SIR,—I much regret that a family bereavement, in consequence of which I have been unable to return to Italy until quite recently, has prevented me from fulfilling my promise to the effect that, should my investigations into the case of the children burned in a car representing purgatory, which was a feature of a procession in honour of the *Corpus Domini* that took place in a town in the Venetian State in the year 1705, prove me to have been incorrect or unjust in the account given by me of that incident in my book, *My Italian Year* (page 68), I would very gladly confess my error in the pages of *The Month*. My brother's (Sir Joscelin Bagot) illness and death in March last unfortunately made it impossible for me to investigate personally the matter in dispute; but I asked two friends of mine—men of very different religious and political views—to proceed with those investigations for me during my long absence in England. One of these gentlemen is well known in Italy for his historical and political writings; while the other is an equally well-known Italian ecclesiastic, a native of the Veneto, though now occupying a post in Rome. I have only recently been able to learn the result of their researches. It is a great satisfaction to me to be able to declare myself to have been completely in error in having attributed the tragedy in question to an act of religious frenzy, as I attributed it in *My Italian Year*. I think that it is proved, beyond any doubt, that the said lamentable occurrence was due to accident only, and not in any way to an outburst of fanatical superstition; and that the explanation of the affair published in *The Month*, refuting my account of it, is the true one.

At the same time I trust I may be exonerated from any charge of having wilfully published a wrong or unjust interpretation of the tragedy at Bassano. It appears that other writers beside myself have fallen into the same error, and that traditions undoubtedly exist in the Veneto which

attribute the sad tragedy not to accident, but to fanaticism. That these traditions are merely echoes of tales current among the *basso popolo* in the eighteenth century, and, like many other popular traditions, handed down to the present day, is, I think, evident; and I think it is also evident that they have been put into print and so perpetuated by anti-clerical writers anxious to make capital out of them. I very much regret that I should have written anything in the pages of *My Italian Year* to perpetuate an altogether untrue and unjust account of a purely accidental occurrence. I may, perhaps, be allowed to add that, so far as I am aware, this incident is, with the exception of those of a purely historical nature, the only one in that volume for an account of which I relied on the observations of others, rather than on my own personal experience or knowledge.

I have recently received two newspaper cuttings—one from a journal called the *Protestant Observer*, published in London, and the other from a journal called the *Bulwark*, apparently published in Glasgow—which quote from *My Italian Year* and give great prominence to my account of the affair at Bassano. I have addressed a letter to the editors of these journals, stating that my account of the occurrence was entirely erroneous, and that subsequent investigations had proved to me that the burning of the unfortunate children was due to pure accident and in no way connected with religious fanaticism. I have begged the editors to give to my disclaimers the same prominence as they afforded to their quotations from *My Italian Year*.

It is, I repeat, a great satisfaction to me to have been proved to be in the wrong in this matter. The list of outrages against humanity, perpetrated by Catholic and Protestant alike, in past centuries, is so long a one that there is surely no necessity to add to it a purely imaginary item.

I am, Sir, &c.,

RICHARD BAGOT.

To this letter Father Keating, the Editor of *The Month*, appended the following comment:

“This, then, administers the *coup de grace* to a very noxious slander—if indeed the Father of Lies ever allows

such things to perish utterly. It is not a little to Mr. Bagot's credit that he should so frankly and completely withdraw his charge. And one, at least, of the papers he mentions has done the same. To the kind attention of Mr. Le Lievre we owe the knowledge that the *Bulwark* has published a letter to the above effect from Mr. Bagot, and joined in his repudiation of the fantastic and horrible tale.¹ This gives us hope that it is really dead."

We reprint these words now in 1918 to show the spirit in which Mr. Bagot's retraction was accepted. There could be no wish to bear harshly upon an offender who had acknowledged his error, and it would have been ungracious at such a moment to scrutinize too closely the explanation he offered for delay. But it will not be out of place to notice now that the death of Sir Joscelin Bagot, which took place, as we have taken the trouble to ascertain, on March 1st, 1913, seems to offer but a slender excuse for the tardiness of the admission ultimately made. *My Italian Year* was published in the autumn of 1911. The Bassano holocaust story was challenged by the *Eye-Witness* in November, 1911, and it was in April, 1912, that Mr. Bagot wrote to *The Month*: "I am taking steps to investigate the matter." It is curious that these investigations should have been so seriously impeded by the death of Mr. Bagot's brother nearly a year afterwards.

¹ This is not the first of the sort that has come from Italy. The reader is referred to a legend from the Abruzzi, refuted by Mr. James Britten in *The Month* for October, 1898—"The Alleged Human Sacrifices in Italy."

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OF

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A SCHOOL FOR SLANDER

OR

"THE SOUL OF DOMINIC WILDTHORNE"

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.¹

ONCE more the Rev. Joseph Hocking enters the lists as a champion of Protestantism and a foe of Popery. It is true that this time it is not the Catholic Church which is the main object of his attack, but his most serious charge against the "Community of the Incarnation" is one which, were it capable of proof, would reflect with equal discredit upon the Catholic Church. Moreover, unable to free himself from his obsession, he descends in the later part of his book to misrepresentations as wicked and as ignorant—which is saying a great deal—as those in any of his former productions.

It may of course be urged that it is not worth while to examine further the utterances of a man who, as has been conclusively shown on more than one occasion,² is as ludicrously ignorant of the doctrines and practices of the Church as he is wrongheaded and unscrupulous—the terms have been amply justified—in his inferences regarding them. It is difficult to understand the class

¹ Reprinted from *The Month* for January, 1909.

² See *The Scarlet Woman* and *The Woman of Babylon*. Id. each. C.T.S.

of mind which finds pleasure in the perusal of works whose one object appears to be to malign that body which embraces the greatest number of Christians. But the circulation of his previous works shows that Mr. Hocking has a large public ; and, although it can hardly be supposed that any one inquiring seriously into the claims of the Church would be hindered from accepting her teaching by stuff of this kind, there can be no doubt that it tends to foster prejudice ; and “for those who like this kind of thing, this is the kind of thing they like.”

Dominic Wildthorne, the orphan son of a Catholic mother and a drunken father, was found by Fletcher Yorke, a local magnate, and his daughter at the gate of Meremeadows¹ Cemetery, where his non-Catholic father had just been buried by Father Mullarney, whose ministrations he had refused, and whom he had told “to go to ’ell.” To them appears “a man dressed not unlike a mediæval monk,”² who belonged to the Community of the Incarnation—“a number of full-grown men,” according to Yorke, “who, having taken vows in the English Church, masqueraded as monks who had taken the vows of the celibate life.”³

“Fathèr Trouville was cast in the sacerdotal mould. . . . The dogma of Apostolic Succession was absolutely

¹ Mr. Hocking in his preface tells us that “many of his readers may claim to recognize more than one of the institutions mentioned in this story.” He has, however, refrained from “particularizing any Order or person.” But “Meremeadows” and the “Community of the Incarnation” can hardly be anything but Mirfield and the Community of the Resurrection.

² P. 9.

³ P. 10.

essential to the existence of the Church. . . . He was a sacramentarian of the strictest type. Baptism, Confirmation, Absolution, Holy Communion, Holy Orders, Marriage, and Anointing, were integral to [*sic*], nay the very life-blood of Christianity. He also believed in Monasticism. . . . It was for those who accepted the true idea of the Church, to endeavour to bring back the English Branch into communion with the Mother Church, and then, doubtless, means would be found for bringing 'Prots' to their senses. It was with this idea that the Community of the Incarnation was founded. Their work was to leaven the Church of England with Romish ideas, and then return as a body to the bosom of the Mother Church."¹

Trouville took Dominic to the monastery, where the Superior at once saw in him "the thinker's head, the mystic's eyes, the orator's mouth," and "had a vision of him swaying thousands." But Trouville's mind was occupied with other matters—"the old question, my orders." "You see," he said, "in spite of all we say our Church is excommunicate. The Holy Father does not admit of [*sic*] the validity of our orders. What is the use of bringing back the full Roman Ritual when we are wrong at the fountain-head? What is the use of our saying we are a branch of the true Church when the Head of the true Church declares us to be separatists? We claim that one of the marks of the true Church is an allegiance to the Church's doctrines, and that we believe in those doctrines, while all the while the one whom we admit

¹ Pp. 14-16.

to be the rightful Head of the Church makes certain demands with which we do not comply. Don't you see the anomaly? Of course, we aim at bringing back the Church of England into communion with the Roman Church. But if the Roman Church receives us, it will be on her own terms : and one of those terms is the recognition of the Authority and Infallibility of the Holy Father. How can we be true Catholics while we remain in a state of schism?"¹

It must be admitted that, making certain allowances for his way of putting it, Mr. Hocking has succeeded in stating what must have occurred to many Anglicans. But the Superior is equal to the emergency. "Go to ——" he says—not, however, meaning what is often intended by the expression, but to some unnamed person who will give "ordination, concerning which there can be no doubt. . . . You will not be the first, nor the second, who has done this. How many it is not for me to say. Perhaps it would surprise me as well as you if we knew how many, and who [*sic*] have been troubled as you have been troubled, and who have taken the step I advise you to take."²

At first sight it might appear that the Superior was advising Trouville to approach a Bishop of the—we believe extinct—Order of Corporate Reunion, but later on we shall learn more definitely what was proposed.

There is, indeed, no doubt as to the charge which Mr. Hocking brings against Anglican and Catholic clergy alike. The former become Catholics while continuing to work as clergymen of the Church of England ;

¹ P. 24.

² Pp. 24, 25.

the latter connive at their dishonesty, and arrange for their ordination by Catholic Bishops, who must themselves be conscious of the fraud they are abetting. On what evidence, it may be asked, does Mr. Hocking base this most serious accusation? He produces none; he suggests none. Yet if such evidence exists, surely, in the interests of Protestantism, it should be produced? Nothing could well be more telling against both Anglicanism and Catholicism. But it will not be, because it cannot be; Mr. Hocking has stooped once more to the meanness which in his previous volumes induced him to bring charges of murder, imprisonment, and other crimes, against priests and nuns, whilst he must have known that he was but pandering to the ignorant prejudices of his public. Were his zeal for Protestantism beyond suspicion, he would bring such charges openly and definitely; but it pays him better to disseminate them in a form in which they cannot be met and dealt with as they deserve.

Dominic takes up his residence with the Community, but is at first insensible to its attractions. I know little of the rules of Anglican communities, but Mr. Hocking knows less. Here, for example, is the daily rule of life:—

"They rose at half-past five, and at six went to a service called Matins, which, with two others called Laud [*sic*] and Prime, would occupy them till about half-past seven. They would then retire to their rooms and pass the time in meditation and prayer. At nine another service would follow, and then at eleven another service was often held. If it was Sunday or a

Holy Day, the Communion would be celebrated. Not until this was over, if it were a Communion day, would they eat any food whatever, as fasting Communion was binding upon their Community. In the afternoon they walked, but in the early evening another service was held. After dinner again, one or two more services would be held.”¹

Dominic was not “pressed to attend the services”; when led by curiosity to attend “some of them,” he was, in a way, influenced by the chanting of the prayers, the “genuflections before the altar, the smell of incense, and the general solemnity: but he was not attracted.” One night he was sent with a letter to Fletcher Yorke, and made the acquaintance of Maggie, who was to exercise the chief influence on his life. Father Townley wanted to buy some land for the extension of the Community buildings, and visited Yorke in accordance with the answer to his letter. He at once entered upon a religious discussion with Yorke in which, with extraordinary indiscretion, he (knowing his listener to be a Nonconformist) announced the wish of the Community “to strangle that Godless thing called Dissent”; and one cannot wonder that Yorke “gave it him hot.” But he also gave him the land.

Dominic suddenly dropped his Yorkshire dialect and became a probationary member of the community. “For months he had been reading the Lives of the Saints,” and this, with “the chanting of the prayers, the smoke of incense, the sacraments,” rendered him amenable to Father Townley’s influence. “He knew

nothing of the endeavours of the world after truth, or of the discoveries of science and scholarship. He did not realize that the faith of the world had been tested in the crucibles of history, of criticism, and human experience.” So when Father Townley held out to him the prospect of becoming “a preaching monk,” Dominic said, “Please, sir, may I become a novice?” and in due time a novice he became. “The services in the church became more and more attractive; the dim mysteries of the Mass”—it will be noted that this is the first intimation we have had of “Mass” in the Community—“and prayers for the dead awed and fascinated him at the same time.” “The service in the church when he was admitted as a postulant was very impressive,” but with commendable reticence Mr. Hocking tells us nothing about it except that “the full ritual of the Roman Church” was adopted, “the only difference being that the prayers were said in English instead of Latin.” “His life as a novice was utterly uneventful; his studies during his novitiate were somewhat difficult to describe,” and Mr. Hocking does not attempt the task. Then the Superior sent him “out into the world to see its allurements, its powers,” as a trial of his vocation; so he went to a large boarding-house at the seaside, where he met with appalling folk and went to the play: also he met Maggie Yorke, and explained his position: “I have borne the test of hard discipline, of fasting, of penances; now I am undergoing the test of the world.”

Dominic returned to the Community with his vocation unscathed, and was received as a Brother “immediately before the Antiphon of the *Magnificat* at Solemn

Vespers" by the Superior "vested in alb and violet cope." Then for five years he gave himself to eager study. "In reading the Life of Savonarola, he saw how the great preacher's close study of philosophy aided him in his preaching, and he revelled in mystical philosophy. He saturated his mind with the stories of the Church's past victories, and committed to memory long extracts from the sermons of the great preaching Fathers. Thus Chrysostom, Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. Jerome, St. Hilary became his models."¹

This being so, it seems odd that he should have gone for a vacation to a Church of England monastery in Wales — easy of identification — where "he found fellowship with men who were absolutely ignorant of the discoveries of science, of criticism, or of scholarship." This "ignorance" on the part of religious folk is a conspicuous note throughout the book—one wonders what evidence Mr. Hocking could produce of his own acquaintance with any of the three subjects mentioned.

Then Dominic was ordained—the fact is merely announced—and Father Townley "arranged his itinerary" and decided that he should preach at St. Michael's "next Thursday evening."

" 'Look,' continued Father Townley with a smile, 'I have gone so far as to have bills printed. Here is one.'

"Dominic looked at it like one afraid ; yes, there was his name in large type—

‘THE REVEREND FATHER
DOMINIC WILDTHORNE.’”

¹ P. 115. There is something rather invidious in this decanonization of "Chrysostom" and "Gregory."

He remembered that Maggie had promised to come and hear him, so he sent her a bill, which came just as the Yorke family were discussing St. Michael's. Young Yorke had been there and found "it was a very fair copy of the services at the Roman Catholic chapel"—how *did* he know? "The incense, the genuflecting"—his reference to genuflection is so frequent that one wonders what Mr. Hocking thinks it is—"and the whole atmosphere of the place suggests mystery." "The wonder to me," said his father, "is that it has any attraction"—a thought which constantly occurs to *me* when reading Mr. Hocking's stories. Then Maggie opened a wrapper which had just come, and found the announcement of Dominic's sermon. Of course she went, and (equally, of course) thought the service "an undignified copy of a semi-pagan ceremonial," which struck her as "tawdry and artificial." The sermon was one which "might have been preached by St. Dominic. It belonged to the Middle Ages, rather than to the twentieth century. It ignored Biblical and Church criticism; it took no heed of the strides of science."¹

But it was very effective. "The atmosphere of the building became electric," and the congregation—although "the church was but sparsely filled and almost exclusively by women," "felt like trembling even as men and women trembled" when they heard Savonarola. Maggie, as we said, was there—"their eyes met: Dominic gave a start, while the blood rushed madly to his face"—and afterwards they talked

¹ P. 137. Father Townley, however, "associated [it] with St. Chrysostom's great utterances" (p. 145).

it over, and Maggie gave it him very straight, in the best Protestant Alliance style—better than that, in fact, for she really put the position very well and her language was quite decent. Yet it is impossible not to feel that Dominic, “whose training during several years had been of such a nature that the Protestantism of the Prayer-book had offered no difficulties to him,” had some ground for claiming to be a better judge than the Nonconformist young lady as to “the teaching of the Prayer-book and the meaning of [his] ordination vows.” Maggie, however, was as evasive as Dr. Horton :

“ ‘Why should you be?’ she asked.

“ ‘Because—because you were trained a Dissenter.’

“ ‘And Dissenters have died rather than be untrue to their consciences,’ she replied.”¹

Almost at once Dominic became famous :

“His voice was clear and musical. His memory was something wonderful. He could quote without halting long sayings of the Fathers after a single reading.² In addition to all this there was something very dramatic in his arrangement of his thoughts, and he had the poet’s gift of clothing them with beautiful language. What wonder then that crowds listened spellbound to his utterances?”³

What indeed? and there is much more of the kind, including “all sorts of wild romantic stories concerning him,” such as that “he had in a vision seen England converted to the Catholic faith and the Pope acclaimed

¹ P. 143.

² We were previously told, however, that he “committed long extracts to memory” (see p. 8).

³ P. 149.

as Sovereign Pontiff,"¹ which is really not so new a title as Mr. Hocking seems to think.

But in an evil hour Dominic took a fatal step. "More than one clergyman of the Church of England denounced his teaching"—"more than one" seems an unduly low estimate of the Protestant party in the Establishment: even at the "National Protestant Thanksgiving Rally" at the Albert Hall last year there were three—"and even Ritualistic clergymen advised him to be cautious. But Dominic was not given to be cautious":² so he gave a public lecture on "The English Catholic Church: her Claims and her Authority," the bills announcing which said, "Let all who love the truth come."

It is gratifying to know that this invitation met with a noble response: "a great rush of people thronged the entrance an hour before the time announced, and by eight o'clock every inch of standing room was occupied." All classes of people were there; "the two most striking personalities" not even excepting the Mayor, "sat side by side"—one, a young Free Church minister of prepossessing appearance, aged thirty, who had had "a most distinguished career" at Oxford, taking first-class honours in Arts, after which "he had devoted several years to the study of theology and had taken his B.D. in one of the Scotch Universities"; the other, "a much older man," "fixed his keen searching gaze upon Dominic"³—can my readers guess his name?

Dominic "swayed the people as the wind sways

¹ P. 148.

² P. 152.

³ P. 154.

standing corn,"¹ and sat down in "a regular tornado of applause." But "before the applause had quite died away," the B.D. was on his feet, challenging Dominic to a "debate for two nights," one point being whether Dominic had "the moral right to remain a minister of the Reformed Church of England as by law established." Far from regarding this as an insult, Dominic at once accepted the challenge; but his superiors were too wise to allow him to carry out his desire. "Bagshaw," an Anglican imitation of a Hocking Jesuit, was telegraphed for, who, having heard from Townley that Trevelyan—the B.D.—was "the ablest and most scholarly man in Yorkshire," an ex-President of the Oxford Union, a Fellow of his college, "and one of the cleverest reasoners I know," arranged that Dominic should be forbidden "even to think of taking part in the debate."

But Trevelyan was not going to let him off; so he invited Dominic to meet him at the Yorkes, and "to dine with the family." Dominic went—"in a kind of long loose cassock, which reached his feet, fastened round his waist by a leathern girdle" and "a biretta, such as Jesuit priests wear in their monasteries"—and "felt himself shabby and clownish" beside the "tall scholarly-looking young man, who was attired in the evening dress of an English gentleman." Before dinner Maggie discussed with Dominic "mediæval and ecclesiastical books," and once more told him what she thought of his position, and urged him to "join the Church of Rome

¹ His prototype, St. Dominic, "swayed men as the wind swayed the treetops" (p. 118).

boldly." After dinner they had some music, and the combination of Maggie's hair and evening dress and "rare contralto voice" convinced Dominic that, like Ralph Rackstraw, "he loved—and loved, alas! above his station": and what about his vows?

When he got home they saw that something was up, so they sent him at once to replace Father Bingley, who had charge of a church, the altar of which "gave evidence that the priest-in-charge was a great lover of Roman ritual, and that he had done all in his power to copy the ways of the Roman Church, of which he was a secret member."¹ There the "keen searching gaze" which we encountered on p. 154 rested again on Dominic, for its owner, "having all the power of a remarkable mind and personality," called on him. Need we say that this was Father Ritzoom, to whom, as Mr. Hocking says, "an introduction is not needed" for those familiar with the author's other works.

Ritzoom was interested in Anglicanism, which he encouraged: "on occasions he advised ritualistic ministers to come out boldly on the side of Rome, but not often. 'They serve us better by accustoming Protestants to our ceremonials and our dogmas,' he would laugh. Moreover, when they grew discontented with Anglican ordination, he made it easy for them to be reordained by a Roman Bishop, even while they retained their positions as ministers of the Protestant Church of England."² He had just performed this service for Bingley, and—this too at their first interview!—mentioned the fact to Dominic, whom, how-

¹ P. 193.

² P. 195.

ever, he advised to "leave what all true Catholics regard as a bastard Church, and come out boldly on the side of truth."¹

But those who know Ritzoom, or who are acquainted with Jesuits generally, are well aware that spiritual matters occupy but a small portion of their plans. "Mostly Father Ritzoom interested himself in affairs involving large financial issues";² and he had discovered that Dominic was heir to a large property in Cumberland, and told him to look into the matter. So off went Dominic, "dressed as an ordinary clergyman," in "a short jacket and a soft hat." Arrived at Wildthorne Barton, where the usual old servant of fiction meets him and recognizes "the Wildthorne eyes, the Wildthorne face," he goes to the library; and the retainer becomes reminiscent. Timothy Wildthorne, his former master, had been a student of no common order, as will be allowed when it is realized that "Newman, Pusey, Manning, Darwin, Tennyson, and Huxley"—not, most of them, given to visiting—had held "long intercourse" and "many conversations" with him at Wildthorne Barton. Timothy, as the old servant elegantly phrased it, "knew the whole boiling of them," and was "more than a match for them."³

"My master used to sit there, and Pusey there, and Newman there. Oh! it was glorious to hear them. I had to come in sometimes at eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and my master could beat them all. . . . When Newman went over to Rome, my master

¹ P. 202.

² P. 195.

³ P. 367.

said: "Yes, he's gone, gone where he ought to have gone years ago; but before he went he had to commit mental suicide"—those were his very words.'

"'He was not a Catholic, was he?' asked Dominic.

"'Catholic? Not he! Why, he was a great thinker and scholar, was my master. He used to laugh at Newman and Manning—just laugh at them. "Poor fellows," he used to say, "they've just committed intellectual suicide.¹ They've just opened their mouths and shut their eyes, and swallowed all they were told to swallow." Oh, no, my master couldn't stand that kind of thing. Not but what he died a good Christian, if ever there was one.'"²

This ridiculous rodomontade might perhaps be excused as the ignorant chatter of a garrulous serving-man. But no such plea can excuse the speech put into the mouth of Ritzoom, "one of the most influential members of the Society of Jesus."

"'Do you call Newman and Manning great men?'

"'They were accepted as such.'

"'You never knew them?'

"Dominic shook his head. 'How could I?' he said.

"'But I did. Newman certainly was a man of brain of a sort, but it was a juggling brain. What is his *Apologia* but juggling, and a series of mental gymnastics? But Manning great! A little man, my friend. A little snuffling man; but still he was necessary. Therefore he was written up.'"³

¹ "Newman frankly admitted that he did. At least no other intelligible interpretation can be given to his words" (p. 263).

² Pp. 216, 217.

³ P. 139.

This choice extract forms part of a conversation in which Ritzoom flatters Dominic in a manner so grossly absurd that one wonders the latter did not laugh in his face :—

“‘Father Dominic’s name is whispered in high places—think of it, it is known in Westminster, but more, it is known in Rome. More than one Cardinal has heard of the lad who attracts multitudes, and who, after his missions, is besieged both by men and women who come to him for confession and for advice and guidance. Dominic’s doctrines are discussed in Rome.’”¹

We must pass over a number of incidents, including a debate on Ritualism in the House of Commons, and come to the time when Dominic decides to go to Rome.

“‘I shall be at the centre of things there. I may see the Holy Father. I shall have an opportunity of talking with the most important of the Cardinals, and perhaps—who knows?’”

So off he went, although Ritzoom did his best to dissuade him, and joined the Yorkes at the Hotel Quirinal. His driver—having pointed out to him “San Pietro e Castello Angelo,”² and, when “a full view of

¹ P. 238.

² In *The Woman of Babylon* Mr. Hocking’s lack of acquaintance with the French tongue led to some curious lapses ; his occasional excursions into Italian are at least equally remarkable. “Via del Garibaldi” (p. 309) ; “Via della Quattr Fontane, chiesa della Santa Maria” (p. 317) ; “Grazia molto” (p. 318) ; “Sòno Cattolica” (said by a man) (p. 327) ; “San Joseph” (*passim*) ; “Ara Cœile” (p. 341) ; “Castella del Angelo” (p. 343), indicate that the reverend gentleman is as unfamiliar with the language of the country as with the religion of its inhabitants.

the great church burst upon him," "Vaticano"—said "sono niente," when Dominic asked him if he were a Catholic, and expressed an opinion that the Pope—"poor old man!—hardly dares to call his soul his own: but he keeps up the show."¹

His first visit in Rome was to Cardinal Cordova—the ease with which Dominic obtained access to the most exalted personages speaks volumes for the simplicity of their habits. The Cardinal's appearance was unprepossessing, but Father Ritzoom had told him "all about" his visitor. "He spoke English fluently, although with a slight Italian accent," and "impressed Dominic as a kind-hearted man, and one who accepted things as he found them without question."² He encouraged the view that Dominic might be "secretly admitted into the priesthood" while "remaining in the Anglican community," and, when Dominic doubted the honesty of this, said, "That is a question for the Church to decide—it is for us to serve the Church's interest." "To him this Jesuitical sophistry was a commonplace, the end justified the means. He accepted the position of one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement who said, 'Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper.'"³

Dominic, however, told the Cardinal that this was not straightforward, and "left the palace soon after." Then he had a good time with the Yorkes, and Maggie for the time being took the place of theology. "Dominic did not feel drawn towards the gorgeous

¹ P. 280.

² P. 281.

³ P. 283.

ceremonial while Maggie was by his side.”¹ Then he was introduced to “Father Tyrone,” “a tall, distinguished-looking man in clerical attire,” who advised him to wait before joining the Church, and generally said unpleasant things about her. Later, he received a letter from Cardinal di Vinci, which I cannot refrain from quoting in full, as it illustrates so excellently the *stylus curiæ* :—

“DEAR SIR,—I have received a letter, from a very dear friend of mine in England, telling me of your visit to Rome, and asking me to make that visit as pleasant as possible, and also to arrange for a personal interview with the Holy Father. To this request I gladly concede [*sic*]. I am afraid it will be impossible for me to call on you to-day, but if you could come and lunch with me here at mid-day, I should regard it as a great honour.

“Awaiting the pleasure of your reply,

“I am, yours faithfully,

“CARLO DI VINCI.”²

“I would not miss it for worlds,” said Dominic to himself, and off he went.

It is matter for regret that space will not allow me to quote the description of Cardinal di Vinci. “When he spoke, his opinions were almost invariably regarded as *ex cathedra*,” and many wondered he had not been elected Pope. “But they who wondered did not know all that took place on the day that the Pope was

¹ P. 288.

² P. 276.

elected." No doubt Mr. Hocking could have told them.

The chief point of interest in their conversation was as to Dominic's Anglican vows, from which he wished to be released. But di Vinci was inexorable :—

"It is true you took them while your eyes were yet blinded; nevertheless, they are binding. . . . The vows you took to God to serve, as you mistakenly thought, the Church, must be transferred to the Catholic Church. . . . They were solemn vows and nothing can nullify them. . . . You are a priest in intention; you have taken the vows in intention. It is for the Church to ratify the intention and to make good what is wanting. What you have been in name, you must be in reality.'"¹

The Cardinal told Dominic to place himself "under the directorship of Monsignor Tosci," but for the time he preferred that of the Yorkes—Mrs. Yorke "was a liberalist"—and of Maggie more specially. "Den dey had it up an' down," as Uncle Remus says, but Dominic after a time broke loose and went to stay with an old priest. A young priest, "much superior to the ordinary standard, cleanly in his habits," who had "a look on his face which interested Dominic," became friendly. He had given up his faith in Christianity and (as might be expected from his superior standard and cleanly habits) had "outgrown the dogmas of the Church," but he "pretended to believe while every fibre of his being revolted."² He suggested that Dominic should obtain leave to visit a country

¹ P. 303.

² P. 321.

priest, and keep his eyes open the while. This he did, and was thus able to study the development of a bogus miracle, for doubting which a priest had been "suspended *à divinus*" [*sic*].¹ Dominic became acquainted with a number of priests, and was "simply astounded at their mental calibre, and their intellectual attainments"—*i.e.*, at their ignorance; as well as with a doctor who at once, like every one else in the story, took him into his confidence and pointed out that the Church and the priests were the enemies of freedom, light, truth, and education, and that "Christianity and priestcraft with the Church are two different things."² He explains how, having exposed the fraudulent miracle, "the Vatican organ published leading articles on the gracious visit of Joseph and Mary, and I was excommunicated." The renewed apparitions duly came off, and "a special edition of the paper sanctioned by the Vatican was published, wholly devoted to the New Lourdes." Then the doctor published a crushing exposure, and Dominic went back to Rome. He went to see di Vinci, who endorsed the bogus miracles, and he thereafter began to reflect:—

"Behind those walls lived the Successor of Peter, the Vicegerent of Christ. When this man spoke *ex cathedrâ*, he spoke infallible truth. The simple Venetian peasant who reigned there could speak as it were with the voice of God! The thought was stupendous. And yet Leo XIII, his predecessor, had declared that every word of the Douay version of the Bible (!) was

¹ P. 325.² P. 331.

infallibly true. Discrepancies in translations, in printing, changes which the meaning of words undergo, were as nothing."¹

After these reflections Dominic goes to tea with Father Tyrome, who has been excommunicated, and who tells him that "God made the world in six days, that Moses wrote an account of his own death, that Eve was made out of Adam's rib, that the flood covered the whole globe, and so on ; if you say you don't believe this, you are damned."² All this talk about the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin Birth, priestcraft, masses, transubstantiation, absolution, hell-fire, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of the Church has just hidden the eternal truth which lies embedded."³

So Dominic returned to England a sceptic. Father Ritzoom had conveyed to him the news—false, of course—that Maggie "was another's,"⁴ but he "realized that she had been his saviour," and settled down quietly at Wildthorne Barton. There he found a book by his uncle called *The Heart of Things*, which "described many of the conversations which took place between the writer and Newman, Pusey,

¹ P. 343.

² P. 345.

³ P. 346.

⁴ The utter futility of Father Ritzoom and the failure of his transparent schemes, to say nothing of their want of originality—for this dodge, like others in the book, had been tried before—leads one to hope that for their own sake the Jesuits will depose him from his position of influence in the Society. It is, however, all the more remarkable that with such an abject duffer "high in its councils," the Society should still "dominate the world ; unknown to the mass of the people, it controls the policy of nations ; no matter to what land you go, its power is felt " (p. 237).

Manning, Darwin, Tennyson, and Huxley," to which reference has already been made. The book had passed through three editions: will not Mr. Hocking give us another, brought up to the present standard of "science, criticism, and scholarship"?

Then Dominic met Maggie once more. "It is not for me," says Mr. Hocking, "to tell of the welcome Fletcher Yorke gave him, or of what he said to Dominic when he asked for Maggie's hand." Suffice it to say that Dominic got it, and "the wedding ceremony was performed in the church"—the bride being a Dissenter and the bridegroom a sceptic!

Such is a summary of this latest pandering to Protestant prejudice. It will be observed that both Catholics and Anglicans are impartially represented as ignorant, immoral, untruthful, dishonest, fraudulent; that those who become Catholics commit intellectual suicide, while those who have always been so have no intellect to kill (unless they become Jesuits). Science, criticism, intelligence, straightforwardness, and scholarship are ranged against the Romish crew (although it must be admitted that Mr. Hocking himself does not strikingly exemplify any of them), and these have destroyed not only priestcraft and Masses, but "the Virgin Birth." What, one wonders, of the Christian faith has been spared by this phalanx? Mr. Hocking does not tell us, and it would be impossible to deduce from his book any definite creed. Certainly he leaves his hero with none: "afraid" to profess even a belief in God—"if there is [? be] a God, I thank Him," is his

most fervid utterance—he contents himself by saying, "I hope I shall believe" and with the pathetic admission, "The old faith has gone with the chains." Mr. Hocking has written many books attacking a Faith concerning which he is ignorant: is it not time that he should give us one setting forth his own creed, and why he believes it?

One thing more. Has the attention of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield been called to this book? The cowardly disclaimer in the preface can hardly shield Mr. Hocking from the consequences of the scandalous charges which, under the thinnest of disguises, he brings against a community of English gentlemen. There is only one thing can bring men of the Hocking and Horton stamp—as the latter has lately had occasion to know—to their bearings. It is useless to appeal to those qualities of which they claim a monopoly—truthfulness, honesty, straightforwardness: only a threat of legal proceedings will bring them to their knees, and it is a matter for regret that this means is not more frequently employed.

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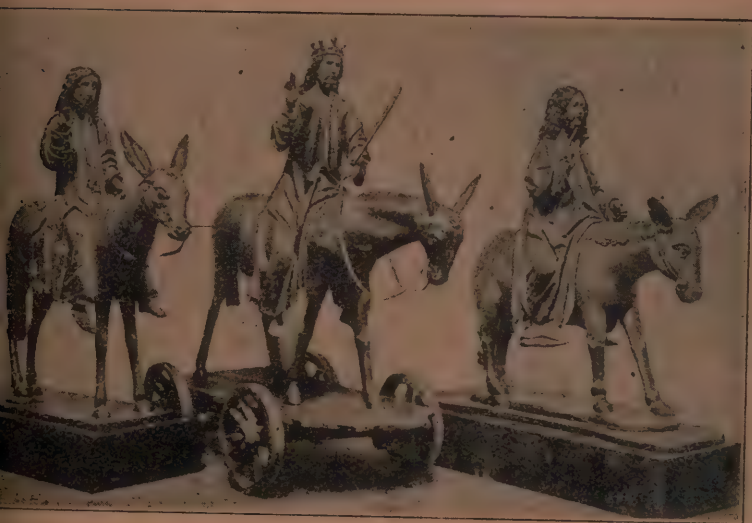
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"THE HOLY DONKEY" AND ANOTHER¹

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I

"The Holy Donkey"

IN the *Protestant Alliance Magazine* for January, 1910, and in the *Protestant Observer* for the following month, there appeared an article taken from the *Toronto Star* for October 11, 1909, headed "The Church of the Holy Donkey!" "Our readers," says Mr. Walter Walsh, the editor of the *Protestant Observer*, introducing the article, "may be disposed to smile at the title, and [to] think that no Church with such a name could exist, even in superstitious Italy." But such incredulity is, he says, put to the rout by the narrative which follows, which I reproduce *verbatim et literatim* :—

"The *American Citizen* tells us that a certain Toronto priest recently criticised the Protestant Churches for their 'undecorated

¹ Much of the material for this pamphlet will be found in two papers contributed by me to the *Month* for April and August, 1910,

and unembellished' appearances. The *Toronto Star* received the following in reply:—

"Will you allow a Protestant who went around the world more than once, and visited nearly every important city, to say a word of endorsement to the truth as uttered by the Very Rev. Father L. Minehan, as reported in your valuable issue of Monday, October 11th? There is no doubt that the "Mother Church" excels all other Churches, in both beauty and the power of invention. Take for instance the Church of the "Holy Donkey"—La Chiesa del Asina Santa—in the City of Lighorno, Italy, which I had the pleasure of visiting while touring Europe in company with Captain Frank M. Wells, Chaplain of the First Tennessee Regiment, U.S.A.

"In the beautiful and holy structure the visitor sees not only the statue of the holy donkey, but also worships at the sacred spot where his holy carcase rests. On the façade of the church hangs a large plate of bronze, telling the story of the immigration of the holy ass in the following words: "After the ascension of our Lord to heaven, the donkey which He rode on the occasion of His entry into Jerusalem could not live any longer in a city where the torturers of his distinguished rider dwelt, and decided on going to Rome, where the Father of all Popes (St. Peter) was at that time. Coming to Jaffa, he hoped to secure passage on one of the sailing vessels there, but, having failed to do so, swam the Mediterranean, sustained by the power of the Holy Ghost. Shortly after his arrival in Italy he died from exhaustion on the spot where the present church stands."

"On Palm Sunday of each year the city is decorated with flags, and the church is brilliantly illuminated, the statues and images within being all crowned with wreaths of flowers of all descriptions. The streets become literally blocked with humanity, in expectation of the glorious procession about to take place. At the appointed hour a group of schoolboys, clothed in pure white, form the advance guard of the long line of priests, monks, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and sisters of charity, chanting as with one voice, "Osanna al Figiuole di Davidel Benedetto colui che viene nel nome del Signore! Osanna ne' licoghi altissimi!"—which translated, means "Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest!"

"At the end of the procession comes the representation of the Saviour of mankind in the shape of a beautiful maiden seated upon the back of a young donkey, chosen for the occasion, the saddle of which is made of branches of the olive and other trees. The procession passes from one street to another till the church is

reached, where a High Mass is celebrated in honour of the illustrious ass!

“‘Surely Father Minehan told the truth when he stated that the Protestant service was to-day as that practised before Christ, yea, as old as the ages, whereas the Mother Church has been, and still is, exhausting the skill of the Jesuistic mind to invent new, attractive, and amusing ceremonies, which would draw the people to the worship, not of Christ only, but that of His donkey also.’”

It is unnecessary to point out the manifest absurdities and impossibilities of this narrative, which, however, in these respects does not materially differ from those which form the staple of the Protestant tradition. Its most remarkable feature is its circumstantiality, and it is not wonderful that the Protestant mind, as represented by Mr. Walter Walsh, should find no difficulty in supposing that a “long line of priests, monks, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and sisters of charity”—the order of precedence is odd—should go in procession through the streets to the celebration of “a High Mass in honour of the illustrious ass;” the fact that the Italian is printed as above by all the Protestant papers throws some light on the educational attainments of Mr. Walsh and the other editors. Even the assertion that “Father Minehan stated that the Protestant service was to-day as that practised before Christ, yea, as old as the ages,” does not seem to have aroused suspicion, although it must be admitted that such candour from a Catholic priest might legitimately have done this in the Protestant mind. Nor did any difficulty present itself to the mind of Miss Emma Miller, when she trotted out the donkey and the story in the course of a lecture in Exeter on Feb. 21, 1910, bearing the comprehensive title: “Mariolatry, the Cult of St. Joseph and St. Anne,

and the Decay of the Church of Rome.” To Miss Miller, indeed, is due both the publicity which the donkey obtained and his subsequent disappearance ; for the report of her lecture in the *Exeter Express*, and the correspondence to which it gave rise, resulted in investigations which have completely disposed of the story, which must henceforward take rank with that of Newman’s Don Felix of Andalusia. “It might have thriven ; it has been lost by bad nursing ; it was spoken on the housetops when it should have been whispered in closets, and it expired in the effort.”

In saying, however, that the story is disposed of, I am not implying that it will cease to obtain credence in the circles for which such fictions are prepared or in which they are greedily welcomed. The avidity with which any new calumny against the Church is seized upon and propagated by Protestants, especially by those who make their living by the dissemination of such material, is admirably exemplified by Miss Miller’s action regarding the “Holy Donkey.” Having first heard of this at the beginning of February, she produces it, without further inquiry, in a lecture on the 21st of that month, as if she knew all about it, speaking of it as a “Roman Catholic tradition” and drawing the moral : “No wonder that intelligent and educated people in Roman Catholic countries all over the world were daily leaving the Church of Rome in such large numbers.” And as lately as July, after every detail of the absurd story had been shown to be fictitious, Miss Miller was not ashamed to glory in the mendacious narrative as a help to the Protestant cause : “the story of the

donkey," she tells us, "seems to have penetrated to the remotest villages in Devonshire, and done harm to the Roman and good to the Protestant cause. A very godly colporteur assured me last week that 'the donkey' has given him splendid openings for Protestant talks in the villages he visits." Maria Monk and Barbara Ubryk are still weapons in the armoury of the Rogers and Le Lievres, and "The Letter of the Three Bishops" is quoted with as much enthusiasm as if its genesis had never been exposed.

It may be, and indeed sometimes is, asked, "If this be so, what is the use of wasting trouble, time, and money in exposing these fictions?" The answer, however, is clear. The paid propagandist of Protestant fiction is incorrigible, but among his hearers are those who are willing to hear the other side, and, having heard it, refuse credence to the calumnies which are so sedulously disseminated by those whose "gain is by this trade" (Acts xix 25). If their utterances were treated with the contempt that they deserve, it might be supposed that they were unanswerable, and the case would in many instances go by default. The fact that 80,000 copies of the *True Story of Maria Monk* have been circulated by the Catholic Truth Society is sufficient evidence that there is a demand for antidotal literature, and this is confirmed by the constant applications for answers to this or that misrepresentation or misstatement: a good example of the usefulness of such literature will be found in the C.T.S. pamphlet *What the Editor said*.

* *Work and Witness*, the organ of the Protestant Reformation Society, July, p. 60.

Although in no sense the “sole begetter” of the Holy Donkey, Miss Miller is so far associated with its Protestant *cultus* that it is of some interest to ascertain her qualifications for forming a correct judgement and her reputation for accurate statement. This is the more important in that she is “Mission Secretary for Devon and Cornwall” for the Protestant Reformation Society, which body has “always found [her] to be entirely reliable and trustworthy in her statements and representations”¹ and considers that in her adoption of the donkey she has shown a “more accurate and full knowledge of Romanism”² than that of Provost Hobson, of Exeter, who had called her statements in question. Against this vindication of their *employée* may be set the opinions of numerous Anglican clergymen, as set forward in the Report of the Ritual Commission. Miss Miller was employed by the Joint Evidence Committee to attend services on their behalf in twenty-five churches,³ and her evidence before the Commission makes it clear that she did her work with much zest and thoroughness—*e.g.*, when asked how she could see that a certain action was performed in the prayer of consecration she replied : “I always watch the elbows. I know exactly the points in the Mass of the Roman

¹ *English Churchman*, April 7, 1910.

² *Work and Witness*, “the official organ of the Protestant Reformation Society,” April, 1910, p. 47.

³ It would appear that Miss Miller is not herself a member of the Church of England; the *English Churchman* for March 24th states that on the previous Sunday she “conducted three services at Wested” which can hardly have been connected with the Establishment.

Church where crossings are made, and I watch and see the motion of the elbow, I can tell by that " (Q. 8080). Thus she "came to watch," but did not "remain to pray," and the fact that at Devonport she "drew [herself] up and sat up direct in [her] chair" at the consecration led to "a very painful scene in the church with the vicar's wife and a long and painful talk with the vicar " (Q. 8100, 8106). It would seem that Miss Miller's habitual demeanour in church is scarcely calculated to promote the purpose for which it is understood religious functions are established ; thus the vicar of St. James's, Devonport, says : "She sat with her note-book open, and writing hard the whole time the service was going on ; so pronounced was her attitude of irreverence that I very nearly rebuked her openly in church." Another clergyman says : "She sat in a conspicuous place through the whole of the service, taking notes in pencil and [? on] paper, and by these and other unusual gestures disturbed the congregation" ; this gentleman was "surprised at the number of inaccuracies and distortions of facts contained in [her] evidence." Another finds in her evidence "ignorance, suppressio veri, suggestio falsi, and direct misstatement" ; another describes her report as "not only misleading, but in parts libellous" ; and yet another says that "many of the statements are absolutely untrue, while others are inaccurate."

In these comments, which might easily be multiplied, Miss Miller—to quote Mr. Justice Grantham's remark on Mr. S. J. Abbott, Secretary of the Convent Enquiry Society—is "not represented as being the exponent

of gospel truth." I quoted some of them in the *Exeter Express*, whereupon Miss Miller charged me with "suppressing the fact, trusting to the ignorance or forgetfulness of your readers, that these accusations were fully met by letters from Mr. Acland Troyte and myself, which appeared in your issue of August 26th, 1906." I pointed out to Miss Miller that, however flattering to my omniscience, it was hardly fair to expect me to be acquainted with the halfpenny press of a remote country town, and offered, if she would send me the papers containing her letters, to correct my statement in accordance with them. In her reply, Miss Miller told me that she had dealt with the charges "in many public meetings in different parishes and in several Devonshire papers"; but as she did not send me even one of them, I may be excused for continuing to accept the statements of the various clergymen, who must surely have known their churches and what was done in them better than an occasional visitor could have done. What Mr. Troyte can have said I cannot even conjecture; for, unless he accompanied Miss Miller on her visits to the various Anglican churches on which she reported, it is difficult to see how he can have vouched for the accuracy of her reports.

But in matters more intimately connected with the point now at issue Miss Miller's accuracy leaves something to be desired. She complains that I have said that she quoted at Exeter from the *Protestant Observer*, whereas she then only had the *Monthly Record* in her hand. But in answer to my inquiry she wrote to me shortly after her lecture, "I quoted the account from the

February number of the *Protestant Observer* and from the *Monthly Record*." She writes on August 26th that the *Monthly Record* "did not include the references to Palm Sunday, Procession, &c."; the *Record* is before me, and I read in it: "On Palm Sunday in each year the city is decorated and illuminated for the fearful and wonderful procession," &c. In the *Exeter Express* for February 25 she writes, "I believe 'Rome' in the 20th century has been forced to issue an expurgated edition" of the Breviary: apart from its inaccuracy could anything be more ridiculous? Who is to "force" "Rome"? Is it Miss Miller or the Society she represents? These are small matters, but they throw light upon the "reliable and trustworthy" character of Miss Miller's inferences and statements.

The correspondence which resulted from Miss Miller's lecture continued in the *Exeter Express* until the end of March. On the 20th of that month Miss Miller published a letter in which she "claims to have located the shrine," which up till then had eluded discovery owing to the circumstance that no place named "Lighorno" could be found, or indeed has yet been found, in Italy:—

"WE HAVE [capitals hers] found a chapel in a church in Verona which for centuries, and until recent years, was known as 'The Chapel of the Holy Donkey,' in which is a model of that donkey which, on the authority of a Roman Catholic writer of repute, is said to have contained the skin of the animal (minus the tail) on which our Lord rode to Jerusalem."

It can hardly be said that in writing thus Miss Miller exhibits undue modesty, seeing that her "claim" is based entirely upon two letters sent her by Mr. Acland

Troyte from Pastor Silva and Dr. Alexander Robertson. How far these letters, even admitting their accuracy in every detail, substantiate Miss Miller's "claim" will be examined later. The former may be neglected, as it contains nothing of importance that is not found in Dr. Robertson's letter, which I now propose to consider.

This contains evidence of two kinds—historical and personal : the latter is based on his own observations in the Church of Santa Maria degli Organi at Venice, where Miss Miller "locates the shrine" ; the former I give in full :—

"And now for the history of the Donkey. This I take from a book entitled *L'Asino*, by F. D. Guerrazzi, of Leghorn, a celebrated statesman and writer—a Roman Catholic, not a Protestant—who lived from 1804 to 1873. Other books which I have seen agree substantially with his account. I translate from the Italian. He says : 'After Christ had made his entry into Jerusalem, he blessed the ass on which he rode, and gave it liberty to go and live in any place it pleased. The ass, as any ass well brought up would naturally do, chose first to wander from place to place in Palestine, its native land. Then it had the idea to visit foreign lands. In its knapsack it carried nothing, but the power to work miracles, which was not a small one—when its hoofs touched the sea, it became solid, and thus a hard path was afforded it through the sea. By this means it went to Rhodes, it saluted Candia, it refreshed its mouth with an orange gathered from a tree in Malta, it saw the smoke of Etna in Sicily, and the eruption at night of Stromboli. Then taking to the land and passing through Naples and Rome, lands blessed later by Ferdinand II and Pope Pius IX, it arrived at Venice. Here the malarious air did not agree with it, nor did it find sufficient pasturage, nor salted enough. So it retook its journey, and following up the Adige, entered Verona. Here it ascended the Campanile, and having surveyed the surrounding country, said, "This is a beautiful place," and descending took up its permanent abode. Here it lived venerated by all, till it was full of years and glory, when the skies called it away. The donkey was nothing loath to go, knowing it was quitting this for a better world ; but grief filled the minds of those left behind, not only in Verona, but all around as far as Peschiera, so that for thirty years

they suffered from deafness. The devout Veronese gave it a most honourable and splendid funeral. They took off its skin, which they deposited in a likeness of it, made of olive wood, by a master sculptor, which still in my times was conserved with great joy and with not less edification by all the faithful. This Holy Relic was placed in charge of the church of the Madonna degli Organi, and four monks of the monastery, clothed in their pivialle [*sic*], carried it solemnly in procession twice a year' (pp. 158-59).

"After a time the tail of the Holy Donkey disappeared; of this Guerrazzi says: 'I remember that the tail of the Holy Donkey was stolen (a pious theft) and carried to Geneva, where it remained until that unhappy city lost itself in the heresy of Calvin. Then, seized with grief and indignation, the tail fled from Geneva and went to Genoa' (p. 157).

"At Genoa was also preserved and adored the tail of the ass that warmed with its breath the air around the Divine Infant in its crib in Bethlehem, and for years it was hanging on the door of the church of Santa Maria di Castello" (p. 157).

It will at once be noticed that this narrative of the wanderings of the donkey does not in any way correspond, save in its absurdity, with that recorded on the plate of bronze on the façade of the church at Lighorno. But that is of little importance: what is important is to ascertain what credence is to be given to Guerrazzi, or, rather, to Dr. Alexander Robertson, who introduces him to the English public as "a Roman Catholic"—"of repute," adds Miss Miller, not altogether untruthfully, for reputation is of two kinds, though it is certain she never heard of him before Dr. Robertson's letter. We are fortunate in having from Father Thurston¹ a telling analysis of Guerrazzi's position and an account of the origin of the story which Dr. Robertson translates from his book; and I cannot do better than quote this at length:—

"Before tracing this story back to its true origin in

¹ *Tablet*, April 30, 1910.

the religious prejudices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I may perhaps be permitted a brief digression on the subject of Dr. Robertson's controversial good faith. Allied as he is with Nonconformist leaders like Dr. Horton and Mr. Walter Walsh, who perpetually raise the battle-cry of British honesty as opposed to the duplicities and insincerities of Rome, Dr. Robertson deserves study as an interesting type. Addressing an audience of uneducated sympathizers who, he is quite sure, will never look the matter up for themselves, he writes in such terms as to make explicitly or equivalently these four statements : (1) F. D. Guerrazzi was a Roman Catholic ; (2) he was a historian writing serious history ; (3) he made these statements about 'the Holy Ass' on his own authority ; (4) he vouched for the fact that the relics were preserved in his own day. I venture to say that these four allegations, upon which the whole force of the evidence rests, are—well, inaccurate. But let us see.

"I. F. D. Guerrazzi, well known as he was as a politician and a novelist, was *not* a Roman Catholic, except indeed in such sense as Garibaldi and Voltaire, Renan and M. Combes were also Roman Catholics. Certainly it is true that Guerrazzi was not a Protestant, but then Voltaire and Garibaldi, Renan and M. Combes were equally not Protestants. In his early life Guerrazzi was the friend of Mazzini, and he was always more or less of a conspirator and in opposition to the powers that be. As to his writings, the newest of the American non-religious Encyclopædias says of him : 'Guerrazzi's vocabulary is of the purest Italian, but his

style is often most bitterly intemperate—Byronic in its impulsiveness, not infrequently bombastic, and occasionally even blasphemous' (*The New International Encyclopædia*, vol. viii, p. 826).

"2. To call Guerrazzi a historian is absurd. His reputation was chiefly made by such novels as the *Assedio di Firenze* and *La Battaglia di Benevento*. But in particular the book quoted from, *L'Asino*, is merely an extravagant piece of satire, as its title clearly suggests, *L'Asino, Sogno di F. D. Guerrazzi*, i.e., 'The Ass, a Dream of F. D. Guerrazzi.'

"3. So far from pledging his own authority for the story of the donkey, Guerrazzi gives a plain reference to the author from whom he took it, a reference which Dr. Robertson entirely suppresses. Any one who will compare the passage in *L'Asino* (I have before me the first edition, Torino, 1857), p. 184, with the reference provided, will find that Guerrazzi has done nothing but give a rhetorical paraphrase of a fable printed one hundred and fifty years before his time by the French Protestant refugee Misson.

"4. And even so Guerrazzi does not recount this story in his own person. All this section of the work is put into the mouth of an ass. Only a few sentences further on than the passage Dr. Robertson has translated occur the words: '*Almeno io, Asino aristocratico, lo penso così*' (at all events that is how I look at it, a donkey of good lineage as I am). What value then can the statement have that any event occurred within the speaker's own memory?

"So the whole story, it appears, comes not from a

Roman Catholic historian, but from Misson, himself a Huguenot who was naturalized in England, and who, despite a more indulgent notice in the English *Dictionary of National Biography*, is described in the *Biographie Générale* as 'remarkable for his fanatical zeal for the principles of the Reformers.' Misson compiled his handbook of Italian travel when he was acting as tutor and travelling companion to a young English nobleman, the son of the Duke of Ormond. He himself wrote in French, but it will be interesting to quote the terms of the somewhat abbreviated English translation which appeared in the early years of the eighteenth century. Some of the touches in Guerrazzi's paraphrase are clearly derived from clauses which have been abbreviated or omitted in this English version.

"'Jesus Christ having a compassion for the Ass He made His entrance upon into Jerusalem, gave her a key to the fields, where she was to feed quietly all her lifetime after. But the Ass, it seems, being tired with her own country pasture, had a mind to try those of foreign countries, and coming to the sea, the waves became smooth and solid, so that with little trouble she visited the Isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Malta, and Sicily, and thence coming to the Gulf of Venice, stayed for some time in the same place where Venice was built since, but finding the air not very healthy, and the marshy pastures not sweet enough for her palate, she marched up the river Adige to Verona, where she lived and ended her days. To preserve the memory of this renowned Ass they have put his relicks into the belly of an artificial ass which is kept in the church of Notre Dame o' the Organs, and which is carried two or three times every year by four monks of the convent in pontifical habits in procession round the city.'¹

"This story had no sooner begun to attract attention

¹ Misson, in Harris's *Collection of Voyages*, ii, p. 651. Misson states that he had this from "one Mr. Montel, a French merchant living in Verona,"

than it was at once denounced. Casimir Fresnois, who in the preface to his book *Remarques Historiques et Critiques* (1705) smartly criticizes Misson's prejudices and inaccuracies, refers to it in strong terms of reprobation.

“As for the story of the donkey of Verona (he says), whose travels, death, apotheosis and cultus he (Misson) recounts, can this be pardoned in a man who has any pretensions to sound judgement? Would it not have been much more natural to treat the French merchant, who, as he declares, gave him all this information, as a rascal who was trying to hoax him, than to see nothing but a set of asses (for that is what they would be and worse), in all the respectable and intelligent inhabitants of Verona, both clerics and lay people, who must have witnessed and tolerated the mummeries and sacrilegious superstitions with which he declares that the donkey was carried in procession as a sacred object of veneration?’

“But Misson's volumes unfortunately were used as the regular handbook for visitors to Italy, especially for Protestants, and the Verona donkey soon became famous. In 1730, the year that Dr. Challoner came to settle as a priest in London, a certain Edward Wright published a book recounting his travels in Italy some little time before. It is plain that he had visited Verona with Misson's story fresh in his mind, and this is what he says :—

“At the church of the *Madonna degli Organi* they have a precious Relick, and give a special account of it. It is an Ass about the size of a large Dog, having upon his back Our Saviour in the act of blessing, cut in wood, about four hundred years ago, by a Friar of the convent, who left it there, having declared in his life-time that he would leave them *qualque segno*, some remarkable thing. This ass, as they tell you, was by some means conveyed away from the convent three several times, and as many times returned of his own accord. How he travelled by land the story says not, but when he got to the riverside he took water and swam along a branch of the Adige, which comes just by the Convent, and stopped under the

bridge which leads to the church. To assure us of the truth of the story they showed us the place. It is now preserved with great veneration, as miraculous, in a little vault over the altar in one of the chapels; it is kept covered and not exposed but on great days. Two days in the year it is carried in procession; one of the days is the feast of Corpus Domini. They say nobody can tell what wood it is made of; and like enough; for 'tis painted over. It is related by some that the remains of the ass that carried Our Saviour are pretended to be within the Body of this. *But that was not said to us by the Person who showed it.* How ridiculous soever such stories as this may be, I think 'tis of use to mention them that the English readers who have not been abroad may see by what gross means the people are imposed upon' (Edward Wright, *Some Observations made in Travelling through France and Italy in 1720-22*, London 1730, pp. 489-90).

"It is clear that this story differs almost entirely from Misson's account, and in particular the words I have italicized afford strong grounds for thinking that the suggestion about the skin of our Saviour's donkey was simply a malicious invention. Some few years later, viz., in 1739, a cynical young Frenchman, Charles de Brosses, visiting Verona, makes the following comments on the Church of S. Maria in Organo:—

"I was unable to see the donkey which carried Our Saviour in Jerusalem and the story of which Misson recounts at great length. The monks told me that for some years past, out of consideration for persons who might be easily shocked, it had not been exhibited or carried in procession as in former days, but that it was kept locked up in a cupboard' (*L'Italie il y a Cent Ans—Lettres de C. de Brosses*, Paris, 1836, vol. i, p. 143).

"And now I venture to quote what is really decisive in the matter. Of all the distinguished men of Verona, and indeed the whole of Italy, no one stood higher at that period than the Marquis Scipio Maffei. The highly respectful terms in which C. de Brosses, whom I have just quoted, refers to him, and expresses his regret at

having failed to meet so famous a man, would alone establish his title to our consideration. Scipio Maffei was a native of Verona, and lived there all his life. He was the highest authority upon all matters of antiquarian research, and in 1731 he published a work on the antiquities of Verona, which remains to this day the most important book on the subject. He was also a man deeply respected for his high character and integrity. Now in the third volume to the very work just referred to, *Verona Illustrata*, he chances to touch upon the misrepresentations of which foreign travellers are often guilty, and referring in particular to Misson, expresses himself in terms which I venture to translate rather freely. What Maffei says is to the following effect :—

“ ‘The most remarkable thing at Verona, if we are to credit certain modern writers, is the “Muletta” (for so our people call it) which is preserved in the church of Santa Maria in Organo. It was Misson who first communicated this wonderful discovery to the world, and since his time others have been at pains to copy and improve upon his brilliant idea. A more shameless fabrication, a more ridiculous imposture, or a more stupid piece of buffoonery never came into the mind of man. The simple facts are these. Amongst other pious statues and images in the church above-named is to be seen a wooden statue of our Saviour represented as he made his entry into Jerusalem, *i.e.*, seated upon an ass and in the act of blessing the people. Why such a piece of carving, given our Catholic doctrine regarding the use and veneration of images, should be accounted strange, it is difficult to say.’

“ ‘Upon one of the best known monuments of primitive Christian antiquity,’ Maffei goes on (I somewhat abridge his words), *viz.*, ‘the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, may be found represented precisely the same scene of our Saviour’s entry into Jerusalem. That there was nothing

mysterious about the statue, and that it was regarded in no way differently from other statues, appears from the fact that some years ago, when the church was newly decorated, the statue and niche in which it stood were hidden from view, and a painting on panel fixed in front of it. That the statue of the donkey should have been carefully preserved is simply due to the fact known to every one who can read, that it was carved several centuries ago by a lay brother who had a great reputation for his skill in such work, and who was at the same time reputed so holy that all his carvings were looked upon as relics. Misson and his imitators, without a shadow of reason, pretend that the people of Verona have no idea of venerating the figure of our Saviour, but only the donkey upon which He is riding. This fable is just as well founded as the accusation of ass-worship levelled against the early Christians. Misson, to give some sort of verisimilitude to his imaginations, has invented the story that the ass having travelled to Italy came to die at Verona, and that its remains were enshrined inside this hollow figure. All this, however, has just as much foundation as another tale told by Misson, that having gone to the Opera at Ferrara, he found all the boxes of the theatre crammed full of Jesuits' (Scipio Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, 1732, vol. iii, pp. 535-37).

"I think that we are justified in laying great stress upon this indignant protest made by Marquis Scipio Maffei, not only on account of the writer's high position, but more especially from the fact that it was the work of Verona's most distinguished citizen and published in

Verona itself in the most famous historical treatise of that day. It is absolutely incredible that if any number of Maffei's fellow-townsmen had regarded Misson's story as a serious one, he would have ventured while addressing himself to them to denounce it as a shameless fabrication and a ridiculous imposture."

Before proceeding to consider Dr. Robertson's account of what he saw, it may be well to state the true history and position of the Verona donkey, and this is not difficult. A correspondent of the *Catholic Times* wrote to the Cardinal Archbishop of Verona on the subject, and his Eminence's secretary "most willingly" replied in a letter dated March 31st, of which a translation appeared in that paper for April 8th :—

"There is in Verona the Church of S. Maria in Organo, which from 1444 to 1807 was served by the Olivetan monks of the Order of St. Benedict. It is a ridiculous and silly hoax to say that there exists in this church an altar dedicated to the donkey. The origin of this stupid calumny was as follows. The Olivetan monks used to celebrate every year with great solemnity on Palm Sunday the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem. In order to represent this fact described in the Gospels they had (and it is still preserved in a shrine on an altar on the right-hand side of the main altar) a wooden image, which is a work of the fourteenth century, representing Christ on a donkey, life-size. Even to-day this image is unveiled on the evening of the Saturday before Palm Sunday, and remains unveiled until the following evening, when it is again covered with a veil. During this time, by a custom which has obtained for centuries, the following inscription is affixed to the doors of the church : 'To-day is commemorated and honoured the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem.'

"In consequence of this Protestants have seized the opportunity of accusing Catholics of worshipping a donkey! As to the hoax about the skin and the tail, &c., it is nothing but a figment of their

imagination. . . . We have St. George and St. Martin on horseback, St. Antony with the pig, St. Roch with the dog, &c.—and yet no one has ever dreamt of accusing Catholics of worshipping these beasts.

"Do Protestants who, in Italy, see monuments dedicated to Victor Emmanuel or Garibaldi on horseback, say that the Italians honour and build monuments to horses?"

Dr. Robertson's description of the donkey is as follows :—

"Entering the church, and finding the sacristan, and having glanced with him at the wonderful inlaid work of the choir stalls, we went to inspect the 'Holy Donkey,' or, as he called it, the "Santa Mussa." It is placed above and behind the altar in the Chapel, to the left of the High Altar. This chapel is, as the sacristan said, still called by the people 'The Chapel of the Holy Donkey,' although in guide-books it is now called that of the Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem."

"Above the altar is a picture of St. Benedict raising to life a dead child. But this picture is on hinges, and really forms the stable door of the donkey. It is kept always locked. Unlocking it, there stood the donkey, facing the door, with a figure of our Lord placed astride on its back. Removing the candles and bringing a chair, the sacristan helped me on to the altar, just as he had done with my wife and me eight years before, and I was thus able to examine well the donkey. It is a little creature of olive wood, about four feet long and three feet high. It is hollow. On the figure of our Lord, which is set very erect on its back, there is a disc—aureola. In his left hand he holds a book, and his right hand is raised in the act of blessing. A robe is placed under him. The donkey's bridle is of gold lace and tinsel, and lies loose on its neck. It stands on a small platform of wood, in which are fastened securely four strong clamps of iron, one at each corner, into which staves can be thrust, so that the donkey may be carried in procession on the shoulders of four men. This was done, the sacristan said, up to as late as 1866, when the Austrians went out."

Dr. Robertson's personal evidence is valuable in that he described the figure of our Lord which is seated upon the donkey, and supplied a photograph of the statue, which is reproduced in the *English Churchman*

of March 24th and elsewhere. It will be remembered that none of the accounts relied upon by Miss Miller make any mention of this figure of our Lord, yet its presence entirely alters the significance of the statue, and explains its being brought forward on Palm Sun-



day. Although it may be that special importance was attached at Verona to this particular statue, similar representations were by no means uncommon in Germany. Since my paper in the *Month* was published I have seen one such in the Bayerische Nat. Museum at Munich, described in the catalogue as "Sog. Palmesel. Christus auf der Eselin in Jerusalem einziehend. Aus der Kirche in Ottenstal bei Altusried im bayer. Algäu. Solche 'Palmesel' wurden ehemals bei den Umgängen am Palm-sonntag mitge-

führt um 1550."¹ The figure is placed on a wooden stand with wheels. Mr. Edmund Kirby, having read my article in the *Month* for August, 1910, sent from Basle a postcard bearing the figures here reproduced, and said that the Historical Museum of that place contains four such groups. Mr. Kirby may thus claim to have been even more successful than Miss Miller in "locating" the donkeys, for no unprejudiced person will suppose that the Verona donkey differed from these either in the reason for its making or in the purpose to which it was applied.

It is not, however, likely that either Dr. Robertson, Miss Miller and her employers, or the Alliance kind of Protestant, will be satisfied by so simple an explanation; indeed we have already evidence to the contrary. Obsessed by the Guerrazzi narrative and by the belief that the actual ass on which our Lord rode was in some way connected with the statue, Dr. Robertson states that the Verona donkey is hollow—a statement for which he adduces no evidence and which is contradicted by the account of its making already quoted: and in the *English Churchman* for March 24th he amplifies this misstatement by saying: "The figure is hollow, and inside it *was*, and *perhaps still is*, the skin of the real donkey minus the tail." Later on he says that the donkey was "carried about in procession *for worship*" up to 1866, and that it is now placed "*for*

¹ "So called Palmesel. Christ riding into Jerusalem upon the little donkey. From the Church of Ottenstal near Altusried in the Bavarian Algau. Such Palmesels were formerly a feature in the Palm Sunday processions about the year 1550."

adoration and worship," and "exhibited for veneration and adoration" on the altar on Palm Sunday. This, however, he modifies in a somewhat odd sentence :—

"I daresay not many worshipped it, but it was an object of curiosity to many, as it is only thus shown at this season of the year, and there happened to be a great Horse Show at Verona at the time, so many strangers were in the town, not a few from England."¹

The conclusion of Dr. Robertson's letter is marked by the extraordinary combination of vulgarity and bad taste which unfortunately characterizes the writings of this representative of the United Free Church of Scotland in Venice. It will be observed that he testifies to the "absolute accuracy" of Miss Miller's account, although, as I shall presently show, that account has not been confirmed in one single particular : the italics (as in the former quotations) are mine :—

"This then is the final resting place of the 'holy donkey.' But *no doubt traces of its pilgrimage*, from Southern to Northern Italy, *are still to be found*, and *one such place* is that mentioned by Miss Miller.² Possibly even the same 'holy donkey' may exist in some of these places, for just as the Church has sanctioned four bodies to Mary Magdalene, five to St. Andrew, and eleven to St. Pancras, why should she not in like manner multiply the body of the 'holy donkey'? Thus *Miss Miller's account* of the 'holy donkey' *is absolutely correct*, and the 'real donkies' [*sic*] are those who have sneered at her statements, thus showing their ignorance of the 'Animal Saints' (of which there are very many) of their own Church. I think they must have been taking a sip from the bottle of 'Egyptian Darkness,' which is preserved in a church at Cologne!"

¹ *English Churchman*, April 21, 1910.

² It will not be forgotten that "Lighorno"—the "place mentioned by Miss Miller," not only in her lecture but in the *Catholic Times* as quoted on the next page, has not been and apparently cannot be identified.

It now remains to see what Miss Miller "claims" to "have proved," and to ascertain how far her claims are supported by the evidence that has been adduced. The former we can do in her own words as published in the *Catholic Times* of April 8, 1910 :—

"The point of the argument is this: that the ass on which our Lord rode was, and is still, an object of veneration and adoration in the Roman Catholic Church; on a good Roman Catholic authority [Guerrazzi] *I have proved* that this ass went to Verona (it may have stopped at Lighorno on its way), was worshipped while it lived, had its image carved in olive wood when it died, that inside this image its skin and tail were placed, that it was carried about in procession till 1866, that it is still in the 'chapel,' that each Palm Sunday it is brought out of that 'chapel' on to the altar itself for the veneration and adoration of 'the faithful.' The very fact that it is placed on the altar proves that it is considered a holy thing. That 'Lighorno was mentioned instead of Verona,' that a 'church' was mentioned instead of 'a chapel,' are details that do not touch the main issue. *I claim that I have made out my case.*"

The "argument" as thus summarized by Miss Miller lacks some of the more picturesque details of the original narrative; these may be thus epitomized :—

There is (1) at Lighorno (2) a "Church of the Holy Donkey" containing (3) its statue and (4) its grave: on the façade of the church there is (5) a large plate of bronze, bearing a lengthy inscription. On Palm Sunday each year (6) the streets are decorated, (7) the church is illuminated; there is (8) a procession of "priests, monks, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and sisters of charity," preceding (9) a "beautiful maiden" seated upon an ass; finally (10) "High Mass is celebrated in honour of the illustrious ass."

This detailed statement is supposed to have been verified by the discovery—*not* at "Lighorno," but at

Verona—of a figure of our Lord seated on an ass : in this *and in this alone* consists what the *English Churchman* calls “the overwhelming evidence supplied by Dr. Robertson in proof of Miss Miller’s assertions” ! Dedication, grave, tablet, procession, “beautiful maiden,” High Mass—for these there is no scintilla of evidence, nor has any one even pretended to adduce any.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Protestant Alliance is going to abandon this latest addition to its stock of myths. The *Catholic Times* in March challenged the Protestant Alliance to produce proof of the donkey’s existence, and on the 8th of April published the letter of the secretary of the Cardinal Archbishop of Verona, which has been already quoted. This did not prevent the *Protestant Alliance Magazine* from opening its May issue with an article headed :—

“THE ‘HOLY DONKEY’
NOT A MYTH, BUT A ROMAN CATHOLIC PET.
PROOF OF ITS EXISTENCE CONFIRMED” :

and it had the effrontery to preface Dr. Robertson’s letter by saying :—

“It is remarkable that the Protestant Alliance should be called upon by the R.C. authorities to prove the existence of the ‘Holy Donkey,’ *one of their pet idols of veneration*. The following testimony should convince any unbiassed person of the veracity of our article on the subject —”

an article not one single statement of which, as has been shown above, has been substantiated !

Moreover, the original author of the narrative, a reverend gentleman of Toronto whose name we now

learn for the first time, has no intention of withdrawing it : the *Monthly Record of the Protestant Evangelical Mission* for May reprints the following paragraph from the *Toronto Daily Star* of April 18th :—

“ Last fall the *Star* published a communication from Rev. George M. Atlas, which purported to describe the Church of the Holy Donkey at the city of Lighorno, Italy. The story therein set forth was widely quoted in the Old Land, and indignantly denied by the Roman Catholic press. . . . Mr. Atlas still maintains that the church he described exists at Lighorno, despite the numerous contradictions offered : ”

and Mr. Connellan’s magazine, *The Catholic*, for June, reprints a letter sent by Mr. Atlas to the *Toronto Sentinel* of April 21st, in which he says :—

“ The story which I told, while agreeing in the main with that of Dr. Robertson [!] differs from it in some particulars ; this is owing to *the fact* that just as there are numerous churches dedicated to any one saint, so *there are several dedicated to the holy donkey*. Dr. Robertson describes the one at Verona ; I spoke of the one at Leghorn.”

Mr. Connellan adds that “ the same prolific writer contributes another paper on the subject to the *Sentinel* of April 28th.” It will be observed that in the letter quoted above the Rev. George Atlas identifies “ Lighorno ” with “ Leghorn.” The denial of Mr. Montgomery Carmichael, the British Consul at Leghorn, that there existed in that city anything which could possibly have given rise to Mr. Atlas’s ridiculous story was the first step in the series of investigations which have proved the baselessness of his narrative. It is impossible to avoid the conviction that the rev. gentleman occupies the position of Tom Jones in the schoolboy riddle : “ Tom Jones said to Edith Jones, ‘ You and I were born

of the same parents ; but you are not my sister and I am not your brother ' ; what was Tom Jones ? ”

II

Another

It remains now to say something about Dr. Alexander Robertson. His testimony to the “ absolute correctness ” of “ Miss Miller’s account ” is sufficient to show what value is to be attached to his capacity for weighing evidence ; but it is not unnatural that he should take an interest in donkeys, seeing that he has lately associated himself with an exceptionally offensive claimant to kinship with that long-suffering race, who would assuredly decline to admit him to their fellowship. Dr. Robertson’s publications relating to the Catholic Church have long since passed the bounds of controversial decency ; but in his latest work, entitled *The Papal Conquest*, he has stooped to a yet lower depth by allying himself with the *Asino*—a paper, published in Rome, which has long scandalized all decent folk, and which is notorious for its attacks not only on the Church but on the civil government. This is not a matter on which decent folk can hold two opinions : all who have seen the *Asino* will endorse the view expressed in the following letter, which was published in the *Saturday Review* for February 19, 1910 :—

“ I have frequently had the painful duty of sending you copies of a notorious Italian anti-Christian paper entitled the *Asino*, the illustrations of which are of such a blasphemous and horrible nature that several Governments, including that of the United States, have prohibited the sale of this journal in their respective countries, and

even fined the dealers who have exposed it for sale in their shops. Incredible as it may seem, in face of these facts, Dr. Robertson, a man who has resided for a good number of years in Venice in the quality of minister of the Scotch Church in that city, has perpetrated the abominable outrage of publishing a book against the Pope, the clergy, and the national religion of the majority of the Italian people, with illustrations from the *Asino*, 'by kind permission of Signor Podrecca' (the editor)! Dr. Robertson is perfectly well aware, since he speaks Italian fluently, that the *Asino* is not only an anti-Christian but an anti-theistic paper, which never misses an opportunity of blaspheming God, Christ and His angels and saints in a manner so outrageous that I think you, who have seen the paper in question, will bear me witness that nothing more horrible can be well conceived. That any Christian minister should sully his fingers by even touching this periodical is almost inconceivable, but how much more so that he should publish a work including illustrations, 'by kind permission,' from its ignoble pages! If Dr. Robertson thinks he is furthering the interests of Protestantism in Italy by such means he makes a great mistake, for all right-thinking persons, even if they are not Christians, must consider this rag absolutely loathsome.

"Permit me to add that an Italian colonel whom I met last summer, and who is not to the best of my belief a Roman Catholic, condemned the *Asino* in the strongest terms, describing it as a disgrace—*una vergogna*—which, he said, had done great harm in the Italian army by spreading anti-militarism, disrespect for authority, anti-monarchism and unpatriotism in every form."

To this letter the editor appends the following comment:—

"We have seen many of the *Asino* illustrations: decency would forbid reproduction; at least any ordinary decent person would think so";

and in a leading article the *Asino* is described as a "beastly and blasphemous anti-Christian paper": "that the Italian Government has not suppressed this paper is not to its credit. It has plain legal ground for doing so, for week after week the *Asino* breaks the Law of Guarantees."

It is from this journal, "by permission of the Hon. G.

Podrecca," its proprietor — described, the *Saturday Review* tells us, by a leading Milanese paper, the *Corriere della Sera*, as "the leading pornographer of the day"—that Dr. Robertson has borrowed the coloured illustrations which disfigure his volume. It is interesting to contrast Dr. Robertson's opinion of his ally with that of the *Saturday Review*: according to the representative of the United Free Church of Scotland in Venice the *Asino* "exists in Italy for the express purpose of vindicating Christ and Christianity from the vile caricature of both presented by the Papal Church"; and still later, after his attention had been called to the article in the *Saturday*, he writes:—

"It is a live donkey, not a dead one, and it kicks, and kicks well. The objects it kicks at are the ignorances and superstitions, the falsehoods and impostures, that form to a large extent the stock-in-trade of Holy Mother Church in Italy . . . it kicks out of darkness into the light of day the impure teachings of the Church."

Then follows an anecdote which those who believe Dr. Robertson's statements may possibly accept:—

"The Roman Catholic Church wants to possess itself of this 'Unholy Donkey.' The Hon. Guido Podrecca, its master, a member of the Italian House of Deputies, was approached some time ago by an agent of the Vatican, who offered to buy it up by paying to Podrecca some half a million lire. Signor Podrecca said he would accept their offer, but, he added, 'I warn you that with this money I shall erect a lay school and endow it, and I shall carve over its main door in large letters these words: "Erected by money given by the priests for the suppression of the truth."'"

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no disclaimer of Dr. Robertson's alliance with the *Asino* has

¹ *English Churchman*, April 21, 1910.

yet appeared on behalf of the Presbyterian Church. It is indeed to be feared that Protestants are more ready than one would willingly believe to ally themselves with the most degraded associates in their insane hatred of the Catholic Church. In *Rome* for May 7th, I find the following :—

“ The following extract from the *Bastone*, the Catholic opponent of the pornographic *L'Asino* of Rome, under the date of February 13, 1910, speaks for itself. Under the heading, ‘The Protestants and *L'Asino*,’ we read :—

“ ‘ With this title, in the last number of *L'Asino*, 9th inst., Guido Podrecca reproduces an article from *L'Evangelista*, organ of the Methodists of Rome, in which *L'Asino* is well praised and found worthy that the Methodists give it the hand. Among other expressions of approval, we read the following : “ There are fields of common activity in which we can give each other the hand of brotherhood in the holy war against the heresy and darkness of Romanism.” ’ ”

Whether it be true, as has lately been stated, that the Italian Government has appointed a commission to discuss the application to proceed against Podrecca for his outrages on decency, I do not know ; but it is noteworthy that Dr. Robertson, in his defence of the *Asino*, speaks of the Italian anti-clericals as the “ best friends ” of the Government, and adds :—

“ If Italy were not anti-clerical, it would not now be existing as a happy and prosperous nation, progressing in morality and true piety.”

A word must be said as to the reception of *The Papal Conquest* by those to whose prejudices it panders. The *English Churchman*, which describes Dr. Robertson as “ well known among Protestants as one of the ablest of present-day writers on the Papacy,” considers it “ providential that so keen an observer should have been stationed at Venice for so long a period,” and says that

"in these days of weak-kneed Protestantism, it is refreshing to find a man who, with a full knowledge of the subject, does not hesitate to call a spade a spade." The *Protestant Woman* describes its illustrations as "startling," which they are, and says that Dr. Robertson "does not mince matters," which he certainly does not. But the approval of the Rev. Alexander Roger—himself long engaged in the same line of business—is far more thorough. The illustrations, he says, are "of priceless value"—this seems somewhat exaggerated, as the whole book can be bought for six shillings, and the originals cost only a penny each ; and Mr. Roger "can now understand why the paper is hated"—it is only charitable to hope he has never seen it ; "its clever cartoons must be a most effective weapon against the Papal Church." He "trusts Dr. Robertson's book will have a large circulation ; it certainly deserves it." What the *Saturday* thinks it "deserves" has already been quoted : the *Reunion Magazine* for March describes it as a "tirade" and adds :—

"Dr. Robertson is persuaded that the scurrilous *Asino*, from which he borrows some execrable caricatures for the adornment of his pages, stands for the defence of pure evangelic Christianity. Blind prejudice could not tumble into a deeper ditch."

One thing remains to be added : the "execrable caricatures," pasted on a board, are, at the time of writing, exhibited in Paternoster Row in the window of Messrs. Morgan and Scott,—the publishers of the book, and also of a paper called *The Christian*—and, as might be expected, in that of Mr. J. A. Kensit, of the Protestant Truth Society.

A friend well-known in Venetian society assures me that whatever position Protestants in England may accord to this defamer of the brethren, those in Venice are by no means admirers of Dr. Robertson's style of controversy ; the marvel is that even Protestant bigotry can stoop to avail itself of his services and of those of his fitting colleague, Signor Podrecca. But it is in England that Dr. Robertson has his market, and he knows how to suit himself to the requirements of his customers.

POSTSCRIPT.—As I finish reading this proof, an extract from the *Gazzetta di Venezia*—the organ of the Municipio of Venice, and certainly not a “ clerical ” paper—of October 12th reaches me from the friend referred to above. Among the charges brought in the courts against the “ Procuratore del Re ” of Rovigo is that of being a subscriber to the *Asino* and in the possession of a medal offered by that periodical to its best friends. The *Gazzetta* says it is a serious matter that a representative of the King should be found among the friends and supporters of so subversive a periodical, which is entirely and always opposed to the institutions and to all that relates to order, country, and religion (“ Enna cosa abbastanza grave che fra gli amici e i sostenitori di un periodico sovversivo, come l'*Asino*—tutto e sempre contro le istituzioni e contro tutto cio che sa di ordine, patria e religione—vi sia un rappresentante del Re ”). Readers are invited to compare this estimate with that of Dr. Robertson printed on p. 29.

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(Dr. Horton and Mr. Hocking)

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THE FEAR OF ROME

COMMENTS ON MESSRS. HORTON AND HOCKING'S
"SHALL ROME RECONQUER ENGLAND?"

EDITED BY THE
REV. J. KEATING, S.J.



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THE FEAR OF ROME

COMMENTS ON MESSRS. HORTON AND HOCKING'S
"SHALL ROME RECONQUER ENGLAND?"

EDITED BY THE REV. J. KEATING, S.J.

WHEN some harmless lunatic writes (as they do from time to time) a large book to prove that the earth is flat or that the Ptolemaic system is the only sound one, men of science do not fill the reviews with indignant refutations. There is no considerable body of people whose interests are in any way bound up with the flatness of the earth or geocentric astronomy : consequently, arguments in favour of those quaint hypotheses, ministering to no prejudices, are addressed to deaf ears. But, when theories even more preposterous and arguments more inane are advanced, tending to the disadvantage of the Catholic Church, there are not wanting those who welcome them, as bearing out their lifelong prejudices and buttressing their irrational beliefs. Thus is explained the vogue of many an anti-Catholic book or pamphlet filled with self-contradictory assertions and lies, like Falstaff's "gross as a mountain, open, palpable." They foster that perverted self-esteem which delights in vilification of one's neighbour ; they

soothe consciences made uneasy by the illogicality of Protestantism ; and sometimes they obscure or extinguish a light which threatened to become so inconveniently strong as to point the way to unpleasant duties. And so, despite the inherent absurdity of many of these productions, and the manifest malice that inspires them, the Catholic apologist is obliged to give them some sort of notice, even if he does not honour them with explicit refutation. This must be our excuse for collecting together sundry animadversions by Catholic reviewers on a book of this class, the handiwork of two authors whose names have become proverbial for bigotry of the most hopeless type, the Rev. Dr. Horton and Mr. Joseph Hocking. No one has deigned to treat their precious lucubration seriously : all are content with showing by extract and reference the rank prejudice and blank unreason that disfigure every page of their book. Its very title—*Shall Rome Reconquer England ?*—whilst insinuating the lie that the Church once gained and held the allegiance of the English race by force, manifests the atmosphere of panic in which the book was begotten. The authors are afflicted with that strange disease of the imagination known as *the Fear of Rome*.

“ Fear,” as we are told in the Book of Wisdom, “ is nothing else but the yielding up of the succours from thought.”¹ How completely these *malades imaginaires*,

¹ Nihil enim est timor nisi proditio cogitationis auxiliorum (Wisdom xvii 11).

The Fear of Rome

Messrs. Horton and Hocking exemplify this truth. They may proceed to show by a series of Catholic citations on their work. We have made no attempt to put all the articles which appeared in Catholic papers. It is probable, as we before suggested, that comparatively few Catholic reviewers understood the author. However, enough are in our hands to afford more than a fair estimate of the previous volume. We may take them chronologically. The first appeared in *Month* for September 1891 and is headed

The Language of Rome.

It was from the writer produced by the combined efforts of Dr. V. F. Horton and Mr. Joseph Hocking, two men to whom it seems as much to be done in the subject of Catholicism and its religion as can be prepared for the purpose of supplying conditions public. Those who desire to know in what other such writers can go, may with profit examine the first work. These authors, under the title *Small Rome Language* (London, 1891), which, as we are assured in a note issued by the publisher, "contains some interesting observations and remarkable facts, should be read by every thoughtful citizen."

The question will perhaps be asked, "Is it serious that Catholicism is not serious, but professes a serious, is engaged that one of the members of the Church?" Undoubtedly it is, as such, to be seen as Horton himself terms without. "Each one of us," he writes, "admits that not the Catholic Church, but the Roman Catholic Church, is the only true Church, and every other of the gods and is one where there is a Pope, and perpetually carrying against all other Protestant, Pagan and Mohammedan."

"The simple truth," writes Newman, "is the tremendous amount of the matter, we do suppose it and every of the other and have done so from the first. But this, we might be to be an officer, and a priest: that religion is

inspires the most enthusiasm has a right to succeed. If to cherish zeal, if to deal the blows of reason and argument, if this be political, if this be disloyal, certainly we deserve worse punishment than the deportation suggested by one member of Parliament, and the £500 penalty of another."

St. Paul would necessarily have laid himself open to the same charge. Did he not declare, "Necessity is laid upon me; for woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel," and this was to be done by bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ?

Evidently this is quite in accord with the sentiment once expressed by Cardinal Manning, which some controversialists are fond of quoting as though it clearly proved that political power was the one object aimed at by the Church. Addressing the Third Provincial Council of Westminster in 1859, he said:—¹

"It is yours, Right Rev. Fathers, to subjugate and to subdue, to bend and to break the will of an imperial race, the will which, as the will of Rome of old, rules over nations and people, invincible and inflexible."

But of course it is not added by those who are fondest of quoting him that the speaker goes on to explain how his words are to be understood, saying:—

"You have to rear the House of Wisdom which was fallen; and to do this, you have now, as the Apostles then, to gather from the spiritual quarry the stones which build up the house of God."

This would seem plain enough, especially in view of the conquest of the Roman Empire by Christianity which is cited as a parallel. But if anything more is required to declare the Cardinal's meaning it is to be found in such a passage as this:—²

"It is manifest to the whole English people that the Catholic Church appeals to it by no power or influence but those of conviction and persuasion: and of these it has no fear. . . . If the Catholic Church can spread itself by fair means, by conviction of the reason and persuasion of the heart, that is, by truth and by charity, the people of England will give it a fair field, though no favour."

¹ *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, i. 116.

² *England and Christendom*, Introduction, p. xcvi.

And yet, while Catholics are of necessity the foremost of all proselytizers, ever anxious to see other sheep brought into the fold, as a plain matter of common experience it is not they who importune non-Catholics to change their creed, or bring pressure to bear on servants and dependants for that purpose. On the contrary, if there be any suspicion of an influence other than sincere conviction inducing a would-be convert to make the change, this is sufficient to show that he is not yet in the dispositions that are required. This, no doubt, is altogether different from the common notion that what Catholics desire is profession of their faith, and external observance, alone. But nevertheless it is, as Newman says, "the simple truth."

The *Catholic Times* is the next on our list, and its review published on September 16th is from the pen of the able and scholarly writer who conceals his identity under the name of "Papyrus." His general impression of the book is given in the title of his review.

LIES IN LEGIONS.

Were two men [he says] to draw up a new multiplication table proceeding on the principle that once one is two, and twice two are three, an arithmetician called in to criticise their work would simply say it was wrong at the beginning, wrong in the middle, wrong at the end, and wrong all through. And that, or very nearly that, is my opinion of the book written by the Rev. R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D., and the Rev. Joseph Hocking, who have collaborated in the production of a controversial volume entitled *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* The question is somewhat rhetorical; but it is useful; for it enables the authors to slip from cold argument to warm appeal. The cover is adorned with the figure of a Roman Cardinal, clad in scarlet and white, standing on a dimly coloured map of England. The Cardinal on the cover is as unlike a real Cardinal as the Catholic Church in the book is unlike the real Church. Now, controversy by caricature will never help towards truth. This book is caricature. No critic could possibly deal with a hundredth part of the false assertions, unwarranted inference, unfounded facts, and tottering logic of which the book is full. Life is too short, and laughter too contagious.

I will merely point out a few of the statements made by these reverend revilers, and ask any Catholic whether he recognises in them either the Church or his own self. And I begin with the Rev. Joseph Hocking. He says indulgences are pardons for sins ; he talks about water and flour becoming God—my readers will, I hope, forgive me for writing down such stuff, and be glad that I write no more of Mr. Hocking's theological rubbish. He is no theologian. He is not a historian. He can calmly write, giving no names, dates, or places :—

“During the last few years I have been told of cases where Catholic young women, pretending to be Protestants, have obtained situations in Protestant homes, as governesses and the like, and have succeeded in instilling their faith into the minds of their pupils.”

He is not ashamed, at this hour of day, to quote Dr. Robertson of Venice, as authority for a story that a lady in London engaged a Protestant governess for her children and, on finding that they were taught Catholic prayers, that the lady forced the governess to confess “that she was a Roman Catholic, and held a dispensation to pretend to be a Protestant.” Ye gods ! could credulity go further ? He talks of Ferrer as “the Spanish martyr.” He urges both political parties in England to treat the Catholic vote “as a negligible quantity” ; as if they could abolish the ballot boxes ! But it is when he comes to the chapter headed “An Appeal to Facts” that he surpasses himself. He tells us :—

“Every nation which has remained under the subjection of Rome, every nation which has taken her orders from the Vatican, has become decadent.”

For example, the Sumerians, Hittites, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. And if Mr. Hocking thinks that my list can hardly be accepted, on the ground that the Vatican cannot have caused the death of nations that died before itself was born, well, I won't press the list further, but will simply ask him to remember that decadence and death are the natural end of the history of every nation. And if not many Protestant nations have decayed, there are not many to decay. Holland is not what she once was, however, in spite of Protestantism. And besides, Protestant nations are young yet. Wait a few centuries, and the world's trade may flow from England's shores, leaving her nothing but Protestantism to live on. Mr. Hocking brags : “Our commerce

has practically gone to every land, our ships sail on every sea, our language is more and more prevailing, our power is felt everywhere." But if that proves anything for Protestantism, then the pagan Romans were right in pointing to their world-wide empire as proof of the power and favour of Jupiter, Venus, and Bacchus, and all their carnal pantheon. It is not Protestantism that has made the prosperity of England, but coal and cotton and the gold standard. He says Ireland is poor because she is Catholic. She is poor because England has robbed her. He says Spain is weak because she is Catholic; but when she was the greatest power on earth she was Catholic. He says England "was a great charnel-house during the reign of Mary": I suppose we are to believe she was a drawing-room during the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth! He says "Catholic countries stand on a far lower plane of morality than Protestant countries." All statistics gave him the lie direct. He proves himself to be no theologian, no historian, no statistician. He is simply a romancer. He makes statements based on his inner consciousness. Let us leave him, and turn to the Rev. R. F. Horton. He is more intellectual than his companion, but not more scrupulous. And he is very credulous, or he would not say that a Catholic "disposes of his property at the bidding of the priests," or that he "purchases absolution by money payments," or that "Catholics are bound to pay him [*i.e.* the Pope] the same reverence as they pay to God," or that "The deification of the Pope is authorised by the Pope himself": talk of that sort betrays a strain of theological lunacy. But he gets saner as he goes on, though at times he emits some fearful statements on Catholic doctrine, and power, and practice. Thus, the Church "is so completely free from moral scruple in its designs; it has such boundless wealth at its disposal, and such skill in capturing the nobility, the landlords, the leaders of society; it grips the Press with so firm a hand, and has so many ways of assassinating inconvenient critics"—don't tremble, gentle reader, this good man's life is safe. He is not a critic, and he is not inconvenient. He will be saved from assassination by his inconceivable ignorance. Neither Papal Bull nor Papal bullet will be wasted on him. He will do the Pope no harm. But he would make a capital Court Jester, if ever the Temporal Power were restored. For he has fun in him. How he must have chuckled when he wrote of King Leopold that "He was a man whose private life was the scandal of Europe"! For he knew that Leopold was not the only sinner among Kings, and that the private lives of Monarchs are not quite fit subjects of theological controversy. Did not a tower once fall upon some people

who were still held not to have been sinners above all their neighbours? And, if there be a cowardly sin, is it not that of calumny? And is not that man a cowardly calumniator who is so shameless as to write: "Belief in the Catholic Church covers all sins. No immorality, cruelty, brutality matters in the least so long as men believe in that Church, the mother of sins." Reverend sir and pious calumniator, it is written, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." It has been said also that the devil is the father of lies. Soon we shall be obliged to say that he is the father of liars. Who could have inspired you, reverend sir, when you wrote on page 181:—

"No, the grossest impurity, the most unscrupulous avarice, the cruellest treatment of wife and family, do not count. Belief in the Catholic Church, and that alone, is needed."

God forgive me, I am no saint; I am but a mortal man, with human frailties thick upon me; but I am conscious of no guilt such as that lie entails. Had I written it, I would creep on my knees to a statue of Aphrodite Pandemos, patroness of pimps and panders, and pray her to cleanse me from my foulness. And yet, and yet—did I not say you were more intellectual than your companion? You are; you see some things, he sees nothing—he would be blind even to an angel in the way. You are merely colour-blind. Where Catholic theology is concerned you see everything in a red light. But in politics your eyes are open to some rays of the sun. You would abolish the Accession Oath; it has gone, gone after other calumnies, excepting such as yours. You would not press for the inspection of convents. You would even urge that, in justice, Catholics should share in the school rates which they pay. You are kind enough to write:—

"It may be fairly urged that Catholics are a very small section of our English people. Of the 2,000,000 Catholics in this country, 1,800,000 are Irish or foreigners; only 200,000 are genuinely English. These Catholics, like the Jews, pay rates. Considering the necessity of Catholic education for the support of Catholicism, a great and generous country may justly consent to the principle that Catholics may pay their rates to the Catholic schools. The more complete we can make our system of public schools, with the common religious teaching and atmosphere which meet the needs of

all Protestants, the more safely we may grant to sections, like Catholics and Jews, schools of their own. Inevitably the public schools will draw away from, and supersede, the sectarian institutions. Enlightened Catholics will, in their children's interest, prefer the public schools, as they do in America. We need not therefore make the education question the first line of our defence against Rome. Leave Rome to educate her own children and you only hasten her decay. History, science, literature, taught with a Roman bias, put the children and the youths at a hopeless disadvantage in competition with the scholars of free and enlightened schools. Light is the great boon; Rome perishes because she loves darkness rather than light."

"Pharisees and hypocrites ! ye have a fine progeny in our days. Did I say, reverend sir, that you were more intellectual than your companion ? Yes, and you prove it. You have intelligence enough to see that the Catholic claim for a fair share in the school rates which they pay is a fair claim. You are intellectual enough to admit what you cannot deny. But you are not intellectual enough to do justice for justice' sake, because it is just and right. Your intellect is malicious. You would do justice to Catholics, not because justice is justice, or because it would do us good, but, because you think it would do us harm. Never mind, do justice and we shall be content. Get your companion to see the justice, either of your intellect or of your malice. It is all one to us, if we only obtain what we want, namely, our just portion of the rates we pay. And so, good-bye. I part from your book with pleasure. It is painful, because it is bigoted, narrow-minded, ignorant, and malicious. It will not injure us, it may not benefit you. No honest man will read it without regret that two reverend gentlemen should have been found capable of writing it. It is a caricature of Catholics and Catholicism. It is a criticism on two Nonconformists ; the rest of their brethren are guiltless of the dual offence. As I look at you both, and listen to your talk, I can but think of a story from a book you both know, and, omitting to give any name to Mr. Hocking, content myself with calling Dr. Horton—Balaam !"

We may insert here a letter which was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on September 19th, and which

does something to dissociate the general body of sane Nonconformists from the ribaldry of their self-constituted spokesmen :—

To the Editor of the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

Sir,—Free Churchmen have been wondering for some time past what was to be the future work of the Free Church Council. It had retired from the political field, and apparently had found no other work to engage in. But at last it has done something. In future it is, apparently, to be a sort of Nonconformist Protestant Alliance. It has produced a bitter and violent attack on Roman Catholicism—a book entitled *Shall Rome Reconquer England ?* by Dr. Horton and by Mr. Joseph Hocking. The kind of stuff that the Free Church Council has served up in this precious book is indicated by one statement by Dr. Horton, who says that of the priests in France one-third are sceptics and one-third are immoral. There are, of course, no figures on which such a wild and disgraceful statement can be based. Some one has told Dr. Horton—that is all. And on a piece of silly and worthless gossip this statement is built up and sent forth to the world by the Free Church Council. The Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., M.P., the chairman of the Congregational Union, in a speech in the House of Commons the other day, declared that Roman Catholics “belong, it is true, to another part of the Church, but none the less to the same Church as that to which we belong ourselves.” He added that he did not regard Roman Catholics as idolaters. He regarded them as fellow-Christians. Have the Free Church Council and Dr. Horton and Mr. Joseph Hocking nothing better to do, in a world where sin and misery are crying out for a kindly hand of help, than to attack with violence and bitterness their fellow-Christians ? I want to know what Christian gentlemen like Dr. Scott Lidgett and Dr. Jowett think of this ugly business.—Yours truly,

NONCONFORMIST.

Such a letter does the writer credit, but it also serves to throw stronger light upon the cowardly inaction of the Free Church Council and prominent Nonconformists generally in doing nothing to repudiate the “Brace of Bigots.”

In its October issue the *Month* had a further, but not more flattering, reference to the book, headed—

THE "BRACE OF BIGOTS" ONCE MORE.

Last month [said the reviewer] we made some comments in these pages on the main proposition suggested by the title of a curious book, which has lately been amusing various Catholic reviewers and which owes its existence to two notorious anti-Catholic writers, Dr. Robert Horton, to wit, and Mr. Joseph Hocking. Since then the volume itself—*Shall Rome Reconquer England?*—has been sent us for review, as if to invite our further, more mature, opinion about it. We fear that a review, in any serious sense, would be labour misapplied: there is nothing here to occupy the attention of an educated reader: criticism is dumb when confronted with undiluted nonsense. But the production may perhaps serve as a peg on which to hang some few remarks on the strange mentality of its authors.

We are acquainted with a schoolmaster, who once spent a weary hour-or so in explaining to a geometry class of small boys all that there was to know about plane triangles. He described the figure fully, its essential characteristic and its accidental varieties. He contrasted it with other plane figures—the square, the circle, and so forth—the better to bring out its salient features. He illustrated his description by diagrams of all the different sorts. Then, after this prolonged and exhaustive exposition, he carefully drew one of the varieties on the board and asked the class to say which it was. Only one boy volunteered a reply, but that was sufficiently startling—"Please, sir, a round triangle!"

Now, on turning over the pages of *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* we realize more keenly than ever what that poor pedagogue must have felt. For the *Month*, during the past dozen years or so, has really been at considerable pains to instruct Masters Robert and Joseph in the elements of Catholic belief. It has examined various erroneous impressions of theirs, and confuted them, aiming at proving its points in the very simplest language and repeating itself to weariness in its endeavours to make things plain. And, a little over a year ago, for convenience, so to speak, of reference, a number of these simple lessons were collected together in a handy book, bound in bright colours and published by the C.T.S. under the alluring and alliterative title, *A Brace of Bigots*. Yet the Masters Robert and Joseph aforesaid

go on repeating their silly mistakes, just as if they had never been told the facts ! It will readily be granted that some little sense of impatience is justified in their teachers.

Here is Master Robert, for instance, protesting quite in the old way, that he scorns the very shadow of dishonesty in controversy. "We can only use the weapons of truth," he exclaims. "Better Rome should win the day than that we should resist her by lying." Yet if the lies, the age-rotten, often-refuted, incredibly-silly lies, lies both of fact and inference and innuendo, had been removed from Master Robert's three little essays, the compositor would have had very little to do. Let us take some specimens. Here, then, we find once again the lie about the Pope being considered by Catholics as God, the lie about the False Decretals being the foundation of the Papal claims, the lie about the "Adoration of the Virgin," the lie about the "doctrine of reserve" (as Robert ignorantly calls it), the lie about the Bible withheld from the laity, the lie about the "killing of heretics," &c., &c. Why go on ? Hardly a page but reproduces some venerable fable, the falseness of which Master Robert, this champion of transparent truthfulness, has had every opportunity of finding out.

As for his collaborator, Master Joseph is known as a story-teller, and we can only say that in this volume he continues to tell them. He tells, for example, the old story of how Luther discovered the Bible at Erfurt, a legend of which the Anglican Maitland says : "There is no use criticizing such nonsense." He tells unblushingly how the sale of Indulgences with a fixed tariff was ordered by Pope Leo X, mentioning as corroborative evidence that "the actual box in which the people's money was put, can be seen to-day in the Cathedral at Magdeberg"¹ (*sic*). He repeats, as we pointed out last month, the usual travesty of Archbishop Manning's address to the Third Provincial Council of Westminster, with the usual dishonest gloss upon the words. He reproduces again the marvellous myth of "Rome" capturing the English Press. In fact, there is no end to the stories of Master Joseph "the eminent fictionist," all in thorough keeping with his literary reputation, but we are sorry to notice that his sense of decency has not come to

¹ This recalls the proof, cited by another and more innocent story-teller, of the alleged fact that Apollo had rolled rocks from Mount Parnassus on the Persians, who came to plunder his shrine at Delphi : "The blocks of stone [says Herodotus] might still be seen in my day."

life again since he spoke at the National Free Church Council last year. He has had the unspeakable insolence to repeat, in the Preface to this production, the foul innuendoes about life in our convents which his prurient fancy gave vent to on that occasion. Master Joseph deserves to be soundly birched for this nastiness.

Why is it, we may ask, that these men, like the Bourbons, seem to learn nothing and forget nothing? The mind is constructed for the acquisition of truth—how is it that truth so hardly enters theirs? The answer must be that they do not look for it. And they do not look for it, because they do not really desire it. We do not wish to make too much of what has been done in the *Month* to enlighten them, but there are other sources of information open to them on every side. Not one of their silly historical calumnies but has long ago been exploded by scholars, and not alone by Catholic scholars. And as for the meaning of the Church's doctrines and the effect of Catholic practices—why do they not consult living Catholics, accredited teachers, competent experts, instead of cramming their minds with what non-Catholics say of the Church, past and present? They cannot really desire the truth, or else they would have gone to first-hand sources, instead of raking together the testimonies of apostate friars and renegade priests and anonymous heretics to support their views.¹ They have not sought for truth but searched the gutters of Protestant controversy and anti-Catholic propaganda for whatever would corroborate what they desired to hold. And naturally they have found what they looked for.

However, there is one solitary gleam of hope for Dr. Horton, which we find in the following passage :—

"Some time ago [he says], I came across a book which stated that a number of Free Church ministers were in league

¹ Much of their indictment against Catholicism is purveyed from the works of Mr. McCabe, once a Catholic priest but now a militant Atheist. It is amusing, in view of the fact that Protestantism is claimed to be a strong bulwark against Rationalism, to recall that Mr. McCabe does not reciprocate the feelings of admiration which his rejection of his religion has aroused in these two worthies. In *Haeckel's Critics Answered*, Mr. McCabe takes some credit for not assigning "to Dr. Horton a lower level of culture than that of the man in the street," and he speaks contemptuously of the Doctor's "insincere rhetoric."

with the Jesuits, and acting according to their instigation. Of course the assertion is too ridiculous to be for a moment entertained" (p. 113).

At last, at long last, the limits of Hortonian credulity on the subject of "Rome" have apparently been reached! There is actually something about her secret machinations "too ridiculous to be entertained." For that we must be thankful at present. The day may come when, by the application of the test of absurdity, this poor Rome-ridden mind may realize that the bulk of his assertions are equally or more ridiculous.

Meanwhile, let us put *Shall Rome, &c.*, on the book-shelf beside *A Brace of Bigots*, for which it furnishes the most admirable *pièces justificatives*. It might have been written for the purpose.

Our readers by this time will have gathered why it was that no Catholic writer set himself seriously to "answer" Messrs. Horton and Hocking. So far as their allegations are worth refuting, refutation had been made over and over again, and really there is some limit even to Christian patience. However, we may fittingly conclude this collection by a review taken from *Catholic Book Notes* of October, 1910, and written, it may be confidently surmised, by one who, more than any other Catholic controversialist, has studied and countered the blundering attacks of these two Protestant champions—Mr. James Britten. He says, under the caption—

A BLAST OF BIGOTRY—

We have received from the publishers the volume by Dr. Horton and Mr. Hocking, in which this "Brace of Bigots"—to adopt the title of the C.T.S. volume devoted to their literary exploits—discuss the question, *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* The preliminary puff which announced that the authors had been engaged for some months on a very careful study of the question is

entirely contradicted by the contents of the book ; it is in fact exactly on a par with Mr. Hocking's claim to have based his ridiculous fiction *The Scarlet Woman* upon personal and authentic investigation. The authors rehash the material and repeat some of the most offensive passages of their former works ; Dr. Horton, whom no exposure can shame, returns to his favourite fiction as to "Our Lord God the Pope," adding comments if possible more offensive than his previous ones, *e.g.* :—

"Since 1870 and the declaration of infallibility it must be fully admitted that the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, is *the exact equivalent of God*, and Catholics are bound to pay him *the same reverence as they pay to God*" (p. 67).

And again :—

"The deification of the Pope is authorized by the Pope himself. The Pope's predecessor as Pontifex Maximus, the Emperor Vespasian, said grimly, as he died, in reference to the adulation which deified deceased emperors : 'Deus fio'—I am becoming a God. The Pope uses *the same words* while he lives" (p. 70).

The hesitation which we expressed before the book was published¹ disappears when we read these passages ; and Dr. Horton's characteristic cant about truth (pp. 64–66) becomes simply disgusting in view of these misrepresentations, of which he cannot be unconscious. Nor is Dr. Horton content with reproducing his old calumnies and misstatements ; a new and scandalous example of his ingrained inaccuracy, unsurpassed in its audacity by any of his previous efforts in that direction, appears on pp. 132, 133, where he writes :—

"There is a most extraordinary passage in Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, which faithfully records the death-bed scene. . . . On his death-bed, we are told, he earnestly besought those around him to pray that he might get into—heaven ? no, but purgatory. He felt that he was going to hell, and purgatory seemed the one desirable doom to pray for."

¹ It is satisfactory to learn that these masters of fiction have been engaged for several months on a "very careful study of the question," and we await with interest the result of this new and gratifying departure in Protestant polemics.—*Catholic Book Notes*, p. 251.

We have read through with care the chapter (vol. ii. pp. 802-818) on "The Death of Cardinal Manning," and we assert that it does not contain a single word which can justify this preposterous statement. What it *does* say is

"Cardinal Manning manifested on various occasions in the night his perfect resignation to the Divine will, and his implicit trust in the love and mercy of God" (p. 806).

Experience extending over a long term of years forbids us to expect that Dr. Horton will retract or apologise for this gross misrepresentation, for which there is not one shred of justification; but are we not justified in describing as disgusting cant his profession of regard for truth? and will the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches continue to issue with their imprimatur the book which contains a misstatement so scandalous?

For the rest, we have the old charges, the only novelty being various references to Ferrer, who is regarded by Mr. Hocking, following Mr. Joseph McCabe, as a martyr (p. 151) whom "the Church used its influence to murder" (p. 161)—the note that "the most widely circulated penny newspaper in England" described Ferrer's trial as having been "conducted with perfect honour and honesty" is followed by "!" and cited as evidence of Rome's power in the press (p. 84); the old fictions, such as the bogus speech of Bishop Strossmayer at the Vatican Council which "has never been answered" (p. 134); the old slipshoddity in the omission of references and the misspelling of names—"says Maclauchlin a Catholic writer" (p. 105), "the Rev. A. Faulkes" (p. 142), "Pope Julian" (for Julius) (p. 13), "El Correo Español" (p. 159); the usual witnesses—Dr. Robertson, Mr. Michael MacCarthy, Mr. Joseph McCabe, with the latest addition, Miss Moulton, whose platform performances have been terminated (we hope happily) by marriage; and of course Dr. Horton's usual type of informant—"a Frenchman told me" (p. 58); the old fictions, such as that which describes Luther's "finding a copy of that old Latin Bible, of which all the world knows" (!) (p. 21); the characteristic violence of language—even Dr. Horton, who should be by education a gentleman, does not shrink from speaking of "the tyranny, the superstition, the duplicity, and the blasphemy" of Rome (p. 71), and sometimes lapses into sheer nonsense—*e.g.* the Church "puts Mariolatry in the foreground because Mary is her own creation" (!) (p. 61). All this we are used to; it is as cheap and vulgar as it is ineffectual.

There is, indeed, an astonishing audacity about Dr. Horton's statements which presupposes an equally marvellous credulity on the part of his readers. Even in these days, when trippers of all classes and kinds have made Lucerne their head-quarters, he does not hesitate to trot out the old fiction admirably satirized by Mark Twain when he said that you could always tell a Protestant glacier from a Catholic glacier, as the former was whitewashed much more frequently. Dr. Horton writes in the chapter amusingly headed "An Appeal to Facts":—

"I imagine that many who read this have been to Switzerland, but I wonder whether they have considered why some parts of Switzerland are so much more clean, and prosperous, and godly than others. Those who know this little country thoroughly, and who have studied its life carefully, tell us that one could almost draw a line without the aid of a map where the Protestant cantons end and where the Roman Catholic cantons begin. In the former you have cleanliness, contentment, prosperity, and godliness, while in the latter you have dirt, squalor, and poverty" (p. 153).

It is evident that Dr. Horton's recent experiences with the *Academy*, although they have proved somewhat expensive—we note that his friends are appealing for help in paying the costs of about £600, which are not recoverable from the owners of the paper—have not taught him caution; he seems to be at the mercy of any one who will take the trouble, as schoolboys say, "to stuff him up" with any kind of nonsense. In bygone days it was said that when Eton boys were dull, they used to visit a neighbouring naturalist and tell him dog stories; and Dr. Horton seems to be the willing victim of any one who will take the trouble to gull him. This Swiss business, for instance—does he really think religion in Switzerland is cantonal? If so he had better visit the two parallel passes in the Engadine—the Julier and the Albula—one of which is Protestant, the other Catholic. Is not Lucerne clean, contented, and prosperous? and as for godliness, those who go into the churches at six o'clock or earlier on a week-day morning will be able to form their own opinion on that head.

High as it undoubtedly is, however, Dr. Horton's standard of Protestantism does not reach that required by Mr. Walter Walsh, who, in the *English Churchman* of September 8th, accuses him of rendering important services to the Church of Rome; and we gladly testify that in certain directions his views contrast favour-

ably with those of his less educated collaborator. In the last chapter of the book, Dr. Horton approves the alteration of "the Coronation oath"—"he has muddled up two things," as Mr. Walsh truly says, but when was Dr. Horton accurate?—and of the removal of Catholic disabilities; he would let convents alone "till their inevitable day of doom comes"—which seems like giving a lease for 999 years—and would even allow Catholics to "pay their rates to the Catholic schools" (p. 195)! We cannot withhold a tear of sympathy for Mr. Walsh, who concludes by saying:—

"After the publication of this book people will surely wonder whether the Free Church Council is qualifying as an auxiliary of Popery in this country."

We note with some concern the development of a new attitude towards the Christian religion, of which Mr. Hocking had already given an indication when in *The Soul of Dominic Wildthorne* he placed the Virgin Birth among the "paraphernalia of the Church which had hidden the eternal truth." It is not, however, Mr. Hocking but Dr. Horton who espouses the cause of Modernism (pp. 121–124) and eulogises the "devoted men, all Catholics" (p. 121), "pure seekers after truth" (p. 61), who were its promoters. It is Dr. Horton who speaks of "Pius IX's dogma of 1854, which declared that [Mary] was, *like her Son*, conceived without sin" (p. 135), and who speaks of "her coronation by *God and the Son*" (p. 61). The significance of passages such as these is intensified by the fact that the volume is issued as an official publication of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches; is the attitude of that body towards the Divinity of our Lord that indicated by Dr. Horton in the two passages quoted?

We cannot too strongly urge upon our readers the importance of obtaining and circulating the shilling C.T.S. volume already referred to, in which the inaccuracies of this *Brace of Bigots*—we should say *some* of the inaccuracies, for it would take a large volume to deal with them all—are examined and exposed, and of seeing that the various penny numbers of which this is made up are placed in all church-door boxes. It is only by diligent dissemination of these antidotes that the poison so assiduously distributed by these unscrupulous purveyors can be neutralized.

We have now made clear by these various reviews the character of the volume for which the "National

Free Church Council " are not ashamed to take the responsibility. We may subjoin, in conclusion, some recent developments of the question, which deal mainly with Dr. Horton and this reprehensible attitude of the Council.

Mr. Britten having selected from the veritable *embarras de mensonges* presented in the book one particular falsehood which seemed especially groundless and malignant, endeavoured with his incurable optimism to get it withdrawn. The result he thus describes in a letter to the *Tablet*, December 10th.

SIR,—The latest instance of the Rev. Dr. Horton's methods is so unblushing in its audacity that it seems to call for notice in your columns.

At the beginning of last September I received from the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches a copy of the much-advertised and widely circulated book—now in its fortieth thousand—entitled *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* in which Dr. Horton and his worthy ally, Mr. Joseph Hocking, have served up for the delectation of the Protestant public a *réchauffé* of the calumnies which they have for some years past been engaged in disseminating. On glancing through the book my eye fell on a statement with regard to the death of Cardinal Manning which was remarkable from the fact that Dr. Horton for once stated the authority on which his information was based. I at once wrote to the Free Church Council pointing out the falseness of the statement, and was informed that my letter should receive attention. Time went on and the book went into two or three editions, my request for an answer to my letter being met with various excuses for delay. At length I received an intimation that in the next edition Dr. Horton would make such alteration as he considered necessary to meet the case, and this morning a copy of the new (fifth) edition of the book has reached me.

The following is the passage to which I took exception, on the ground that this which Dr. Horton characterised as "most extraordinary" found no place in the work from which it is said to be

taken : side by side with it I place the version which is supposed to meet the case, with the characteristic footnote in which it is justified.

ORIGINAL PASSAGE

(italics mine throughout).

"There is a most extraordinary passage in Purcell's 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' which *faithfully records* the deathbed scene. . . . On his deathbed, *we are told*, he earnestly besought those around him to pray that he might get into—heaven? no, but purgatory. He felt that he was going to hell, and purgatory seemed the one desirable doom that he might pray for" (pp. 132, 133).

AMENDED VERSION.

"I remember reading at the time of his death, a remarkable utterance that *he was reputed* to have made. On his deathbed, *we were told*, he earnestly besought those around him to pray that he might get into—heaven? no, but purgatory. Purgatory seemed the one desirable doom that he might pray for" (pp. 132, 133).

Those who have followed Dr. Horton's utterances will know exactly what value to attach to his memory of what he has read ; those who have not will find it in the C.T.S. pamphlet on *The Methods of a Protestant Controversialist*. But the iniquity of Dr. Horton's present action is shown by his footnote to the passage in its amended form, which runs thus :—

"This *fact* (!) I have every reason to credit, BECAUSE it was stated in my 'England's Danger' (p. 139), and was not, *as far as I know* disputed by the Catholic critics, who assailed my words as bitterly twelve years ago as they do now" (p. 133). (Italics and capitals mine.)

It will be observed that there is no withdrawal—nothing short of a threat of legal proceedings ever elicits a withdrawal from Dr. Horton—and no apology for a flagrant misquotation : but a justification of the statement, on the ground that he had made it twelve years ago and no one, so far as he knew, had corrected him !

I forbear to enter further upon the consideration of the preposterous collection of calumnies which *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* contains, but I hope you will allow me to inform your readers that the authors are sufficiently exposed in the little volume entitled *A Brace of Bigots*, published by the Catholic Truth Society. Before concluding, however, I should like to say a word about the

attitude of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, which is responsible for the book.

The statement was called in question at the beginning of September : its accuracy or the reverse could have been tested by the simple process of turning up a passage in a book. Yet the Council, knowing it to be impugned, reissues it four times and in tens of thousands, without any attempt at verification ; and, after repeated reminders, now contents itself by printing, without further apology, the passage from Dr. Horton's pen which I have quoted. Is this method of withdrawing a calumny worthy of a body of Christian ministers ? And is there no one on the Council sufficiently honest to protest against this condoning of a statement shown to be incorrect and to insist that, in view of its numerous untruths and inaccuracies, evidence of which I shall be delighted to supply, the book should be withdrawn from circulation until it has been purged of its grosser errors ?

Yours obediently,

JAMES BRITTEN,

Hon. Sec. C.T.S.

41 Boston Road, Brentford, Middlesex,

December 6th.

PS.—Your readers may like to be reminded of what Purcell *does* say as to Cardinal Manning's deathbed : " Cardinal Manning manifested on various occasions in the night his perfect resignation to the Divine will, and his implicit trust in the love and mercy of God " (" Life," ii. 806).

The fact that Dr. Horton actually attempted a justification of his conduct, in a letter to the *Tablet*, printed in the issue for December 24th, itself throws a world of light on his strangely constituted sense of truth and honesty. He wrote as follows :—

SIR,—The letter concerning me in last week's *Tablet* has been brought to my notice. And I rely on your fairness and courtesy to allow me a reply. Mr. Britten's conduct to me for the past twelve years has been such that communications with him are impossible except, as he so delicately hints, through a solicitor.

But with you, and with the large body of Catholics, it is very

different ; and I have had more than one evidence that lovers of the Roman Church can understand my position, and even thank me for the criticisms of the system, which may, as they think, help to correct abuses.

I very gladly, therefore, offer my *apologia* to such Catholics, fellow-Christians, as I venture to call them, in your columns, for I know that such publications of the Catholic Truth Society as *A Brace of Bigots* are as revolting to them as they are ludicrous to us.

Now, with regard to the death-bed of Cardinal Manning, I read at the time of his death, fifteen years ago or so, the statement to which exception is taken. I quoted it in my *England's Danger*, three years later ; and, as no one disputed it, I thought that it was authentic. I took this to be an example of the humility and self-distrust which the Roman Church inculcates in view of death. It was precisely similar to the more recent instance of Cardinal Vaughan's Life (vol. ii. 465-466), where the Cardinal affirmed : " I deserve a lot of Purgatory, and what is more I shall get it."

Repeating this incident concerning Cardinal Manning in an address this year—published in the brochure *Shall Rome Reconquer England?*—I quoted the fact as occurring in Purcell's "Life," which I had not seen since it came out in 1895, and I supposed that I had read it there.

When Mr. Britten addressed a protest to the Free Church Council, he did not deny the fact—which has been in my *England's Danger* unchallenged all these years—but he denied that the fact was to be found in Purcell's "Life." The Council therefore stopped the reprinting of the book, in order to make the correction.

But let me say that if the fact is not correct I am as eager as you are to correct it. That I read it as a fact fifteen years ago I know. That it is not in Purcell's "Life" I now learn. My memory failed me.

There are still several men living who were with the Cardinal in his sick room, the Abbé Gasquet, Canon Johnson, and, so far as I know, Canon Purcell. If these gentlemen tell me on their honour as Christians that Cardinal Manning did *not* ask for prayer that he might get into Purgatory, I will loyally accept their assurance and withdraw the statement altogether.

Allow me to say that what makes it difficult or impossible to deal with controversialists like Mr. Britten is that they never give one credit for honour or the wish to get at the truth ; they make a man an offender for a slip of memory or an involuntary inaccuracy ;

and they exalt those human infirmities into crimes against God and man.

I am yours faithfully,

Hampstead,

ROBERT F. HORTON.

December 16th.

To those whom unfortunate necessity has compelled to read Dr. Horton's blasphemous attacks on Catholicism the above letter, wherein he poses as a much-maligned man appealing to "Catholics for fair consideration, can only appear a piece of colossal impertinence. "Slips of memory" and "involuntary inaccuracies" but ill describe the radically false presentments of Catholic doctrine and practice, insolently repeated in spite of constant corrections, which abound in his writings. In the subsequent *Tablet* a letter from the Rev. J. Keating, editor of the Horton-cum-Hocking exposure entitled *A Brace of Bigots*, pointed out the dishonest repetition in *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* of the malignant old calumny that Catholics pay divine honours to the Pope; and, in the issue for January 7th, 1911, Mr. Britten thus replied on the main question:—

SIR,—At the risk of trying the patience of you and your readers, I propose to examine Dr. Horton's letter paragraph by paragraph, for in no other way can its statements and insinuations be met.

I. My "conduct" towards Dr. Horton "for the last twelve years" has consisted in an endeavour (which I admit has proved fruitless), to obtain from him some evidence in support of the calumnies which throughout that period he has continuously uttered against the Catholic Church, or to induce him to withdraw them. It was in 1898 that he informed me that he had "met with the term 'Our Lord God the Pope' in his reading, both of the Renaissance and mediæval literature"; and I challenged him to substantiate his assertion. This he has not done because he cannot; but, as

Father Keating points out in your last issue, "he does not scruple to re-assert the falsehood" in *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* published last September. His reference to "communications through a solicitor" I do not understand; *mine* was to the circumstances under which, unless I am misinformed, he was induced to withdraw a serious charge against a convent which, with unusual rashness, he specifically indicated; a charge, however, which he renewed in more general terms.

2. Dr. Horton's attempt to dissociate me from yourself and "the large body of Catholics" is ingenious. He is apparently unaware that more than one exposure of his misrepresentations has appeared in your columns, but he can hardly be ignorant of the fact that, however unworthily, I have the honour to act as Secretary to the fairly "large body of Catholics" known as the Catholic Truth Society, which body is responsible for the volume to which he takes exception. That "lovers of the Roman Church understand [his] position" is, I am vain enough to think, partly due to my endeavours; that any one of them has thanked him for "criticisms of the system, which may help to correct abuses," I decline to believe without at least one "evidence."

3. Dr. Horton's "venture" in calling Catholics fellow-Christians is somewhat remarkable: for in his *My Belief* he distinctly states that "the Roman system is not Christian but anti-Christian" (p. 178); that "there is no exaggeration in saying that . . . Christianity is the antithesis of Catholicism" (p. 85): and that "if Catholicism is Christianity, the world must deliver itself from Christianity"! (p. 80). I could easily multiply quotations to the same effect from Dr. Horton's other writings, but these will probably suffice to show his general attitude towards his Catholic "fellow-Christians."

One would like to know—but one never will—the ground for Dr. Horton's assertion that the *Brace of Bigots* is "revolting" to Catholics: that he should think it "ludicrous" seems to show either that he has not read it or that he possesses a curious sense of humour, for a more crushing indictment of his veracity and accuracy it would be difficult to frame. The adjectives, however, may pass; for Mr. Joseph Hocking's ignorance, as therein exemplified, is certainly "ludicrous," while the calumnies of Dr. Horton, therein exposed, may fairly be considered "revolting."

4. We now come to the main point at issue "with regard to the deathbed of Cardinal Manning." I should have thought I had dealt with this sufficiently in my former letter, to which I refer your

readers, but it may be well to recur to it in connection with Dr. Horton's "apologia," which, of course, is a very different thing from an apology. Dr. Horton speaks of "quoting" the statement which he "had read at the time of [Manning's] death" in his *England's Danger*; but it stands there on his own unsupported authority—there is no "quotation"—here is the passage:—

"Thus Manning, as he drew near to death, after a life which, according to Catholic standards, was good and even saintly, was oppressed with an awful anxiety about the future. We find him asking for the prayers of others, not that he might get out, but that he may get into Purgatory" (p. 138).¹

5. Here we have Dr. Horton at his best; but imagine his indignation if a Jesuit had ventured on so subtle a distinction! "Mr. Britten did not deny *the fact*, which had been in my *England's Danger* unchallenged all these years, but he denied that *the fact was to be found in Purcell's 'Life.'*" This, translated into English, means that if you tell a lie and it is not detected, you may subsequently refer to it as a fact. But Dr. Horton does not see that the statement which I challenged rested *solely* on the "most extraordinary passage" which Dr. Horton now says that he "*supposed* [he] had read" in Purcell's "Life"—a passage which "faithfully records the death-bed scene," and gives harrowing details which, as Dr. Horton now confesses, existed only in his memory—or in his imagination: the terms in his case seems convertible. Obviously, not being Dr. Horton, I could not deny or assert what I did not know.

"When Mr. Britten addressed a protest to the Free Church Council . . . they stopped the reprinting of the book." This is simply untrue, as will be seen from my former letter. I addressed

¹ The "lovers of the Roman Church" who are grateful to Dr. Horton may like to read his opinion of the doctrine of Purgatory: "Romanism has established the idea that the rich can get their friends released from Purgatory, while the poor cannot. . . . The grisly terrors of Purgatory were gradually evolved and invented for a very human and very sordid purpose. The whole notion is a nightmare of the corrupt imagination of unregenerate men. . . . This element of almost diabolical corruption and callousness in the Roman doctrine of Purgatory. . . . The god of the Jesuit purgatory is a being whose spiritual terrors must react upon its creators" (*England's Danger*, pp. 137-39).

my protest to the Free Church Council in September last, immediately the book was issued ; they reprinted it at the end of that month, and again at the end of October, without alteration, and it was not until after repeated reminders that what Dr. Horton is pleased to consider a "correction" was made. I still hope that the Council will take suitable steps to express regret for the continued circulation of what they knew to be false.

6. Dr. Horton's "eagerness" to correct his misstatement is gratifying, but his way of manifesting it is as odd as it is characteristic. Supposing that the three gentlemen to whom he appeals were, as he asserts, "still living"—and that they told him "on their honour"—nothing less will serve, for the habitual untruthfulness of Rome is one of Dr. Horton's favourite themes—that Manning did not act as indicated—his answer would be simple. "They did not deny *the fact*," he would say, "they only said they *never heard* Manning's prayer : they did not say that nobody else did !"

But it is this paragraph which supplies the only charitable explanation of Dr. Horton's mode of controversy and of statement. He complains that I "make a man an offender for *a* [!] slip of memory or *an* [!] involuntary inaccuracy," that I never "give [him] credit for honour or the wish to get at the truth." I shall gladly give him such credit on two conditions—that he will apologise for his innumerable misstatements with regard to the Church, and that he will abstain from repeating them. As to his "wish to get at the truth," he seems to take little trouble to carry it into execution. The slightest inquiry would have informed him that his late neighbour at Hampstead, Canon Purcell, had been dead for some years, and that Canon Johnson is also dead ; yet with characteristic inaccuracy he speaks of them as "still living," and includes with them "the Abbé Gasquet." "Abbé" is doubtless Hortonian for Abbot, and Abbot Gasquet is happily still with us ; but—will it be believed?—a reference to Purcell's "Life" (ii. 806) shows that it was not the Abbot, but *Dr.* Gasquet, who is described as "the husband of [Manning's] beloved niece," who was present at the death : and he, too, died some time since !

The explanation of Dr. Horton's method, then, is to be found in a constitutional inability to be accurate—a defect which extends to his utterances generally. Glancing over the *dossier* before me, for example, I find numerous examples of this, some of them amusing enough : *The Hampstead and Highgate Express*, for example, on January 20, 1890, devotes four columns to letters dealing *inter alia*

with his statement that "a little country no larger than two small Welsh counties" [*i.e.*, the Transvaal] was then at war with England, and it was shown that "the two Boer Republics are ninety times as large as the two largest Welsh counties." Dr. Horton contributes a characteristic reply that his comparison "referred, of course [!], to the population." But this mental defect should at least teach Dr. Horton humility, and above all should induce him to refrain from repeating statements which calumniate the largest body of those whom, in his more reasonable moments, he calls his "fellow-Christians."

As this is, I hope, the last letter with which I shall have to trouble you, I should like to appeal publicly to the authorities of the National Free Church Evangelical Council to consider seriously the desirability of carrying into practical effect the anxiety which they assure me that they feel as keenly as I do that *Shall Rome Reconquer England?* shall contain none but accurate statements. I read that a representative meeting of that body is shortly to be held, and that Dr. Horton will be among the speakers; will it not be possible before this, or perhaps as a result of action taken thereat, to purge the book at least of its more glaring errors of fact, leaving, of course, its main thesis untouched? Any Catholic will be competent to point out the grosser errors, and it can hardly be supposed that so influential a body is desirous of propagating falsehoods concerning its "fellow-Christians."

Apologising for the length of this letter,

I am, sir, yours obediently,

JAMES BRITTEN,

Hon. Sec. C.T.S.

41 Boston Road, Brentford,

January 2nd.

To this indictment no answer has been given. It is, indeed, not easy to see what could have been made except a frank apology for misrepresentation; and no one acquainted with Dr. Horton's methods will have expected this.

It is to be hoped, then, that this correspondence and this record of opinions about that libellous brochure

—*Shall Rome Reconquer England?*—may have some effect, not in reassuring Catholics, whose equanimity is presumably proof by this time against annoyance of such vulgar sort, but in inducing non-Catholics not to be misled by the impudent dogmatism of this pair of “defamers of the brethren.” Catholics desire nothing more than to live at peace with their non-Catholic fellow-citizens. We must necessarily regard them as out of the true Church, and we must necessarily desire to bring them into it. But we do not want them unless they come voluntarily, convinced in their minds and hearts that Catholicism is the true, and the only true, religion. If the Holy Inquisition could (by some subtle combination of Dominican and Jesuit forces) compel Dr. Horton and Mr. Hocking outwardly to recant their errors and devote their lives henceforward to building up what they are vainly endeavouring to destroy, Catholics know that not even the prospect of gaining such gifted allies would justify the attempt. Charity prompts us, indeed, to desire their conversion, but it must be a conversion from within—a change of heart. May “Rome” conquer them in that fashion, some day ere it is too late!

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(Dr. Horton and Mr. Hocking)

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CITY DEPÔT : 4 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1911

Price One Penny

PREFATORY NOTE TO PRESENT ISSUE.

THE Protestant Truth Society, of the beginnings of which the following pages give some account, is one of the most flourishing of militant Protestant bodies. Its "Wickliffe Preachers" career through the land; its headquarters have emerged from the little shop in which it took its rise to attractive and well-furnished premises; it has a president and vice-presidents of undoubted position and respectability, and a committee doubtless equally respectable, if undistinguished; and its receipts from April 1, 1910, to March 31, 1911, were nearly £11,000. That these receipts are largely the result of energetic advertising need not be matter for reproach.

The interest in the Protestant Truth Society, hitherto confined to its supporters and to the Anglican clergy who are favoured with the attentions of the Wickliffe Preachers, has lately been extended by the publication of two articles in *Truth* in which the financial aspect of the P.T.S. is somewhat severely criticized:¹ the first of these, headed "The Protestantism that Pays," appeared in the issue for June 28, 1911. The statements contained therein were challenged by the Committee of the P.T.S., and their challenge was met in *Truth* for August 2nd by an article in which the original attack was justified and strengthened. The curious reader, Protestant or Catholic, will find these articles well worth perusal.

Meanwhile it is remarkable that Mr. J. A. Kensit should be ignorant of the causes which led to the formation of the Society of which he is the Secretary, and which his business instincts have guided to its present flourishing position. According to his advertisement in the *Protestant Observer* for August, 1910, it "was founded because the Mass and the Confessional and other Romish doctrines had been taught and established in hundreds of churches belonging to the Protestant Church of England." This statement is so terminologically inexact that it seems worth while to recall to Mr. J. A. Kensit, and to others interested who may be equally ill-informed, the facts of the case as stated by his father (see p. 6), who, as the "beloved founder" of the Society, may be supposed to have known what were its objects.

In 1899, the Catholic Truth Society reprinted from *The Month* of the previous year, with a prefatory note, a pamphlet in which these facts and others connected with the earlier work of Mr. Kensit, Senior, were set forth; in view of the renewed interest in the subject this is now re-issued.

September, 1911.

J. B.

¹ See also "Children of the Horse-Leech," *The Month*, Sept., 1910 pp. 280-289.

A Prominent Protestant.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

SINCE the following paper which appeared in *The Month* for April, 1898, was written, Mr. Kensit, already sufficiently conspicuous, has blossomed into notoriety, and has been accepted by a large number of Protestant bodies as an exponent of their views. There is no need to enter into details which have already occupied more than their share of space in the press, which have attracted the attention of numerous Church societies, High and Low, and have even been referred to in Parliament. But as the motives which prompt Mr. Kensit's action have been called in question, it may be interesting to see what light is thrown on these by his antecedents, and I therefore avail myself of the permission of the Editor of *The Month* to reprint the following particulars in a form more readily accessible than that in which they first appeared.

JAMES BRITTEN.

June, 1899.

IF notoriety brings happiness, as in certain cases it undoubtedly does, Mr. John Kensit must be a happy man, for no one has been more conspicuous in what is called the "religious world," during the last two or three months. He has bearded a bishop, routed a rector, and crushed a curate; he has played the part of all the Reformers rolled into one, with a dash of Cromwell, who—it is Mr. Kensit himself that tells us so—"is not dead;" he has had the services in one of his parish churches modified in the direction of his wishes; and he has proudly asserted his claims to be considered "a loyal Churchman." Nor can it be doubted that he has at the same time given a powerful stimulus to the business which he carries on, and to the society which, as he has told us himself, he astutely invented for the purpose of promoting it.

The main facts of the recent proceedings are before people's minds. How Mr. Kensit, fired with holy zeal, qualified himself by becoming a parishioner, in order that he might attack St. Ethelburga's; how his action promptly caused the departure of the curate-in-charge, with all the ornaments he had introduced; how he proceeded to take his bishop to task; how he declined to communicate until the bread and wine were prepared to his liking; how he has been thanked by pious Protestants, Churchmen, and dissenters; how, culminating glory! Mr. Hugh Price Hughes—"our Methodist firebrand," as Dr. Rigg, President of the Wesleyan Conference, called him—has expressed his approval; and how, a matter not to be overlooked, funds have flowed in to help him in his "work"—are not these things written in the columns of the *English Churchman*, and in the pages

of "the oldest and best Evangelical magazine published," to adopt Mr. Kensit's description of the *Churchman's Magazine*, edited by himself, which he elsewhere styles "doubtless the best Protestant monthly periodical."

The early career of men of eminence is always a matter of interest, and some account of Mr. Kensit's early days, accompanied by two portraits—Mr. Kensit shows the fondness of other great persons for having his photograph taken—will be found in his *Churchman's Magazine* for December, 1892. I am sorry space will not allow me to summarize this; but my object now is to supply certain details of his more recent public history which might otherwise be lost sight of.

Even before Mr. Kensit had developed the more organized activities of the "Protestant Truth Society," the "Protestant Defence Brigade," and the "Protestant Onward Movement," he had obtained considerable reputation as a publisher. The reputation was not, perhaps, of a kind which most people would envy; but tastes admittedly differ, and we must presume that Mr. Kensit knew his public.

It was on August 19th, 1889, that *Truth* called attention to "an abominable publication" which was then being sold in the streets, and went on to say:

I should say that a more obscene work was never publicly offered for sale. The publisher is one Kensit, of the City Protestant Book Depot, 18, Paternoster Row, who boasts that he has sold 225,000 copies.

Mr. Kensit on this wrote to *Truth*, demanding an explanation or apology, and referring to his solicitor.

Truth thereupon devoted two columns and a half to a further investigation of his publications, in which it found "page after page of the most loathsome indecency and obscenity," and said: "I adhere to all that I have said about Mr. Kensit—one whose first object is to vilify fellow-Christians of a different persuasion. The public sale of certain of his books is unquestionably an outrage on public decency, and the indiscriminate circulation of such literature must be necessarily injurious to public morals."¹

It is to be presumed that Mr. Kensit was satisfied with this as an "explanation," for no "apology" was offered, nor did the solicitor take any steps to obtain one.

Shortly after this, a Dr. Fulton, an American adventurer, came over to England for a brief lecturing tour. His discourses were characterized by *Truth* as "not only obscene, but blasphemous," and the Bishop of Chichester severely censured one of his clergy, the Rev. J. G. Gregory, who had been present at one of these lectures. This man wrote, and Mr. Kensit published, a book which *Truth* styled, "one of the most filthy and disgusting works in Mr. John Kensit's abominable collection;"² and later, "a *rechauffé* of the most tasty passages in that filthy production *Maria Monk*, disguised at the most outrageous points by a suggestive use of asterisks, a concession to decency worth about as much as the occasional use of drapery upon his subjects by the artist in obscene photography."³ One result of this exposure was the

¹ *Truth*, August 29, p. 382.

² September 12, 1889, p. 454.

³ September 19, p. 552.

withdrawal of the agency of the National Vigilance Society from Mr. Kensit.

In this last extract, however, *Truth* did *Maria Monk* an injustice. Dr. Fulton's book is far more atrocious than the older publication ; the only parallel to it, so far as I am aware, is a much smaller work, for the sale of which ex-priest Slattery was imprisoned at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and which was ordered last January by the Edinburgh magistrates to be withdrawn from circulation and destroyed. Yet at the present time, not only does Mr. Kensit expose Fulton's book in his window and on his counter, but he circulates in various Protestant magazines a four-page advertisement of it, printed appropriately to scarlet and black—the colours popularly assigned to Mephistopheles.

I do not wish by naming this publication to promote its circulation. I may say, however, that I shall be glad to give the fullest information as to this and certain other of Mr. Kensit's books to any one who will consider the advisability of taking action similar to that which has stopped the sale of Mr. Slattery's objectionable publication. I have already sent a copy to Mr. Kensit's Bishop, who will no doubt tell him, if he is asked, what he thinks of it.

It was in the same year that Mr. Kensit started the Protestant Truth Society. Imitation is the sincerest flattery, though I am not sure that the Catholic Truth Society is flattered by this parody of its title. But it will soon be seen that the resemblance ends with the name.

The objects of this Society, which demanded an annual subscription of 5s. from each member, were

thus stated at the head of the note-paper which the Secretary employed :

PROTESTANT TRUTH SOCIETY.

Secretary, JOHN KENSIT.

Object.—The extensive circulation of Protestant literature. Means used—public meetings, depots for the sale of Protestant literature, circulation through the post, aggressive action, and free distribution.

The dense ignorance of the people [he wrote in his circular] on distinctive Protestant principles renders it imperative that the work must be vigorously entered into without further delay. Subscriptions, either large or small, earnestly solicited.

A private inquiry elicited more definite information, in the shape of a letter which is in my possession, and which runs as follow :

18, Paternoster Row, E.C.,

October 15, 1890.

Dear Madam,—The Society has not yet been in existence one year, and, therefore, our first report is not yet ready. We are quite in infant form, and cannot give president, although I hope very soon to give the name of an active, earnest, prominent man as such. Our funds, at present, have been very small, and I have held the office of both Secretary and Treasurer, honorary. The Society has been formed really to help me in the matter of free grants, and otherwise assist the circulation of literature I have published. No money is paid for rent, salary, &c., but entirely given to the work. I enclose you prospectus, and will send you report, &c., when published.

Yours,

J. KENSIT.

But the promise with which the letter ends was never fulfilled, nor, so far as I have been able to ascertain,

was any report issued for that and the following years. *Truth* called attention to the matter on January 11, 1894, saying:

“Whatever may have been the case in 1890, Kensit can no longer plead the infancy of his Society as an excuse for not furnishing accounts;” and continued, “I gather that the ‘Protestant Truth Society’ is J. Kensit, plus any noodles who will send him money for the objects of the Society; that the executive is Kensit; and that the objects of the Society are to purchase and distribute the publications of Kensit. If sectarian bigotry induces Protestants to pay money to Kensit on such terms, they deserve to lose it. This, however, is by no means saying that Kensit deserves to get it.”

On February 13, 1895, *Truth* returned to the charge in a paragraph which concluded: “If people can be found to pay over cash under such circumstances, on the mere representation that it is to be used for ‘aggressive action’ on behalf of Protestantism, their sectarian passions must have sadly obscured their common sense.” At last the representative of Cromwell was stirred, and the following week *Truth* mentioned having received “what is styled a balance-sheet,” and proceeds to comment on it:

There is no suggestion that this account has been audited, or that it is compiled by anybody but “Yours for the Truth, John Kensit,” who signs the Report. . . . [This] is written throughout in the first person plural, and describes how “we” have exposed the confessional at St. Leonards, how “we” distributed nearly 40,000 books and pamphlets, and how “we” have done this, that, and the other during the year. . . .

“We,” in short, is simply Kensit, and the “Society” is Kensit plus the unknown number of misguided individuals

who pay subscriptions to keep him going as a Protestant champion. The entry in the balance-sheet for "School Board Circulars, Canvassers, &c.," simply means that Kensit's expenses as a candidate at the School Board election have been debited to the Society. The entries of "Pamphlets," "Printing," &c., mean that in his character of "Yours for the Truth," Kensit has bought of himself, in his character of Protestant publisher, goods to the amount stated. Whether they also mean that he has paid himself for the labour of distributing them, including visits to St. Leonards and Exeter, is not disclosed; but on the principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire, there is, of course, no reason why he should not have paid himself in this way.

In this state of things, I should have thought that it would have been fairer to his subscribers had Kensit appointed some independent person to act on behalf of the subscribers in receiving the cash, purchasing his goods of him, paying him anything which he is entitled to be paid, and auditing the accounts; but this does not seem to be Kensit's view. I am far from blaming him for taking all the subscriptions he can get, and disseminating as many of his publications as he can sell. I am myself concerned in disseminating *Truth*, though I do not limit myself to Protestants, and it has not occurred to me to suggest to my readers and subscribers that they and I form a "Society." Business is business, whatever shape it assumes, and Kensit's appears to have in it the making of a very good business. But I confess I do wonder that the hatred of one sect of Christians for another sect of Christians should lead members of the first sect to place cash to the amount of two or three hundred per annum at the disposal of a "Society" constituted on the Kensit pattern.

The Report for 1896-7 is before me. It contains three portraits of Mr. Kensit, a list of subscribers, and a balance-sheet. There is still no President—so it is to be feared that Protestantism does not furnish any one sufficiently "active, earnest, and prominent"

to meet Mr. Kensit's requirements ; but there is a Committee, which includes Mr. Kensit's youthful son, but no other name of note, and two members of which appear as auditors ! It is further remarkable that not one of the Committee contributes to the funds of the Society, nor is there any reference to a general business meeting for the election of officers. Moreover—another point in which the Kensit organization differs from its prototype—not only is there no clergyman on the committee, but only thirteen “Revs.” are among the subscribers. Of the £355 income, £220 was spent in “literature,” so that the “real” object of the Society—to “assist the circulation of literature I have published”—seems to have been duly carried out. Close upon £50 was spent in sending Mr. Kensit and his friends to the Church Congress at Shrewsbury, and in entertaining them while there ; for attendance at the Church Congresses is one of his advertisements—I mean activities.

Mr. Kensit's zeal for Protestant truth is only equalled by his eagerness for funds. Here is an appeal for the Protestant Onward Movement, which, like the Protestant Defence Brigade, is largely run by him. This, by the way, is another adapted title, and Mr. Job Williams, of the Protestant Forward Movement, is naturally annoyed at the similarity. “To avoid confusion and for legal protection,” Mr. Williams had his title “registered at the Patent Office ; still, two societies, to their discredit, we think,” says Mr. Williams, “have advertised under its name for funds.” But into the painful subject of the differences between these two apostles of Protestantism it is not now my intention to enter.

Here, then, is the appeal for "The Protestant Onward Movement for Aggressive Protestant Action."

"RITUALISTS AND ROMANISTS

are again endeavouring to mislead our fellow-countrymen and take them back to the Dark Ages preceding the glorious Reformation! The

PROTESTANT ONWARD MOVEMENT

seeks, by the free distribution of PROTESTANT LITERATURE, to educate the people in the principles of Protestantism, and to expose the anti-Christian system of sacerdotalism. THANK GOD, GREAT SUCCESS has attended our efforts, and already a PROTESTANT REVIVAL is setting in over the country.

CROMWELL IS NOT DEAD

and our people do not forget LATIMER AND RIDLEY, and by God's grace the Reformation Candle shall not be put out.

The support of all Protestants is earnestly solicited. Contributions to be sent to

JOHN KENSIT, *Sec.*"

Here is another of Mr. Kensit's advertisements:

"Sea-side and country holidays.—Distribution of Protestant literature. During the months of July, August, and September, we purpose offering assorted parcels containing 300 assorted Protestant pamphlets for 10s. 6d., post free. The sea-side and country present a grand field for distribution of Protestant literature. Cheques and postal orders crossed, John Kensit, 18, Paternoster Row, E.C."

It would be impossible to cite all the ingenious devices by which Mr. Kensit continues to attract the attention—and the custom—of the Protestant public.

Naturally, he utilized the Jubilee, as did most of the other Protestant bodies. Indeed, if all the proposed Protestant schemes had been carried out, Popery would have had no leg left to stand on. Mr. Kensit's Jubilee appeal ran :

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE PROTESTANT EFFORT.

PROTESTANTISM AND PROSPERITY.

It is felt that, amidst the various movements put forth to celebrate the Glorious Reign of our beloved Queen, nothing could be more desirable than to endeavour to stir up a Protestant feeling, especially amongst the Clergy. We therefore propose to send to every Clergyman of the Church of England (about 25,000), a packet of Pamphlets.

We fully believe that many of the Clergy are in dense ignorance of Evangelical and Protestant principles, and we know from past experience that the pamphlets we purpose sending are calculated, by God's blessing, to do great good. They are written by clever men, and in a kind but nevertheless decided manner.

Should we meet with sufficient response, we hope to send a packet to the Nonconformist Ministers, many of whom need to be awakened from their indifference.

It is hoped to receive a generous and immediate response, that the work may be carried out at once. A City Merchant, who prefers to remain "Anon," has headed the list with a cheque for £100.

All remittances for this effort to be sent to

JOHN KENSIT, *Hon. Sec.*

The very latest appeal for funds is in connection with the recent proceedings at St. Ethelburga's.

"It has been suggested [one wonders by whom] that many will be pleased to make a Special Offering as a token of gratitude to Almighty God for our great success in the putting down of idolatry at St. Ethelburga's, and we shall be glad to receive all such offerings."

Then follows the usual subscription form, which is headed, "St. Ethelburga's Crusade." One wonders what St. Ethelburga would think of it, if she knew.

The financial result of these appeals has probably been more than could be employed in "the circulation of literature I have published:" and no one will be surprised to hear that the committee has appointed Mr. Kensit's son, "at a small salary," to assist him in "the work." "The times," Mr. Kensit tells us, "require a Luther, a Knox, or even a Cromwell." The last rôle he is understood to have undertaken himself, and perhaps Master Kensit may in time essay one of the other parts. But he does not look it.

Many other points in Mr. Kensit's character suggest themselves for comment, did space permit. His eloquent street preaching—occasionally checked by the police; his interruption of clergymen preaching in their own churches, as in the case of Dr. Lee; his action (as "a loyal churchman") in preaching and celebrating the Communion Service in a dissenting chapel, for which he was dismissed from the Lay Helpers' Society of the diocese of London—all these might be dwelt upon. But I will only mention his candidature for the London School Board, "in the Protestant interest."

Those who know Mr. Kensit's literary style may think that a Board School rather than a School Board would meet his requirements. But that is not his view. So in 1894 he came forward, and received 1,134 votes out of a total of 54,270—this, as we have seen, at the expense of the Protestant Truth Society. In 1897 he tried again, and published the following letter in the *English Churchman* of November 18:

Will you allow me to solicit help for the canvassing each evening. If we can only reach all the electors, we feel confident of success, besides which we are sending a Protestant tract to every elector. My election will be a triumph for Protestant principles and encourage other Protestants to come forward. Will all who have friends electors in the City urge them to plump for me at the poll?

JOHN KENSIT.

This triumph, however, was not secured, and the result was hardly encouraging for "other Protestants." This time Mr. Kensit secured 973 votes, plumpers and all, out of a total of 38,663—so it would seem that the Protestant tracts failed in their object. Perhaps they were not strong enough: and yet—Any way, it would seem that the City is agreed as to Mr. Kensit's value as an educationalist.

Only once has Mr. Kensit shown signs of yielding to the blandishments of the sorceress. It was during last year. We all remember his spirited protest on the occasion of the confirmation of Dr. Creighton as Bishop of London—and, it may be added parenthetically, of the promptitude with which Dr. Creighton immediately afterwards (I quote Mr. Kensit's words and spelling), "introduced the trinklets of Rome by the wearing of a mitre upon his head"—though where else he could possibly have worn it, Mr. Kensit does not tell us. It seemed like a weakness—a dimming of the fine gold—when Mr. Kensit and seventy other members of the Protestant Defence Brigade went to tea at Fulham Palace. "Many Protestants were bewildered" at this action, and were even "tempted to ask 'What are we coming to?'"—so said Mr. Robert Gay in the *English Churchman* for August 12, 1897. There were candles and a cross and flowers, not to

mention "an immense reredos," in the Bishop's chapel where the P.D.B. attended service; and there was also "an idolatrous crucifix," which must at any rate have been a curiosity. It is not easy to see how Mr. Kensit could have answered the following letter, and apparently that was what the editor of the *English Churchman* thought, as he promptly stopped the correspondence.

I know that one at least of the party declined to attend the service in the chapel, and as a protest withdrew from the building, rather than worship in the presence of an idolatrous crucifix. For this he was strongly censured by Mr. Kensit at the conclusion of the service, on the ground that discourtesy to the Bishops, *whose guests* they were, would do more harm than good to the cause of Protestantism. What an opportunity for faithful witnessing for truth Mr. Kensit missed, in not saying "My Lord, we would gladly join you in worship at the Throne of Grace, but we cannot do violence to our consciences, *even though your guests*, by countenancing an idolatrous crucifix at our service." Surely the episcopal tea and cake proved a pitfall for one whose sturdy Protestantism we have all admired in the past!

The recent action at St. Ethelburga's has, however, doubtless restored full confidence in Mr. Kensit as a Protestant incorruptible, and Dr. Creighton must feel that his tea and cake were thrown away.

One lesson at least may be learnt from the proceedings at St. Ethelburga's, and it is to be hoped that those whom it should benefit will lay it to heart. What is the use of filling churches with every Catholic accessory, and of introducing every feature of Catholic ritual, if it is in the power of a Kensit to sweep them all away? What is the gain of erecting a tabernacle and practising "reservation," or of putting up an

image of our Lady and surrounding it with flowers and lights, if at the word of a Bishop and at the prompting of a Kensit, the shrine may be emptied and the statue removed? It is notorious that at St. Ethelburga's every Catholic adjunct to worship was employed—not only vestments, candles, and incense, but holy water, the stations of the cross, the "veronica," were found within its walls; the Roman calendar hung on the door; the notice-boards announced masses, confessions, and requiems; the rosary, if not publicly recited, was frequently in the hands of the worshippers; the Immaculate Conception was preached from the pulpit. And now, at the word of a man whose claim to interfere rests upon the expenditure of £35 for the rent of an office—an amount which will doubtless be paid by the Protestant Truth Society—all these things go: or rather, many have gone, and others are likely to follow.

That all these things are good in themselves, all Catholics know; that they have their place in worship, all Catholics admit. But how can those who recognize the beauty and helpfulness of Catholic accessories, remain in communion with those to whom they are an abomination and an excuse for profanity?

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

MR. S. J. ABBOTT having announced that he is about to publish a book bearing the title *Revelations in Modern Convents*, it seems desirable to reprint the following paper, which appeared in *The Month* for March 1899. From this it will be seen what claims Mr. Abbott has to be considered a trustworthy witness, and what value is to be attached to his statements.

In the *English Churchman* for August 3, 1899, I said that I had sent a copy of the paper to Mr. Abbott, and challenged him to contradict the statements therein made concerning him. This he has not attempted to do. Judging from the prospectus of his forthcoming work, many of these statements will be repeated in its pages.

According to the prospectus, the Rev. W. Lancelot Holland has "vouched for the care that has been taken to deal only with well-accumulated facts." On pages 5 and 6 of the following essay will be found material for forming a judgement as to the value to be attached to Mr. Holland's statements and recommendation.

It is hoped that Catholics will distribute this pamphlet largely among their Protestant friends. It may be confidently asserted that only those who are commercially interested in propagating slander against their fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, or who are blinded by prejudice, will be able to resist the evidence here brought forward as to Mr. Abbott and the Convent Enquiry Society.

JAMES BRITTEN,
Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society.

126 KENNINGTON PARK ROAD,
LONDON, S.E.

MR. S. J. ABBOTT AND THE CONVENT ENQUIRY SOCIETY

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G.

THE Convent Enquiry Society is one of the numerous Protestant bodies which form the "Imperial Protestant Federation." Its President is Colonel T. Myles Sandys, M.P., who also presides over the Protestant Reformation Society, and is Chairman of the "Imperial Council" of the Federation. Mr. S. J. Abbott is Secretary of the C.E.S., which was established in 1889, and of which and its Secretary I propose to give some account.

The Convent Enquiry Society has from its inception steadily persevered in a course of cowardly and libellous attacks upon religious houses. I say "cowardly," and I emphasize the word, because, while bringing the vilest charges against convents in general, the writers are careful to avoid such definite statements as will bring them within reach of the law. If, in spite of their caution, they do come within reach of it, an abject withdrawal of the charges follows; but so long as they can take shelter under generalities, they do not hesitate to heap calumny and falsehood

upon the devoted and defenceless women who have chosen to lead a retired life, devoted to works of piety and charity. It is remarkable that among those who support such charges, and who take a prominent part in bringing them before the world, are members of the profession which, above all others, is expected to set an example of chivalry. A Colonel of the British Army is, as we have seen, at the present time President of the Society ; Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge is, and has long been, one of its leading members ; and the late General Sir Robert Phayre was not ashamed to put his name to pamphlets, issued by the Society, whose foulness was only equalled by their absurdity.

I have spoken of the readiness with which these cowardly assailants withdraw their calumnies when they are threatened with the just penalty of their offences. It may be well to give an instance of this.

Early in September 1891, the Rev. W. Lancelot Holland, one of the most sedulous and unscrupulous propagators of anti-convent calumnies, and at one time Treasurer of the Convent Enquiry Society, made a statement in the *Scotsman* in which he categorically, on "the highest authority," charged some English nuns with having administered "drugs of the most noxious character" to one of their number. With rare want of caution, the libel was couched in such terms as to render the convent implicated readily identifiable, and legal proceedings were at once threatened. With commendable alacrity the reverend gentleman at once withdrew his accusation. "He had only meant to say that some medicine" had disagreed with the recipient, and his "high authority" did not even hint that there was an attempt at poisoning, nor did he imply it. On this the *Scotsman* commented : "Mr. Holland does not seem to

know the meaning of what he writes. More unmanly conduct than that of which he has been guilty it would be difficult to conceive."

Comment of this kind would penetrate any one less pachydermatous than the Rev. W. L. Holland and men of his stamp, but upon them it has no effect. Mr. Holland continues to spread his slanders broadcast, but he takes care to avoid coming within the range of legal proceedings.

No later than October 1896, he read at the meeting of the Protestant Congress at Preston a paper, since published in pamphlet form, entitled, *The Revolting Inhumanity practised in Convents; or, Does Queen Victoria know?* in which he reissued, in the most offensive form, many of the old calumnies, and—incredible as it may seem—declared his belief in the fictions of Maria Monk! Moreover, he promulgated a new story, which runs thus:

Quite lately, I interviewed a nun who escaped marvellously from a convent in Hertfordshire, with the convent gardener and watchman, in one, close at her heels. This lady, though as perfectly sane as you or I, and most intelligent, was treated by the Lady Superior and the community with whom she lived as an insane person. Of this I have irrefragable evidence beyond the mere word of the fugitive.

It is obvious that, if there were the slightest foundation for stories of this kind, the law could be set in motion and the guilty parties could be punished for false imprisonment. Mr. Holland neither suggests nor attempts this settlement of the case; he prefers to indulge in indiscriminate slander and calumny. It is unwise of him, however, to refer so confidently to his own perfect sanity; for the only charitable explanation of his atrocious conduct is to suppose him afflicted with monomania on the subject of convents.

Other particulars regarding the Convent Enquiry Society

in the not so very long past will be found in Father Sydney Smith's pamphlet, *Calumnies against Convents*.¹ I propose now to deal with its present position, and to bring together certain particulars of its history during the last three years.

At the outset I am met with a difficulty which is by no means unfamiliar to those who attempt to investigate the working of bodies associated with this class of Protestantism. Mr. Walter Walsh has obtained much credit and considerable cash by the publication of his *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*; but the secrets which he reveals are as open as the day—and indeed always were so, to all who chose to look for them—compared with the inner working of certain Protestant societies, especially when anything like a balance-sheet is in question. Mr. Kensit, for example, for many years showed a singular reluctance to tell us what became of the funds contributed to the society which he astutely invented for the sale of his publications—a reluctance which contrasts in a striking manner with the readiness and frequency of his appeals for money—and now that he has been induced to issue something in the way of a balance-sheet, there is a singular absence therefrom of detailed information; he wants £10,000 for the lads, headed by his own youthful son, whom he (no doubt accurately) describes as “poor preachers,” but no account of this fund is publicly accessible; no balance-sheet has been obtainable of the “Diamond Jubilee Effort,” which “a city merchant” headed with a donation of £100; nor have I been able to secure a properly audited (or any other) balance-sheet of the Protestant Onward Movement, which is also run by Mr. Kensit. Similarly, neither by an application by letter (enclosing stamp), nor at the office, can information be obtained as to the present position of the Convent

¹ Catholic Truth Society. Id.

Enquiry Society ; and I must content myself with the Report for the year ending March 17, 1896—the only one I have succeeded in getting.

At that time the Society had no President, but Deputy Surgeon-General Partridge was the Chairman, and Mr. S. J. Abbott, the Secretary. The aims of the Society, as set forth in its prospectus, are—"to obtain reliable information respecting the Conventual System from every available source ; to assist nuns who wish for their liberty," to prevent parents sending their daughters to convent schools, to register all the inmates and their removals from one place to another, as well as "all births and deaths," and to obtain "the eventual suppression of these prison-houses." I apologize for printing these offensive details, but in no other way can I make clear the kind of insinuation which commends itself to a certain number of Church of England clergymen and "gentlemen," as well as, I am sorry to say, to some respectable English women. The Report was accompanied by a letter from the Secretary, in which he pointed out that "funds were greatly needed," and proceeded to say: "Only this morning, but for a telegram which came just at the moment we were preparing to start, we should have had to provide funds from our private resources for the expenses of an important affair in France. The telegram came to say the person was gone from the place. The need of funds will therefore be realized."

The balance-sheet appended to the Report is interesting. From this it appears that the receipts during the year from subscriptions and donations amounted to £159, 9s. 3d., while "salary, etc.," came to £156, os. 9d. The only salaried official, so far as I can ascertain, is the Secretary, Mr. Abbott ; the "etc.," I take to be merely an ornamental flourish, as stationery, postage, and the like—as well as

“literature, including the cost of 600 copies of *Walled-up Nuns*”—is defrayed out of the balance of £63 remaining from previous years. This throws considerable light upon Mr. Abbott's remark: “The need of funds will therefore be realized:” and upon the statement in the Report that “the Society really needs £1000.”

The Report itself is of the usual character, and is written in the peculiar jargon which passes for English among the class of persons who support organizations of the extreme Protestant type. I have more than once called attention to the extraordinary illiteracy of these documents, and I do so because it must be remembered that it is the writers and readers of this trash who are loudest in denouncing the ignorance of Catholics. As usual, the Jesuits are mainly concerned “to maintain this state of things”—i.e., the freedom of convents from inspection—“all the power and cunning of the Jesuits—the most formidable secret society the world has ever known—is brought into requisition. It is against this system and this band of conspirators that the Convent Enquiry Society have to contend. Again and again in the most unscrupulous manner have the Jesuits attacked the Society; especially directing their attacks in the most malicious, cowardly, and vindictive manner against the individual members of the executive.”

Then follow wholesale charges of the usual kind, utterly unsupported, of course, by a fragment of evidence, against priests and nuns; couched, moreover, in language which would be inadequately characterized by the term “offensive.” Attempted escapes, assaults of various kinds, floggings, poisonings, brutality to children, imprisonments, immurings—all these are spoken of as of ordinary occurrence. Mr. Lancelot Holland's preposterous *Walled-up Nuns* is treated as an authority of the first class; and, with incredible

audacity, the thrice-exposed lies about Mexico are assumed to be matters of fact, as in the following sentence—the italics and capitals are those of the original:—

It seems terrible to contemplate that in this otherwise free country, the present condition of things is such that enclosed nuns *have no more hope of leaving their convents than the poor victims* “WALLED UP ALIVE” *in the Mexican and other convents could have had of leaving their* “LIVING TOMBS,” *when they saw the last stone inserted which shut out the light for ever.*¹

It will excite no surprise when I say that the work of the Convent Enquiry Society is approved and endorsed by that eminent Protestant champion, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P. That so credulous and uncritical a person should have been chosen by the Protestant party to move an amendment to the Queen’s Speech in the interests of Protestantism, shows, if any demonstration were needed, to how low a depth the party has sunk; and the division which followed was a natural sequence of the speech which he delivered.

In the last edition (1898) of *The Claims of Rome*, Mr. Smith calls attention to the Report of the Convent Enquiry Society, “issued this year.” (As I have already shown, it was not issued in 1898, but in 1896.) The Report, he says, contains “some dreadful charges of barbarity and wickedness,” which, with unusual caution, he does not quote “as (he has) no means of judging of their truth;” but he gives, with evident approval, the paragraph in which they “sum up their charges:” it is as follows—the italics are his:—

The facts that have come to the knowledge of the C.E.S. are such, that the Committee are *convinced that there is enough iniquity and crime secretly practised in Convents to ensure their immediate dissolution, if the evidence could be brought out and proved to the public; and the hope of the Society is, that something may come before them which will enable them to arouse the public to a sense of their duty upon this great and serious question.*

¹ Report, p. 13.

I now proceed to consider the more recent history of the Society.

In October 1896, a meeting of the Protestant Congress was held at Exeter Hall, at which addresses upon convents were delivered by the reverend libeller already mentioned, the Rev. Jacob Primmer, Pastor Chiniquy, and Colonel Sandys. I was present at that meeting, and was impressed by the wild fanaticism exhibited both by speakers and audience. I shall not soon forget the enthusiasm with which the latter received Mr. Primmer's excited appeal to pull down the convents, leaving not a stone upon a stone; nor how heartily they repudiated Colonel Sandys' qualifying statement, that of course such demolition was not intended to be carried out physically. As a result of that meeting, a Committee was formed from various societies to draw up an address to be presented to the Queen on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee, praying for the inspection of convents. Colonel Sandys was president, Mrs. Arbuthnot (of *The Protestant Woman*), treasurer, and Mr. S. J. Abbott, secretary and organizer. The most extraordinary trouble was taken to procure signatures; copies of the petition, leaflets, forms of memorial, were distributed by tens of thousands, at home and abroad; the petition itself was exposed for signature in various public places, including public-houses; the Protestant papers supported the scheme, the *Christian* and the *Christian World* being, as was to be expected, especially enthusiastic. The petition, to which 336,250 signatures were attached, was presented to Her Majesty at the end of 1897, and Mr. Abbott received a formal acknowledgement from the Home Office that this had been done.

In February 1898, the *Catholic Herald* instituted inquiries as to the intentions of the Government, and the

Duke of Norfolk, in reply, said that he had "no reason to suppose that any measure of the kind was contemplated." From that time to this, nothing has been done, nor could any sane person who reads the memorial have supposed for a moment that anything would be done. A more preposterous document, either in statement or in wording, can never have been brought before Her Majesty's notice. I regret that it is not possible to reproduce it in full in these pages; but I propose to examine one of its paragraphs somewhat in detail, and from this a notion may be formed of the rest. Meanwhile it should not be forgotten that, only a few months after the presentation of the memorial, the Princess of Wales, for the first time, opened a bazaar in aid of a convent.

We are indebted to the *Catholic Herald* for having published in its issue for March 18, 1898, an account of an interview with Mr. Abbott on the subject of the memorial—an account which fully justifies the conclusion of the *Herald*, that "Mr. Abbott was absolutely unable to substantiate a single one of the allegations, or to furnish a solitary specific instance in support of them; whenever he attempted to furnish proof, he failed miserably and completely."

The memorial to the Queen states :

That private Burial Grounds being attached to Convents, in which interments have been seen to take place at night, and having regard to the fact that there is no Specific Registration existing of the names and numbers of the inmates, the Convent Authorities have great facilities for avoiding the holding of Coroner's inquests, and for evading the provisions of the Burial Laws.

Now, before quoting from the *Herald* Mr. Abbott's cross-examination on this head, I should like to point out that the statement as to these burials at night, so far as one of

the witnesses is concerned, was published at the end of 1892, or early in 1893—the date is approximately ascertainable from internal evidence—in a wretched little pamphlet printed as a private speculation by a man named Shailer, who placed his address upon it in order that “all who wish to help with cash” might know where to send it. This appropriately-named *Book of Horrors* consists of eight small pages and costs a penny, so that, if it had any sale, it must have paid very well. It may be noted in passing that the publishers and authors (they are often identical) of Protestant tracts have a keen eye to business: Mr. Abbott’s tract on *The Convent Jubilee Memorial*, for example, consists of twelve pages in wrapper, and costs 3d. Shailer’s book is a scissors-and-paste compilation of the usual extracts, and is perhaps even more illiterate than usual; some of the statements are, of course, manifestly and even absurdly inaccurate. Interspersed with these are a few paragraphs by the author, one of which runs as follows:

In May 1892, a gentleman in the Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, whose name is as the month between April and June, said that he saw three nuns dig a grave in the convent garden opposite his house and bury a child, in the fall of 1891.

This was the source of one part of Mr. Abbott’s information, which I now proceed to quote from the *Herald*. The interviewer, having possessed himself of one of Mr. Abbott’s pamphlets, proceeded to cross-examine him as follows:

“You say that ‘a member of the London County Council, who gave me the information relating to the convent in St. Charles Square, Notting Hill, stated that he had been in the private burial ground of that institution, and two tradesmen have witnessed burials taking place at night in the grounds of the Convent of Poor Clares, Notting Hill.’ Who is the County Councillor from whom you get the information?”

Mr. Abbott—"I cannot give you his name. It was within the past three years he told me. He represents part of Kensington."

"Oh, very well. Then I'll make it my business to call on all the County Councillors representing Kensington."

Mr. Abbott now changed his ground, and made an important admission.

"Let me see now," he said (after cogitation). "Yes. It was a slip of the pen. The man was not a member of the County Council. He would be a member of the Kensington Vestry, last year, or the year before. I am not certain whether I said that I would not give his name. I cannot, therefore, let you have it now."

"Very well. Now, can you assist me to get at the two tradesmen who saw burials taking place at night in the grounds of the Convent of Poor Clares, Notting Hill?"

Mr. Abbott (after great hesitation)—"Well, one was Mr. Mayes.¹ He had a shop opposite the convent on the road running down to Notting Hill Station, right opposite the convent. I think it was a draper's shop. That was about three or four years ago. It may have been less, or it may have been more."

"And who is the other tradesman?"

"I do not know that I am free to mention his name. Tradesmen are rather particular about that. I should not mention his name without his permission."

The reader will note the consideration which Mr. Abbott shows for the County Councillor (who was "not a member of the County Council") and "the other tradesman," and will not fail to contrast it with the freedom with which the name of the convent is given. And the reader will probably consider that Mr. Abbott's *bona fides* may be sufficiently gauged by the nature of his answers. But will it be believed that the most diligent inquiry at Notting Hill, in the neighbourhood of the Convent of Poor Clares, failed to elicit the whereabouts of Mr. Abbott's informant, Mayes the draper!

Not only were burials at night not "witnessed by two

¹ This is "the gentleman whose name is as the month between April and June" of Shailer's pamphlet.

tradesmen," but they could not possibly have taken place "in the grounds of the Convent of Poor Clares," for the *Herald* goes on to say that the Sisters are not buried within the precincts of the convent, but in the Kensal Green Cemetery. There is no burial ground within the precincts of the convent. The registration is attended to by the doctor, who is not a Catholic.

This is the result of the examination of Mr. Abbott with regard to one paragraph of the memorial to the Queen. There are ten paragraphs in all, and all are equally insulting to the intelligence of the Gracious Lady to whom the memorial has been presented. I will quote only one more, and that without comment :

Your memorialists are mindful of the benefits conferred under British Rule, upon your Majesty's Indian subjects by the abolition of a long-established Religious rite, called Suttee, whereby Hindoo widows, under the delusion that they would thereby attain eternal beatitude, immolated themselves upon the funeral pile of their deceased husbands, causing hundreds of lives to be sacrificed annually, which abolition resulted in giving general satisfaction to your Majesty's subjects. They are therefore absolutely convinced of the necessity for equally stringent laws being passed to prevent practices not less unnatural and cruel, and withal of life-long duration inseparable from Convent life.

Those who wish to see further particulars of Mr. Abbott's self-contradictions, of the kind of evidence on which he bases his attacks upon convents, and of the—well, inaccuracies—which he told his interviewer, must refer to the number of the *Catholic Herald* already quoted. One example of his inaccuracies may be cited. The interviewer also visited Mr. Robert Steele, of the Protestant Evangelical Mission—whose story must be told some day at length—having been referred to him by Mr. Abbott. Mr. Steele said, "I would not know Mr. Abbott from the man in the moon! I do not know him personally at all;" whereas Mr. Abbott said he had "known Mr. Steele a long

time." Which of these paid representatives of anti-Catholic societies was romancing on this particular occasion, I am not able to say ; but assuredly one of them must have been.

This exposure took place in March 1898, and the *Herald* said, "We venture to say that we shall not hear much more of the Convent Enquiry Society." But this showed an imperfect appreciation of the methods of such bodies. Will it be believed that in the following June, Mr. Abbott issued his pamphlet on the Jubilee Memorial, begging for "further contributions to enable them to carry this important movement to a successful issue." The memorial had been "laid before the Queen" before January 19th, and no acknowledgement other than the formal act of that date had been (or has yet been) received. By what means is the "movement to be carried to a successful issue," and for what purpose are "further contributions" needed?

At about the same date Mr. Abbott issued another collection of calumnies, called *Slavery in Convent Laundries*—again bringing all kinds of charges against convents in such a manner as to prevent any possibility of identification. Still more recent, judging from internal evidence, is a four-page leaflet of *Important Facts*, in which it is admitted that "the Government have given no intimation of their intention to deal with the Convent question, and the replies from the Home Secretary to our letters have been vague and unsatisfactory." From this document one paragraph may be reproduced, *verbatim et literatim*, as a choice specimen of what is considered evidence by the Convent Enquiry Society.

SEVENTY-THREE INMATES POISONED.—At the Laurel Hill Convent School, not many months before the inauguration of the Petition, 73 INMATES of the Convent were taken seriously ill ; the

PIGS belonging to the Convent, which had eaten the remnants of the feast, were likewise so ill that the VET. and the DOCTOR were simultaneously called in. FIVE WOMEN DIED, one a fine young girl of eighteen, finished, and to have gone home to her parents. The viscera were sent to the County Analyst; the report, which was much ridiculed, stated that the deaths were due to *ptomanes* caused by a *bad egg*, etc. Here were 5 lives lost, 73 people tortured and possibly injured for life; the case left in the hands of one man, said to be a Protestant, in the service of the Dublin Corporation, which is practically under the thumb of the priests, and we have to be satisfied with the verdict, that all this was caused by a BAD EGG.

Those who remember the sad occurrence on which this misrepresentation fastens, and the general sympathy felt and expressed for the poor nuns, on whom, it is needless to say, no shadow of suspicion rested, will be able to appreciate the utter inhumanity of this paragraph. It is unnecessary to add that this document, like all the rest, ends with an appeal for more money: "We look to our friends to come forward and adequately support us; remittances should be addressed to the Secretary."

It was not to be expected that the Protestant Alliance would hold aloof from the support of a character so congenial to themselves, and on the 23rd of January 1899, Mr. Brett appeared "under the auspices of the Sutton Branch of the Protestant Alliance," accompanied by a Miss Beatty, who was *not* a nun, but a visitor, but who, nevertheless, was "secured by bolts and bars and watched by nuns," and was thus able to deliver an address on "My Imprisonment in a Convent," which is reported in the *Rock* for February 3rd. Miss Beatty refused to eat "from Monday until Wednesday morning," whereupon she "was told she might go, but was not allowed to have her clothes, and had to leave the convent in her night-dress and a nun's cloak." One would like to know more of this, especially as the heroic woman "made her way to the Protestant vicarage,

where she received every attention"—and, it may be hoped, more suitable attire. But why are we not told the name of this noble Protestant vicar? Why did Miss Beatty wear her night-dress in the morning? What became of the nun's cloak?—did Miss Beatty retain it? if so, why was it not shown at the meeting? or did she leave it at the vicarage, or return it to the convent (carriage unpaid)? That the story is as true as that of the midnight burial at the Notting Hill Convent, no one will doubt: for "Mr. Abbott stated that he had investigated the case, and found that the main facts were admitted at the convent"—was Mr. Abbott himself "admitted at the convent"? Moreover, he spoke of "several cases of persons who were known to have Protestant sympathies, being spirited away by the authorities or agents of the Church, and who had never since been heard of." This doing away with people in cases—presumably packing-cases—should be looked into; perhaps the Bishop of Marlborough, to whose research we were indebted for the—well, the *story*—of the kidnapped priest, may be induced to take the matter up.

Of course it is absurd to suppose that any amount of exposure will have any effect upon Mr. Abbott: for no exposure could well be more effective than that published by the *Herald*. Besides, he has his living to get; and it has been laid down by an eminent expert that "them as has brains and no money must live on them as has money and no brains." But what has Colonel Sandys to say? He must be a gentleman, and a man of intelligence; he is moreover a Member of Parliament, and, as such, is a representative of the people and a maker of laws. Does he really believe the charges brought against convents? Can he possibly consider the evidence adduced sufficient to justify the conclusions based upon it? It cannot be that his

attention has never been called to the investigation which was instituted into Mr. Abbott's accuracy, for I sent him two copies of this paper on its first publication.

And what of the people who find funds for the Society? It is true that the sums are small and the donors for the most part unknown to fame; yet the 1896 list contains four generals, a colonel, six reverends, and a bishop of some kind. Have they no Catholic friends who will point out to them kindly but plainly that they are the dupes of their prejudices, and that they are contributing towards the perpetuation and dissemination of the cruellest of calumnies against those who are at least as virtuous as themselves—towards the publication of "accusations which," to quote the words of the Duke of Norfolk—in a letter dated December 11, 1897, and published on the occasion of the Slatterys' visit to Sheffield—"no decent man would listen to, no generous man believe."

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IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
KING'S BENCH DIVISION

Royal Courts of Justice .
Monday, 2nd June, 1902

Before
MR. JUSTICE WILLS
and a SPECIAL JURY

VAUGHAN

v.

**THE ROCK NEWSPAPER PRINTING
AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED**

This was an action by the Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., to recover damages for an alleged libel published in *The Rock* newspaper on August 23rd last, under the title of "Jesuit Outlaws." The defendants pleaded that the words used were not capable of the meaning placed upon them by the plaintiff, and that except in that sense they were not defamatory, and were published by them *bonâ fide* and without malice, and were fair comment on matters of public interest.

COUNSEL FOR THE PLAINTIFF : *Sir Edward Clarke, K.C.,*
Mr. Hugo Young, K.C., and Mr. Denis O'Connor.

COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT : *Mr. Blackwood Wright.*

[Transcript of the shorthand notes of Messrs. HODGES & SON,
87, Chancery Lane, W.C.]

[The expense incurred in publishing this pamphlet has been met to some extent by private subscription.]

FIRST DAY, JUNE 2, 1902.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—My Lord, in this case I appear for *The Rock Newspaper Printing Company*. The position of affairs is this : The Solicitor who was preparing the briefs, and who was engaged in the matter, became ill, and he was so ill that he could not do his work. It was expected that he would be better, but on Thursday last he had to put the matter into the hands of another Solicitor, who has not had time to prepare the briefs. I was to have had two leaders, Mr. Macaskie and Mr. Horace Ivory, and we are in this position at the last moment. My application is—and I asked Sir Edward Clarke if he could see his way to accede to it—that the matter should be adjourned for a short time, so that the Solicitor now instructing me might have time to prepare the briefs. I had hoped that Sir Edward Clarke could have seen his way to accede to it. The matter ought to have come on before Whitsuntide, when the original Solicitor was well, and it was adjourned then for Sir Edward's convenience—at least, so I am informed.

Sir Edward Clarke.—I am not aware of that fact. My Lord, this is really a very remarkable application. Issue was joined in January of this year, and since that time, of course, we have been preparing for trial.

I think that this gentleman who appears to have instructed my learned friend, but so far as I know has not yet instructed anybody else, is the third Solicitor upon the Record, so that I do not really feel sufficient confidence in the *bonâ fides* of the application—not, of course, on my learned friend's part.

Mr. Justice Wills.—There is no affidavit?

Sir Edward Clarke.—No, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I am afraid it must go on.

Sir Edward Clarke.—My learned friend is just making a note, if your Lordship will allow us a few minutes.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

[*After an interval.*]

Mr. Justice Wills.—Well, Mr. Young, is this to go on or not?

Mr. Hugo Young.—It is for my learned friend to say, my Lord.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I am in this position. My lay client is just at the moment out of Court. If your Lordship did not see your way to an adjournment I thought I had arranged certain terms with Sir Edward Clarke, but it appears I was mistaken with regard to this, and now my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, offers me other terms. I have not had an opportunity of speaking to my client, and I cannot take the responsibility of accepting them.

Mr. Hugo Young.—It is not right that my friend should say that he had arranged terms with Sir Edward Clarke.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I do not think I said I had arranged. I said I thought I had arranged.

Mr. Justice Wills.—He said he thought he had arranged.

Mr. Hugo Young.—When Sir Edward Clarke was called into another Court just at the last moment to open a case before the Lord Chief Justice, my learned friend said “I suggest” so and so, and the last words of Sir Edward Clarke were “Put them down in writing and we will consider them.” That is what your Lordship has been waiting for, and to say that any terms were arranged between Sir Edward Clarke and my learned friend is incorrect.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I hope your Lordship will think that I do not want to mislead you in any kind of way. I saw Sir Edward Clarke about an hour ago and had a talk with him then. I am told by my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, and I accept it entirely, that I am mistaken as to what I understood Sir Edward Clarke to say then. Mr. Young is quite right in saying that Sir Edward Clarke asked me to put it exactly in writing. I am sorry I cannot accept the offer, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Then swear the Jury, and call the case on.

[*The Jury were then sworn.*]

Mr. Denis O'Connor opened the Pleadings.

Mr. Hugo Young.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury, I was hoping that my clients would have had the advantage of this case being opened to you by Sir Edward Clarke, but unfortunately he is obliged to be in another Court at this moment on an important case, and therefore I must lay the facts before you. I had hoped just now that you would have been

saved the trouble of trying this case, by the Defendants being willing to make a reparation and withdrawal to Father Bernard Vaughan for this libel upon him which has appeared in *The Rock* newspaper, and of which you have heard, but that withdrawal is not forthcoming and you will have to decide whether in your opinion this libel is justified as a fair comment. The libel was published as long ago as the 23rd of August, 1901, and the Defendants have not thought fit in the action to say that it is true, and therefore they do not allege the truth of the allegations that were made against the Plaintiff, but they say that it is a fair comment. I should have thought under those circumstances that they might have acted now as gentlemen, and if they are not bold enough to come into Court and say that the allegations they have made are true, that they might have said, "We do not make these against an English gentleman."

Gentlemen of the Jury, Father Bernard Vaughan, who is at present one of the Jesuit Fathers, at Farm Street, Berkeley Square, in London, is a member of a very old English Catholic family. He is, I think, the eleventh of the fourteen children of Colonel Vaughan, of Courtfield, Herefordshire, and one of his brothers is our distinguished Cardinal Vaughan, who is so well known. He entered his training—it is called a novitiate—as a Jesuit in 1868, and went through the severe training of character, and of education, which all Jesuits are obliged to go through, before he was ordained a priest, and commenced his duties. Gentlemen, that training is one of a very severe character, because every effort is made in that Order to take care that the people who have to take up the duties which are the especial duties of the Jesuits, namely, acting as priests, and preaching, and especially

in the education of youth, should all be people who are in the highest degree trained and fitted for that work. That training would take some twelve or fourteen years. After that he went to Manchester, and for eighteen years carried on the ordinary work of a priest in that district, performing the ordinary duties that you know a priest or parson does perform in the country—of a clergyman of any denomination attending to the religious duties of a certain district.

Now I think it is perhaps desirable, in dealing with a matter of this kind, to point out to you at once exactly what a Jesuit is. When you say a man is a Jesuit many people have got a sort of idea that a Jesuit is something, so far as doctrine is concerned, separate and distinct in itself; exactly the same as you would say a Methodist would be different in doctrine from a member of the Church of England or a member of the Roman Catholic Church. But that is not so with regard to Jesuits. So far as their religious teaching is concerned, so far as the doctrines which they hold are concerned, they are simply the doctrines of the Roman Catholic body generally. No layman of any kind or description can be a Jesuit. When I say can be a Jesuit, I mean in the ordinary sense of the word in which it is understood as a member of the Jesuit Order. There are certain servants and people of that sort who in a sense may be called members of the Order—what are called Lay Brothers and people attached to the Order for the purpose of doing domestic and menial work—but in the ordinary sense in which you speak of a Jesuit, he is merely a member of a religious Order in the Roman Catholic Church. There are many religious Orders: Franciscans, Benedictines, and various other Orders of monks, who live in communities and attach themselves

to the particular rule of a particular founder for the purpose of regulating their order of life. All those hold the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, just the same as, I understand, that in the Church of England there are Orders of people who call themselves by certain names, and they are members of the Church of England, but for their own mode of life they adopt a certain rule of life, and call themselves by some particular name. So with the Jesuits. They were an Order established especially for preaching, especially for priestly duties, especially for the education of youth ; living together in community, observing certain rules and constitutions which are the regulations of their Order, but in no sense in the world holding any religious doctrines different from all other members of the Roman Catholic religion, of which they are only a portion, and all those people, being Roman Catholics in every sense of the word, are simply guided by their own constitutions and rules.

Now another thing I desire to point out to you, gentlemen, at the outset is this : that there is nothing at all secret in reference to the Jesuits. There are what are called their vows, by which they bind themselves to the rules of the Order. They undertake to observe certain things, and all their constitutions are public property. Anybody can go and read them in the library of the British Museum if they have not access to any other library where they are, and one great desire in bringing this action before a public Court is that my learned friend may have the opportunity, when he sees Father Bernard Vaughan in the box, of asking him any of these questions, and making against him any of these imputations which it is so easy to make in a newspaper, where no contradiction can

then be given, and where no explanation can be given as to the alleged sources of information in books, or otherwise, upon which these allegations are founded.

Now, gentlemen, that being so I will read to you the libel which has been published of Father Vaughan. On the 23rd August, 1901, this libel appeared in *The Rock* newspaper ; and I should tell you, in order that you may understand the meaning of it, that for a considerable time attacks have been made upon the alleged doctrines of the Jesuit body, as though they were some doctrines separate in themselves, as distinct from Roman Catholic doctrines ; and a great many attacks have been made with alleged quotations from writers, and matters of that kind, which, as a rule, are generally easily explained by showing that misquotations are made from writings, passages omitted which explain certain other passages, and wrong translations of the Latin, in which some of them were originally written. Those are all matters which I need say nothing about. Let them say what they like on such points : they do nobody any very great harm ; but at last several papers made personal attacks upon individuals, and you will understand that that is a very different thing. It is open to anybody to attack matters of religious teaching or political teaching, or anything of that kind, as much as they like, but when they come to make personal attacks upon individuals it is an entirely different matter.

The Chatham and Rochester News had made an attack upon Father Bernard Vaughan, and had alleged that as a Jesuit he had taken a certain form of oath. That was absolutely false, and Father Vaughan brought an action for libel against *The Chatham and Rochester News* for alleging that he had taken that oath which was one that,

if he had taken it, would rather seem to show he was a person against whom certain things could have been said. But, gentlemen, the simple answer was, "I never took such an oath. There is no such oath. There is no such oath ever thought of or known among the Jesuits." In that action there was an apology, and the costs were paid. Then another libel appeared against another Jesuit, Father Gerard, also of Farm Street, a gentleman well known from his very high attainments as a writer; and it was alleged that his word was not to be taken for anything he said. Again in that action there was an apology, a payment of money into Court, and the costs of the action were paid.

Now that being the position on the 23rd of August this libel was published. The gentleman was, of course, indignant because those apologies and those withdrawals had been made of allegations for which there was no foundation, and which they knew they could not face and justify in open Court. The libel was headed "Jesuit Outlaws," and runs as follows: "Words fail to express the amazement with which I hear of the various actions taken and threatened by Jesuits in this country. Pray, sir, have we, as a nation, completely abandoned even ordinary common sense? Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the British public that Jesuits are outlaws, and their pretended 'actions' null and void?" Gentlemen, that is an allegation that a Jesuit in this country has no right at all to bring any action. It is a very extraordinary proposition to put forward, but I will tell you just what the foundation for that is. Some years ago, in the year 1829, before most of us were born, there was an Act of Parliament which was passed giving a considerable measure of relief to the Roman Catholic subjects of this

country in matters where they had been under very great restrictions before, but in that Act of Parliament it was thought right not to withdraw the restrictions so far as concerned various religious bodies—not Jesuits only, but various religious communities of men who were established in this country ; and without taking you in detail through the Act of Parliament, which was considered only very recently before the Lord Chief Justice and two other Judges in a case of *The King v. Kennedy*, I may tell you generally what the effect of that Act was. The effect of that Act was this : that religious men who were in the country at that time in 1829 had to register their names, and then, having registered their names, they might remain in the country. There was also a law passed that none of these gentlemen who had been admitted members of these religious Orders out of the country were to be allowed to come into the country ; and there was another law that no members of these Orders, of which the Jesuits were one, were to be admitted members of the Order in this country, and if they did break that law they were liable to be sent out of the country—“banished for life” were the words of the Act of Parliament—that is, if they were convicted. But, of course, as you know, gentlemen, nobody in this country is entitled to say to a person “You are a thief” unless he has been convicted and proved to be a thief ; and even if one of these Jesuits, or a member of any other Order, had come within that law so that he had to be banished the country, until that order had been made, and until that conviction and banishment had been recorded against him, in no sense of the word could he be called an outlaw, and even then (under the direction of my Lord) I should say it was not open

to anybody to allege all sorts of injurious things against his character, and, if they were alleged against him he would have redress. But, gentlemen, let me tell you this : From the year 1829, although it has been known that members of these different Orders were in the country, and although it has been recognized, and they have taken part in the public work of the country in many ways, no single prosecution has ever been brought against any one of those gentlemen for either coming to this country as a member of an Order or for being admitted in this country. There is no doubt that in some ways it might be said to be a useful provision to keep on the shelf ready for use if the occasion arose ; but these are not times when we attack people and banish people for their religious opinions, and so long as the members of these religious Orders go on as they have been doing now for many years, conducting themselves as English gentlemen, doing spiritual work in the country, and in the education of youth, and causing nobody any trouble or annoyance, you will not be surprised to hear that those laws have not been enforced, and, gentlemen, they never have been enforced. An attempt was made some little time ago to proceed under that Act, but the Magistrate before whom it came exercised his discretion in refusing to issue a summons. That came before the Lord Chief Justice, as I mentioned just now, and two other Judges, and they upheld the decision of the Magistrate, and would not direct, as was asked, that an order should be made that the Magistrate should be compelled to issue a summons in that case.

Now, gentlemen, that is the only justification for the allegation that Father Bernard Vaughan is an outlaw, and not entitled to redress if he is libelled. Then it

goes on : "We read with pain the letter in *The Ladies' League Gazette*, in which Mr. Thurston (S.J.) was permitted to insult our illustrious dead by terming Robert Ware a 'convicted forger,' and, by inference, to defame the memories of many of our most eminent men of letters—all of them men both hated and dreaded by the infamous sons of Loyola." Loyola was the founder of the Order of Jesuits, and they are called "infamous sons of Loyola." Gentlemen, I need not take you through the matters of literary controversy in which Father Thurston engaged, but I only point out that that is used in order to point a finger against all Jesuits by calling them infamous. "These supplied Sir James Ware with documents, and their honour was never questioned by their own contemporaries, either at home or abroad. Against them Jesuit calumny has for the first time in history been accorded an even partial hearing. Emboldened by the impunity of success, this outlaw next calls upon the editor of *The Ladies' League Gazette* for an apology, and threatens the committee of the Ladies' League with legal proceedings, in order to ascertain what protection the laws of their country afford the Jesuits." Then there was a footnote put to that which I ought to read now—it is at the end of the Statement of Claim : "See their constitutions, where, it is said, in more than five hundred places they are told to regard their General as God. See also the Papal Bulls dispensing them from all obedience to temporal rulers." Gentlemen, let me say this at once, that these allegations in the way they are put forward—I will not stop to explain them or go into a controversy with you—are not true, and Father Bernard Vaughan shall go into the box and say so. It is not for me to take him through all these allegations, but any one, or

any number that my learned friend desires to ask Father Vaughan about he will give his answer, which will show it is a gross libel and calumny to impute things of the sort to Father Bernard Vaughan as a Jesuit, as he is, and an English gentleman in this country. Then it goes on—"The Jesuits! Men who own no nationality, no law save the will of their own General, who were the sole cause of two revolutions here, and who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion and to another civil war; men who introduced the shameful Canon Law of Rome into Ireland, and who are directly accountable for all the bloodshed which necessarily followed (see Lord R. Montagu's *Scylla or Charybdis*, Miss Cusack's *Black Pope*, Massey's *Secret History of Romanism*, &c., &c., &c.); men who have defied all authority, and to whom we owe the whole of our present troubles and perplexities! The Jesuits claim 'protection' against the free Press and against that free speech to gain which our ancestors shed their blood! 'The revolution of 1868 was made to the cry of "Death to the Jesuits,"' writes the Jesuit historian, Joly. 'England had waded through a sea of blood to obtain liberty of conscience' (*Poor Gentlemen of Liege*, vol. vi. pp. 75-6). We have looked for a crushing rejoinder from the Ladies' League, but so far we have been disappointed." Now, gentlemen, we come to where the application of all these charges against the Jesuits is pointed against Father Vaughan. "Consequently another of these outlaws, Mr. Bernard Vaughan (one steeped in sedition) 'commences an action' against the editor of *The Chatham and Rochester News*. Why has the truth been kept from that editor? that is, that even were the Oath proved false (and it never was) Jesuits

cannot be libelled. They are outlaws, and outlaws have no legal rights, either as corporations or as individuals." Just let me point out that though the libel contains this allegation, though the libel says, "Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the public that all these actions are null and void," when they are brought to book—when this case is brought into Court they themselves dare not come forward, and have not come forward, to say that this action does not lie, and to raise that point.

Mr. Macaskie.—My Lord, within the last five minutes I have had a brief in this matter on behalf of the Defendants put into my hands. I understand that an application has already been made to your Lordship for an adjournment in this case, which would be, of course, I know, a very great indulgence; but, my Lord, I do feel that under the circumstances it is impossible, without an adjournment, to effectually deal with this case, and I would, although I understand an application has been made without, offer to pay the costs of the day.

Mr. Justice Wills.—No, there has been no ground alleged for it. Certain statements have been made, but they are statements which, if they were to be acted upon, ought to have been made on affidavit, and there is no excuse for their not being on affidavit; therefore, of course, I cannot act upon them. The case must go on.

Mr. Macaskie.—I think I could prove by the gentleman who, I understand, is the editor, or managing director, of the Defendant Company that he has had occasion to change his solicitors.

Mr. Justice Wills.—But it is too late. He ought to have made a proper affidavit at the proper time.

Mr. Macaskie.—Of course your Lordship must decide it, but I should have thought that no injustice could be

done to the other side by any adjournment until to-morrow morning upon the terms of every penny of detriment being reimbursed to them.

Mr. Justice Wills.—By to-morrow morning—and this case is not likely to be finished by then—you will be in a position to go on?

Mr. Macaskie.—What I feel about that is this, that within a very few minutes my learned friend will have concluded his opening, and it will be exceedingly difficult for me then and there, without having read the brief, or the proofs—I do not know whether I have any proofs—to cross-examine the Plaintiff, or any other witness put into the box.

Mr. Justice Wills.—You must wait and see. No ground whatever has been suggested for delay, and there is no material here for making this application.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I desire to leave myself in your Lordship's hands about the matter. I should be very sorry indeed for it to be suggested that for any reason——

Mr. Justice Wills.—Now that we have begun let us go on, at all events until the time comes for cross-examining.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I desire to say that I am quite willing that the case should stand over for my learned friend, although I do not understand how he comes to be in the position in which he is. I am perfectly willing to leave myself in your Lordship's hands entirely, and I will not oppose his application at all.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I have no other case in my paper to-day, and I must go on with it until it becomes necessary to adjourn it.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I do not want it to be suggested

that I am anxious to put my learned friend in an awkward position, and I would consent. I should like this case to be thoroughly dealt with. Why this was left to the last moment like this I do not understand.

Now, gentlemen, that is the libel which they have published, and I was pointing out to you that they have not attempted to allege the truth, they have not attempted to prove that Father Bernard Vaughan is not in every shape or form a perfectly loyal and good subject of His Majesty, like all the other Jesuits I believe to be in this country. I defy my learned friend, whatever his instructions are at any time—and I should like him to be fully instructed upon the point, in order that it may be thoroughly threshed out—to point to anything which indicates that it is right or fair to allege, as this does, that the Jesuits own no nationality ; that they own no will except the will of their own General ; and that they are steeped in sedition, or any other of the imputations which are made. Gentlemen, it will be found that their preaching and their teaching is obedience to the law and respect to princes and kings in every shape and form. It is suggested here that they regard nobody but their own General, and the obedience which they owe to the head of their Order is often pointed to as though it was something most anomalous and something most extraordinary. The obedience that they owe to their General is of the nature of the obedience that every soldier owes to his General, and that everybody who belongs to any sort of institution must owe to the person who has to direct their movements. The suggestion that they owe any obedience to their General when it becomes a question of his ordering them to do something that is sinful or wrong is another matter. My learned friend will inquire, and he will find

that there is no such suggestion of anything of that sort ; but in matters of discipline, as to ordering them to go here, there, and everywhere as they may be ordered to go—to the furthest parts of the earth to preach the Gospel—there is, of course, discipline. In these matters which are mere matters of guidance, and not directing them to do that which is wrong, then as a general rule they owe obedience to their General in the same way as, I say, a soldier owes obedience to his General in the field.

Now, gentlemen, the answer they make to this is simply this : They first of all say they do not admit they printed and published it. Well, they have since admitted that they did. We had to deliver interrogatories to them ; they would not admit it until we delivered interrogatories in order to compel them to answer on oath, and when they had to do that, they said, Do not serve the interrogatories on us—we will admit it. It went into Chambers, and that Order would have been made, but they admitted they did print it. Then they deny “ that the said words are capable of the meaning alleged in paragraph 2 of the statement of claim or of any other defamatory meaning.” What it was alleged they meant, and I think you will agree it is a fair interpretation, was this : “ Meaning thereby that the Plaintiff was a seditious and disloyal person who repudiated all obligation to obey the laws of England and who incited the Roman Catholic subjects of the King to rebellion and civil war and was an infamous person with no legal rights who could be libelled with impunity.” Then they say, “ The said words without the said alleged meaning are not defamatory of the Plaintiff. The said words if published formed part of a letter written to the editor of *The Rock* newspaper by

a correspondent on a matter of public concern, and the said words were published, if at all, *bonâ fide* and without malice, and the position and character of the Plaintiff were and are matters of public interest, and the Defendants will at the trial crave leave to refer to the whole of the said letter." Of course they are entitled to have the whole of the said letter, and if it is not all set out in the statement of claim it certainly shall be put before you if they wish it.

Gentlemen, in commenting upon a matter of public interest—and I will allow for the purpose of argument that the position of a Jesuit may be such a matter—they are not allowed to make imputations upon his personal character and upon his personal honour, and say he is a seditious person ; that he incites to rebellion ; breaks the laws of the country, and does not recognize the laws of the country—they are not allowed to make those sort of imputations by way of what they call comment unless they are founded on fact, and if they are founded on fact should have come forward to prove those facts ; but if they are not founded on fact, as we must assume because they have not ventured to allege they are true, why in the world do they stand here and still seem, as it were, to persist in making these imputations upon a respectable English gentleman when they do not allege they have any proof to support them ?

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer in opening this case before you, because I shall see more what line my learned friend takes when he has an opportunity of cross-examining Father Bernard Vaughan. All I can say is that if anybody knows anything about the Jesuits it is Father Bernard Vaughan. My learned friend may take it from me that he is a person who is

thoroughly acquainted with everything ; he is a member of the Order as fully as he can be a member of the Order ; he is fully acquainted with everything they do, the nature of the vows they take, the nature of the constitutions which form the basis of their Order, all of which are matters which I say are not secret, but which may be read in the British Museum by you, or anybody in Court, to-morrow morning, and he will explain any matter to my learned friend in connection with them. He is open to attack on all points, and he has sought this occasion of having an opportunity in public Court of answering these and many other foul calumnies which are hurled against him and other members of his Order.

FATHER BERNARD VAUGHAN SWORN.

Examined by Mr. Denis O'Conor.

Q.—You are the Plaintiff in this action ?

A.—I am.

Q.—You are, I think, the seventh son of Colonel Vaughan, of Courtfield ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—The Vaughans are descendants of Margaret Pole, the Plantagenet, who was executed in the Tower for her religion in 1541 ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You were admitted to be a Jesuit in 1868 ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And since then you have been in the Order or Society of Jesus ?

A.—I have.

Q.—You have taken a prominent part in that Society ?

A.—I have.

Q.—Will you tell me what positions you have occupied, and where you have been ?

A.—Since I first joined ?

Q.—You were admitted in 1868?

A.—In 1868 I took my first simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. After my vows I spent three years in the study of philosophy at one of our colleges for the purpose. Then I was teaching at Stonyhurst College, in Lancashire, for two years. After that I went to another college of ours called Beaumont College, Old Windsor, where I taught boys the humanities for four years, I think. After that I went to St. Beunos, in North Wales, to study my theology, and I was in theology for four years, at the end of three years being ordained. After that I went to Beaumont College again on the staff of authority, and at the end of that year I was what I may call put through the mill again—that is, I went back again for another year to the noviceship, where my time was principally taken up in all sorts of work, household work and spiritual work, but not much study or teaching.

Q. After that where did you go?

A.—Studying the institute of the Society amongst other things. Then at the end of that time I went to the Holy Name, Manchester, and I was at that church, I think, about eighteen years, being Rector of the church and of the various houses in connection with the church.

Q.—And doing missionary work?

A.—Doing missionary work principally. That was till a year ago. After that I left Manchester, and was translated to the staff at 114, Mount Street, which works the church in Farm Street.

Q.—You are there now?

A.—I am there on the staff now.

Q.—During all these years you have had full opportunity of knowing the Jesuit constitutions, their rules and the vows they take, and so on, and is it in any way true to say that the Jesuits, or that you, as a Jesuit, teach disloyalty?

A.—No; I was going to say we were what many people would think Jingoists.

Q.—You have read this article in *The Rock* about which you brought the action?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are the suggestions there made either true as regards

yourself, or true as regards any of the Jesuits that you have known?

Mr. Macaskie.—This is not a class action.

Mr. Denis O'Connor.—No. (To the witness.)—It is perfectly untrue to say either that you are disloyal, or that you in any way encourage revolution or get people to perpetrate crimes, and so on?

A.—Absolutely untrue of myself as of every other member I ever met.

Mr. Macaskie.—Now I am in your Lordship's hands.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Can you get some distance with your cross-examination?

Mr. Macaskie.—Really, my Lord, I do not think I can. I am exceedingly sorry, and so far as money can avail of course the other side ought to be reimbursed every penny of the expense they are put to.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Then we will go on at half-past ten to-morrow morning.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am much obliged to your Lordship.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Of course, if any additional expense should be proved I reserve that to the end.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am much obliged.

Mr. Justice Wills.—If there had been any affidavit I should have listened to this application at the proper time, but I think there is no excuse whatever.

Mr. Macaskie.—I in no way venture to differ from what your Lordship has said.

[*Adjourned to to-morrow morning at 10.30.*]

FATHER VAUGHAN IN THE WITNESS-BOX.

Father Bernard Vaughan, having in his examination-in-chief by Mr. Denis O'Connor, given particulars as to his entrance into the Society and the employments he has fulfilled in it, was cross-examined by Mr. Macaskie, K.C.

Q.—You are a natural-born British subject, are you not?

A.—I am.

Q.—How long have you been a member of the Society of Jesus?

A.—Since 1868.

Q.—You were admitted in 1868, I think?

A.—I took my first vows in 1868.

Q.—Does that constitute admission?

A.—Yes; up to that it is a noviceship that we pass through.

Q.—Have you a licence from the Secretary of State to reside in this country?

A.—No direct licence.

Q.—Have you any indirect licence?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And what is it, may I ask?

A.—I should say this—that the law against us is a very technical law, and that on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell this law was never meant to be put in force unless it was set in motion by the Attorney-General.

Q.—Your view is that these eminent personages may over-rule the Statute?

A.—That is not my view.

Q.—Be that, as it may, have you got any licence from the Secretary of State?

A.—I have not.

Mr. Justice Wills.—He has already said so.

Q.—When was your attention first drawn to this letter?

A.—I fancy in the week when it was published.

Q.—I suppose I may take it that you are not a reader of *The Rock*?

A.—I sometimes read it when I want a little fun.
(Laughter.)

Q.—You do not read it for “improvement”?

A.—Oh, not to improve my mind. (Laughter.)

Q.—I suppose you do not recommend your pupils or your flock to read it?

A.—I treat it with silent contempt.

Q.—I suppose you would not approve of their reading it?

A.—If they liked to read it, I think it would do them no harm.

Q.—You do not, I say, recommend them to read it?

A.—No.

Q.—Would you approve of their reading it?

A.—Yes, I should quite approve of their reading it.

Q.—Do you know Mr. Thurston, a member of your Society?

A.—If you mean Father Thurston, I know him.

Q.—Had he been corresponding in *The Ladies' League Gazette*?

A.—I think he wrote a letter or two.

Q.—Making an attack, we need not trouble whether it was right or wrong, on one Mr. Robert Ware?

A.—I should not say making an attack upon him, but rather answering his difficulties.

Q.—At all events it was not a very complimentary letter to Mr. Ware?

A.—I really cannot tell you, because I forget the details of it.

Q.—Do you know that he had called on *The Ladies' League Gazette* for an apology, and threatened legal proceedings?

A.—Yes, I think so.

Q.—Do you know what kind of paper it is?

A.—I should say it was emphatically a Low Church paper.

Q.—You yourself, in consequence of something written in *The Chatham and Rochester News*, brought an action against that paper which was afterwards settled?

Mr. Hugo Young.—My learned friend should not say it was settled; they apologized and paid the costs.

Q.—Were there any damages? Did you get any damages? My learned friend wishes to have the terms.

A.—I forget about the damages. I do not know whether there was £10 or not.

Q.—In this letter of which you complain I see this quotation from the Act of 1829:—

“And be it further enacted, that if any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, shall, after the commencement of this Act, come into this realm, he shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life.”

A.—Yes.

Q.—Were you aware of the terms of the Act of 1829 when you were admitted?

A.—Do you mean when I was admitted into the Society?

Q.—Yes.

A.—Well, I had heard something about it; but, as I said, it had never been put into operation.

Mr. Macaskie.—I will not trouble you to repeat what you said. Have you since heard more particularly what the terms of the Statute are?

A.—Yes, I have heard more about it.

Q.—I see the letter of which you complain says this: "Upon this Joly coolly remarks, 'the Jesuits knew that it was particularly directed against themselves, but they made no account of it'" (vol. v.). Who is Joly?

A.—I have no idea who or what he is.

Q.—Then it goes on:—

"The present 'Relief Bill,' generally known as the 'Jesuit Relief Bill,' aims at the total abolition of the above clause, with some others of the few remaining barriers against the Papal invasion."

Was there a Bill, then pending in Parliament, for the purpose, among other things, of repealing that Section?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—You have made no inquiry whether there was a Bill such as I have indicated here, called the Relief Bill, then pending in Parliament?

A.—No.

Q.—Either for the purpose of amending the Act of 1829, or of giving any other relief?

A.—I have really neither bothered or inquired about the matter.

Q.—Now, turning to the last paragraph I see the words: "Following the example of Messrs. Thurston and Vaughan, Mr. Gerard announces his intension of vindicating his character by taking action against *The Methodist Weekly*." That was so?

A.—Yes, that was so.

Q.—*The Methodist Weekly* had said something about the Jesuits also, had it not?

A.—Yes, I believe it had.

Q.—Now did you notice when you read this correspondent's

letter that it appeared not as an article but as a letter to the editor?

A.—I really forget all about that detail.

Q.—You attach so little importance to this tremendous libel that you forget all about it?

A.—I forget all the details about it: whether it appeared as an article or as a letter I can't say.

Q.—You know now that it was not an article but a letter in the correspondents' column?

A.—You tell me it was a letter in the correspondents' column.

Q.—Do you doubt it?

A.—No, I believe it.

Q.—You believe it?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And I suppose you know also that the letters which there appear are headed by the following warning words at the top of the column: "Letters to the Editor. The Editor disclaims responsibility for opinions expressed in these columns." You know that?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore I suppose you took this letter as expressing the opinion not of the editor of the paper, but of the correspondent who had written to him?

A.—When I first brought this action I had not seen this announcement at the top of the letter.

Q.—I dare say; but you have seen it since?

A.—Certainly.

Q.—And I suppose, having seen it, you understood that the letter which is complained of was the letter of the correspondent, and not one for which the editor accepted responsibility?

A.—It is quite so.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Can that make any difference in law?

Mr. Macaskie.—Not in law, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Nor in common sense. (Laughter.)

Q.—Now, will you tell me what are the portions of this letter of which you really seriously complain? May I take it, going through them one by one, that the expression "Steeped in sedition" is the first?

A.—Yes, that is the most seriously important.

Q.—Did you read *The Rock* for September 6th?

A.—I really cannot tell you that.

Q.—Do you know that *The Rock* apologized for the use of those words?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I object to the question unless my friend puts in the paper.

Mr. Macaskie.—I have not yet offered to put it in?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I know; but my Lord will keep you within proper bounds.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am sure of that. *The Rock* subsequently expressed its regret?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I object to this unless my learned friend puts the paper in.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I think that must be done.

Mr. Macaskie.—Did you read *The Rock* for September 6th?

A.—I say I cannot tell you whether I did or did not, because I do not carry the details of the different issues in my mind.

Q.—It was the week after the libel.

A.—If you will tell me the substance of the letter or of the passage to which you refer, I could then say whether I had or had not read it.

Q.—It was an article referring to the use of the words, "steeped in sedition."

A.—If you are hinting at some kind of lame apology that was made in the paper, I remember that.

Q.—Did you read the lame apology?

A.—I did; and I beg to say that the charge was brought once more.

Q.—I have not asked you to say anything yet. As my learned friend insists upon it, I think I must now put the paper in. The paragraph runs as follows:—

"Libel Action against *The Rock*.—Our position as regards the Jesuits.—An unfortunate oversight.—On Saturday last, August 31st, we received a letter from a firm of solicitors stating that they were instructed by the Reverend Bernard Vaughan to commence an action against us for the libel contained in our issue of the 23rd ult.; and requesting the name of our solicitors for service of the writ by return of post. The writ was duly served on Tuesday morning on our solicitors. As the statement

of claim has not yet been delivered, we can only hazard a guess as to what this action is based upon. We presume it applies to a letter from a correspondent signed 'Pro Aris et Focis.' Although the place in which this communication appeared is a free column, and we therein expressly disclaim responsibility for the opinions of our correspondents, it is our practice to carefully expunge any statement which appears inadmissible, or any phrase even which seems too strongly worded. In the present instance we regret to find that there is a phrase of three words which, by an oversight, was not deleted. We repudiate the view of our correspondent that this phrase is applicable to the Reverend Bernard Vaughan. We should be sorry to think that Mr. Vaughan personally could be described as 'seditious' in any popular acceptance of the word. Wondering what possible justification there could be for such a phrase, we at once telegraphed to our correspondent, who lives in a remote country district, to state at once what evidence there was, if any, to warrant its use. This correspondent telegraphs, in reply, there is 'no hurry.'"

I see there they express their regret that that phrase "steeped in sedition" had not been, owing to an oversight, deleted, and repudiating the view that it is applicable to you, and saying that they would be sorry to think that Mr. Vaughan personally could be described as seditious in any fair acceptance of the word. You did not, I think, accept that apology?

A.—I did not.

Q.—And you do not to-day?

A.—No.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I think you ought to read the whole of it.

Mr. Macaskie.—Certainly. It goes on dealing with the general question.

"We entirely disagree with our correspondent on the point, and take the earliest possible opportunity, in this, our first issue since the oversight has come under our personal notice, of expressing our regret for the publication of the obnoxious phrase."

This in larger type :—

"While admitting this point, and hastening to do our duty in this incidental matter, we honestly believe that the Jesuits have not a legal status in this country, and we are prepared to contest this point (which is the main position of our correspondent's letter) on its merits. There is no doubt whatever that the efforts

of the Jesuits have been devoted to setting the authority of the Pope above that of the King and constitution of this country in matters of religion. Were the statute laws of this country enforced as they ought to be enforced, no Jesuit could reside within the four seas, and if he attempted to do so he would be liable to punishment, and if he persisted, to penal servitude for life. To confirm our view we quote from Stephens' *Digest of the Criminal Law*, Article 90: 'Every Jesuit, and every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, who comes into this realm commits a misdemeanour, and is liable, upon conviction thereof, to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life. . . . Every person ordered to be banished who does not depart from the United Kingdom within thirty days may be removed to such place as Her Majesty, by the advice of her Privy Council, directs. Every person ordered to be banished who is found at large in the United Kingdom after three months from such order is liable to penal servitude for life as a maximum punishment.'

Q.—Did you accept the apology?

A.—I did not accept that apology.

Q.—And do not to-day?

A.—No.

Q.—(To plaintiff.)—What is the next passage you complain of—the expression "outlaw"?

A.—Yes, I complain of that also.

Q.—You know that the Act of Parliament does forbid your presence in this country?

A.—Yes, there is a technical objection.

Q.—Whether it is technical or not, we shall see.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Well, that is not being an outlaw.

Mr. Macaskie.—I do not say it is. (To plaintiff.)—Has this action been brought by order of your superiors?

A.—No, it has been brought by my order.

Q.—By your order?

A.—Yes; with permission of my superiors, I put the case into the hands of the solicitors who used to act for my father, and now act for my brother, the Cardinal.

Q.—You have the permission of your superiors?

A.—I have the permission of my superiors.

Q.—You told us yesterday that you had taken, on your admission into the Society, vows, amongst others, of poverty?

A.—Yes.

Q.—That involves, does it not, that your property, if and when acquired, goes to your ecclesiastical superiors, or to the Society?

Plaintiff.—May I be permitted to answer this question not quite directly?

Mr. Macaskie.—Answer it in your own way.

Plaintiff.—Well, we perform what we call an act of renunciation when we take our vows, and we leave what property is to come to us to any person or charity we like; it does not necessarily go to the Society. But we have nothing which we can claim as our own after our vows.

Q.—In other words, your property when acquired goes either to charity or other purposes?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You have not suffered any pecuniary damage from this libel?

A.—Not that I know of.

Q.—Or as far as you know that anybody else knows of?

A.—I am not so sure about that.

Q.—Can you suggest any pecuniary damage to the extent of one farthing that you have personally suffered from this libel?

A.—I can suggest that some persons, reading that I was accused of being “steeped in sedition,” might refuse to give me what they had intended to offer for my works of charity.

Q.—You mean for charitable works?

A.—Yes, for my charitable works.

Q.—I asked you about pecuniary damage?

A.—I do not quite understand your question.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I should think the worst part of the libel in connection with pecuniary damages is the use of the word “outlaw,” because that would imply a direct encouragement to others to believe that Jesuits as outlaws could not be libelled.

Q.—Of course that has to be dealt with, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

Mr. Macaskie (to plaintiff).—You have not, I apprehend, lost the hospitality of any friend or acquaintance in consequence of that libel?

A.—How can I answer such a question as that?

Q.—I mean, of course, that you know of?

A.—Well, no one has actually written to tell me so.
(Laughter.)

Q.—Do you suggest without their writing to tell you so that any one has refused you hospitality or withdrawn it?

A.—Persons who are bigoted and narrow-minded might have so done.

Q.—Might have done : have they?

A.—That I cannot answer for certain.

Q.—Can you name one?

A.—With certainty I cannot name one.

Q.—You do not complain of that part of the letter which deals with the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, do you, Father Vaughan?

A.—In the libel case I do not.

Q.—Do you accept the view that there is no distinction to be drawn between Jesuits and Roman Catholics?

A.—There is none whatever, except that we as regulars have a stricter rule of life.

Q.—You will not deny that in other countries, as well as in England, it has been the practice to draw distinction between the two?

A.—By those misinformed, yes.

Q.—For good reasons or bad the Society has had the misfortune, from time to time, to be expelled from nearly every country in Europe?

A.—That is so.

Q.—And even, I think, had the misfortune, in the year 1773, to be suppressed by Bull of Pope Clement XIV.?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are you acquainted with the writings of Marianus de Luca?

A.—Yes, I am.

Q.—I think his book on Ecclesiastical Law has received the imprimatur of Signor Carini, the Chief of the Roman Province of your Society?

A.—Yes, it has.

Q.—That imprimatur was given so lately as 1900?

A.—Yes.

(Counsel then put to witness passages from "The Institutions of Canon Law," by Marianus de Luca, Professor of the Text of the Decretals in the Gregorian University, Rome, and bearing the imprimatur of the then Provincial, since deceased, Professor Carini.)

Q.—(To plaintiff).—In the view of your Society the Church has the power of the sword to punish heresy?

A.—Speculatively, yes.

Q.—And by punishment I suppose is meant censure, excommunication, fine, exile, and if need be, death?

A.—Yes, quite so.

Q.—Does this express the correct view: "Heretics despise excommunication, and say that that bolt is powerless; if you threaten them with a pecuniary fine, they neither fear God nor respect man, knowing that they will find fools enough to believe them and support them. If you imprison them or send them into exile they will corrupt those near them with their words and those at a distance with their books, so the only remedy is to send them soon to their own place."

A.—No, that certainly does not express the correct view.

Q.—In what respect does it not express the correct view?

A.—Your quotation, I believe, is from de Luca's book?

Q.—It is a quotation from Bellarmine.

Plaintiff.—May I ask, are you quoting it from de Luca's book?

Mr. Macaskie.—Yes, certainly.

Plaintiff.—May I then say I am glad to have this opportunity of publicly stating that I reject and repudiate all the speculative theories and views to be found in Father de Luca's book as monstrous anachronisms? My Lord, may I explain myself?

Mr. Justice Wills.—You may.

Plaintiff.—I beg then to inform the Court that Father de Luca is set down on the title-page of this book as "Professor Textus Decretalium," which means that he explains to his students the text and meaning of the Decretals which form a main part of the Canon Law of the Church. These Decretals, let me add, date many of them from the Theodosian and Justinian codes. They were first gathered into a Corpus Juris in 1153 by Gratian, and were finally republished with additions in

1313 by Clement V. Now let me remind you that in these Decretals were embodied the provisions of the Theodosian and Justinian codes, which made heresy a civil crime punishable with death. I beg, therefore, to be allowed to say that these Decretals formed part of the Common Law of the Christian States of Europe two centuries before Jesuits ever came into existence at all. In Father de Luca's book, then, there is nothing new, nothing original. The Father Provincial could not withhold his imprimatur just because there was nothing new in the book. The book is simply a reproduction and compilation from ancient authors on Canon Law, and is based on the ancient laws which regulated the relations between Church and State in a bygone day which can never reappear in the future. So that I may say, with Cardinal Manning, since the unity of Christendom was broken up the use of persecution for those who hold religious opinions contrary to ourselves would be a crime and a heresy. (Cheers, which were suppressed.)

Mr. Macaskie (to plaintiff).—Has not your Order practically acted on these principles in the past?

A.—No ; it has not.

Q.—Do you mean that it has not had persons put to death for heresy?

A.—That is what I mean.

Q.—Can you suggest how it is that this book has so lately got the imprimatur of your Society?

A.—I have just said, because there is nothing new in the book.

Q.—You regard it as mere speculative opinion?

A.—Mere speculative opinion which never can be brought into practice.

Q.—Do you suggest to this Jury that this speculative opinion is never acted upon in this way in other countries by your Society?

A.—By the Society of Jesus?

Q.—Yes?

A.—Never.

Q.—What, never?

A.—I repeat, never have they been acted upon by the Society of Jesus.

Q.—Has any punishment for heresy been advised by the leaders of your Society?

A.—Not that I am aware of.

Mr. Justice Wills.—What does the imprimatur imply?

Plaintiff.—My Lord, it does not imply an endorsement of the doctrines, it simply says: "I do not see why this should not be published; there is nothing new in it."

Mr. Macaskie.—Your Lordship will find the imprimatur on page 23 [of *The Rock* translation].

"The work bearing the title *Institutions of Public Ecclesiastical Law*, delivered by P. Marianus De Luca, S.J., now Professor of the text of the Decretals in the Gregorian University, having been examined by certain theologians of the same Society, to whom we handed it, and declared by them fit for publication, we give permission for it to be printed if those to whom it belongs think fit. To whom we have committed this letter, signed by us, and sealed with the seal of our Society."

Q.—Who was Bellarmine?

A.—Cardinal Bellarmine was a Jesuit.

Q.—The words I lately read to you about "sending the heretics to their own place" were his words?

A.—Well, that was not peculiar to Bellarmine; it was a doctrine held just as hard by Luther, Calvin, and I may add even by my own countrymen as it was by Catholics.

Q.—Have you ever repudiated that doctrine of Bellarmine?

A.—Do you mean, have I personally ever repudiated it?

Q.—I want to know has your Society ever repudiated it?

A.—I answer, it is not the business of the Society to repudiate doctrine which the Church approved of as a speculative theory. The doctrine referred to is not Bellarmine's private view—it was, in past times, the common property of Europe.

Q.—Do you suppose there is a sort of speculative killing of heretics?

A.—I should be sorry to think that there was any kind of killing of heretics wished for or sought—speculative or otherwise.

Q.—Now we will pass to another question. Have you got in your constitution a rule that nothing can be published in

the shape of a book or pamphlet unless it is approved by the revisors of the Society appointed for the purpose ?

A.—Yes, it is as you say.

Mr. Justice Wills.—That is to say, nothing can be published by a member of the Society ?

A.—Not till it has received, my Lord, the imprimatur of some one appointed for the purpose.

Q.—This rule, then, applies to books published by members of the Society ?

A.—It does, my Lord, to all their books.

Mr. Justice Wills.—How far is this to go ? Because such things as have been read are calculated to do just as much harm to the person who publishes them as to any one else in the present state of society.

Mr. Macaskie.—My Lord, that is true, I admit.

Mr. Justice Wills (to *Mr. Macaskie*).—Do not let us turn this Court into any scene of unseemly controversy between the professors of different types of religious thought. The real thing is whether this article or letter is calculated to bring the persons to whom it applies into discredit and disrepute. If it does the defendants are liable ; if it does not then they are not liable.

Mr. Macaskie said an incautious phrase had been used by the writer ; it might be that it was a little too strong, and he was referring to passages of the book as mitigating circumstances.

Mr. Justice Wills.—As far as the mere discussion of the position of the Jesuits or their doctrines on general grounds is concerned, I have nothing to do with them except to uphold, as far as I can, the utmost freedom of discussion.

Mr. Hugo Young.—We do not dissent from that at all, my Lord. We do not raise the least objection to that.

Mr. Justice Wills.—It is a great pity to make use of this opportunity for airing unpleasant things which may be said of a whole body of men.

Mr. Macaskie.—I have not dragged the thing into Court, and I am compelled to show mitigating circumstances, which go far to palliate or excuse the language of the letter.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I should say that it is not necessary to go very far in order to show that many things connected with

the Society of Jesus, many things connected with the doctrines it holds, in a Protestant community with a history like ours, may be justly regarded by many persons as mischievous.

Q.—May I take it, Father Vaughan, that this is the view of the Society, that there is vested in the Pope the power of deposing temporal princes who are wicked and incorrigible, and specially schismatics and heretics?

A.—I deny that there is.

Q.—Can you, then, account for its being found here?

A.—I can, because in a day now gone, when the Pope was the arbiter of Christendom, there was vested in him the power of which you speak. I suppose we all allow that there must be a deposing power somewhere—otherwise how about my own country? how about James II.? When Europe was Catholic the depository of this power was the Pope.

Re-examined by Mr. Hugo Young.

Q.—In the first place, has this question of using the power of the Statute, even in the matter of death in reference to heresies, been confined to Catholics alone?

A.—It has been the universal practice, and really quite as much in one country as in another.

Mr. Justice Wills.—In Calvin's time they were burning people in Geneva; we all know that.

A.—Yes, and Henry VIII. burned Anabaptist.

Mr. Hugo Young.—First of all, as to this book of de Lucas. Is this merely a reproduction of documents and writings of the 12th to 18th centuries.

A.—Quite so. If they had been new doctrines they would never have got the imprimatur.

Q.—And as a matter of history he, in lecturing to his students, has dealt with these old documents.

A.—He has to deal with these old documents, because he is dealing with an old time.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I suppose, Father Vaughan, you would thoroughly agree with me, that if any one attempted to teach such doctrines as have been brought under your notice as living doctrines, applicable to the present day, he would do far more harm to the Society he represented than to anybody he attempted so to teach?

A.—Yes, my Lord ; and I may add he would be forbidden to do so.

Mr. Justice Wills.—The person to whom he taught them would reject them, and the Society would be brought into disrepute ?

A.—Yes, quite so, my Lord.

Mr. Hugo Young.—Now my learned friend has put in the edition of the 6th of September in which that so-called apology appeared. Have you seen the second edition of *The Rock*, which came out with, printed in red ink upon it, "The Jesuits and *The Rock*. The great test case. About £2,000 required to fight the pending libel action. Every Protestant should help." Can you tell me whether, from that time to this *The Rock* has been what I may call running this paper on quite commercial lines—inviting subscriptions, and acknowledging them week by week ?

A.—Yes ; and vomiting forth a sewer of filth against the Society.

Q.—Every week since ?

A.—Every week since, I should think.

Mr. Justice Wills.—This is pretty strong. Part of this is what Jesuits teach : "The Jesuits teach that lying, theft, parricide and murder are permissible."

Mr. Hugo Young.—Then on the 6th of September they had said that they had communicated with their correspondent about withdrawal, and that he had said there was no hurry, but that they had on their own responsibility withdrawn one word, leaving the rest standing as it was. On the 27th of September, after more matured consideration with this correspondent, did this appear ? This is notes by "*Pro aris et facis*." That is the gentleman who wrote the letter before, and this is his reply to the application to withdraw : "The following introductory notes were not originally intended for publication but for private reference only. The writer consistently declines to admit that statement contained in the published letter required offence, and only undertakes to write articles elucidating and enlarging upon them on condition that this is understood. As there has been no opportunity for rearrangement or elaboration, readers will pardon the somewhat disjointed style of these notes. Nothing new can be written of

the Jesuits. All that can be done is to rewrite and reprove what has been written and proved hundreds of times before. Wherever the Jesuits and their missions penetrate, history becomes an endless chain of repetition." Then he goes on: "Outlaws: that is, out of the King's protection, so that he cannot bring an action, yet he can be slain by any one as the King's enemy, as was anciently held"—that is the one thing that was left for him.

Mr. Justice Wills.—There is some comfort for Father Vaughan in that. (Laughter.)

Mr. Hugo Young.—I do not know whether it would be an advantage if he was reduced to the state to which they want to reduce him. (Laughter.)

Mr. Justice Wills.—Need we have any more of this, Mr. Young?

Mr. Hugo Young.—My Lord, there are a lot of different attacks, and then he goes on to what is Jesuitism; but what I wanted to refer to this for was that it reiterates the libels, because it says he only goes on to write these articles elucidating and enlarging on the direct understanding that there is nothing that requires defence in the letter that he wrote before. That is the point of it quite at the beginning.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I see that.

Mr. Macaskie.—That is quite inconsistent with the views taken by my clients.

Mr. Hugo Young.—They publish that the next week.

Mr. Macaskie.—We are not responsible for what he said.

Mr. Hugo Young.—We shall see. (To the witness.) In addition to the expression that my learned friend referred to, just let me ask you this: Do you think it is fair or pleasant to you to be described as one of the infamous sons of Loyola?

Plaintiff.—I think it is a most painful and disgraceful thing that after I have given up other possible careers in order to try and do service to my fellow-Catholics and fellow-countrymen I should be attacked in this manner. There is nothing secret or hidden in my life: I am before the public preaching, lecturing, mission giving, and yet that I should have these infamous things said against me, and that I should be charged with disloyalty to my King—I will never allow anybody to stand between me and my King. For

a thousand years my family have been here—living as law-abiding subjects, true to King and country ; and I say it is very painful to me to have to come into Court to clear my name of these foul imputations. As an English gentleman I reject these slanders entirely, and I submit my case to a jury of my countrymen for justice and redress. (Applause, repressed.)

Mr. Hugo Young.—*The Rock* says, "Jesuits are men of no nationality and no law." Is that in any sense true?

A.—It is absolutely untrue.

Mr. Hugo Young.—"Who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion, and to another civil war." Is it in any way right to say that doctrines of this sort have ever during the last century, we will say, been taught as matters of active policy by the Jesuits, or any other Catholics?

A.—No ; and when we have to deal with them as matters of ancient history, we hate having to do it.

Q.—Are any of these books that are referred to anything at all more than books for study, and the discussion of questions, and not books that you preach from and publish widely or anything of that sort?

A.—No, they are not. The mistake which our opponents make is that they speak of these books, which are written for persons scientifically trained to serve as texts books in the study or lecture hall, as though they were books meant for the preacher and the public. They are meant for the confessor, not for the preacher.

Q.—There are always theoretical questions which learned people who have to go into the matter deeply, have to consider for extreme cases?

A.—Yes ; every conceivable case has to be considered.

Q.—Are these matters, which any learned friend has touched upon ever brought before the people by the Jesuits in matters of instruction or preaching, or anything of that kind?

A.—No, never. What is brought before the public as matter of instruction and preaching may be found in the penny Catechism, and in the Roman Catechism.

Q.—Is any word ever spoken by Jesuits that could bear that interpretation?

A.—No word.

Q.—The Jesuits, we heard, have large Catholic schools?

A.—We have several large schools: among them there is Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, and Beaumont College, Old Windsor.

Q.—Could you give any idea how many students from Stonyhurst and Beaumont have been fighting for their King and country in South Africa?

A.—I think over one hundred old Stonyhurst boys have gone to the front, and three of them, at different times, have won the Victoria Cross. More than one hundred Beaumont boys have also fought in South Africa. That is what we have taught them to do.

Q.—I believe many have lost their lives there?

A.—Yes, it is so.

Q.—There is one other of these papers I should like to refer to, and that is the one of the 16th of May in this year, in which this paragraph appears: "Our readers will perhaps pardon us if we again refer to our needs in connection with the rapidly approaching trial. They have done well, but perhaps they can do more by influencing others to come to our aid. Recent developments have greatly depleted our funds, and in any case the struggle calls for at least £500 more than we have at command. It is a matter for prayer and for private effort on the part of every individual sympathiser. We feel sure we shall not appeal in vain." I believe some little time ago the letter box of *The Rock* was broken?

A.—I believe it was—a most serious affair. (Laughter.)

Q.—Do you remember that they suggested that the Jesuits did it.

A.—Yes, indeed they did. (Laughter.)

Mr. Macaskie.—Really, I must object to this. I shall take your Lordship's ruling about this—whether in re-examination anything about breaking into a letter-box can be gone into.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I think we may stop there.

CLOSING SPEECHES.

Mr. Macaskie.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury, it now becomes my duty to address a

few observations to you on behalf of the Defendant on what in Court has become a controversy more ecclesiastical than personal. It is hard to see at once how this action is put. It is not put, or it was not yesterday, at all events, as a mere personal attack on Father Vaughan. It was suggested that it was an attack also upon the Society of Jesuits, to which he belongs, and more than that, that there was nothing to discriminate between them and any other Roman Catholics. Now, gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary here to go at any length into the history and teaching, or the present opinions, of the Society of Jesus, although it is impossible, in a case of this sort, altogether to shut out from one's consideration the matters that have been proved here to-day by the book I put into the Plaintiff's hands. Now I do not propose to make any unnecessary attack upon the Society, although I hope that the thought will not enter into your minds that the Society has done anything to justify the receipt of such a whitewashing certificate as seems to be thought necessary in this action. I am not here to deny the courage of the members of the Society of Jesus, nor the self-sacrificing devotion of its members to the interests of their Church, and especially to the interests of their own Society. Every historian, every one who has read history, is perfectly acquainted with their services and the conduct of the Jesuits on that side, at all events. I do not doubt that the Church of Rome is to them very largely indebted indeed for their services since the Reformation in rolling back Protestantism from the top of the Alps to the bottom. But, gentlemen, I have not to deal with any attack on the Jesuits, because the Jesuits are not suing in this action ; and it would be evil day if a man might not in

England speak his mind freely upon this Society, or any other Society. No ; we have here to deal with the observations made in this correspondent's letter concerning Father Vaughan, and Father Vaughan alone. Now let us see what the attack made upon him, so far as it is an attack, consists of. It is to be noted that there is no personal attack upon him in his individual capacity. There is nothing said in that libel which I can discover which reflects upon him except as a member of that huge Society, the Society of Jesus. There is no attack, in other words, upon his personal honour. He is attacked, in so far as he is attacked, as a member of the Society of Jesus, and if it were true that he were an outlaw by virtue of the Act of 1829, to which I shall have to draw your attention, as in part, at all events, indicating that he and his Order have been placed in that position, and if it were true that he was concerned in opinions, or in spreading opinions which are seditious, would any one as a man of business treat that as any reflection upon his private honour or his private character? Now what is the meaning of "steeped in sedition"? What is sedition? I find in one of the large dictionaries, the Imperial, that the first definition of "sedition" is, "A factious commotion in a State, not amounting to an insurrection ; the stirring up of such a commotion ; such offences against the State as have the like tendency with, but do not amount to, treason." It is not treason, and is no crime. That is the sort of language, in other words, that is used by one party concerning the efforts of another to alter, except by lawful means, the constitution as established in Church and State, and I rejoice to find that that is substantially the definition of "Sedition" which is given by a very great criminal Judge, the late Mr.

Justice FitzJames Stephen, in his book upon the Criminal Law. It cannot be said here that these people were engaged by lawful means in any attempt to alter the constitution of the Church or State as they are now established, because I shall show you by a reference to the Act of '1829 their very presence—rightly or wrongly—is unlawful and amounts to a misdemeanour on the part of each of them, and if the law was enforced by the Attorney-General, or by any zealous Protestant, it would render the Jesuits liable to the heavy punishment they have incurred. But, gentlemen, after all, what is sedition? What sort of reflection upon a man is it to say he is seditious? I suppose there were never more seditious persons in history than John Hampden or George Washington, and there are no men that stand higher in history at the present moment; and if you come to our own century you can take the names of other people and make the same remark with regard to them. It is a term of political abuse. It is a term you use to describe the efforts of the man you are opposed to in politics, or in religion, involving, therefore, no reflection upon the private honour or honesty or reputation of the individual as to whose conduct the phrase is used.

Now, gentlemen, let me turn to the other matter of complaint. The other matter of complaint is that this gentleman was termed an outlaw. Before I deal with that let me remind you that the complaints he has made are confined to those two. It is true his learned Counsel, my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, making, as he was bound to do, the most of his case, read out the whole, with the exception of a part, which was not very material, of this letter from a correspondent, but you remember when I asked Father Vaughan in the

box, "What is it you complain of—'steeped in sedition?' " he said, "Yes." "Outlaw?" "Yes. Anything else?" "No." He could not remember anything else, showing how little impression anything else in the libel made upon him, even when he brought his action. It comes to this : that in order to magnify this mole-hill into a mountain you have got to spell out the attack upon the Society into an attack upon him by saying, "Why, here is strong language used of the Society : this man is a member of the Society : therefore, he is libelled just as if the libel had been upon the Moham-medans and the Roman Catholics, and a Mohammedan or Roman Catholic brought an action for libel because of the attack upon his Order."

Now, gentlemen, let us look for a moment at the circumstances of the publication of this libel. According to the letter, although Father Vaughan has made no inquiry into the matter—and that is most significant—a Bill for the repeal of that clause and for other relief of the Jesuits was pending in Parliament. He does not know that. All I can say is, that he must live secluded from the world if he does not know of Bills so vitally affecting the interests of his Order ; but although that was so, we know this : that these were his two matters of complaint, and not only was that Bill, according to the writer, pending in Parliament at the time—a Bill of vital importance to those who take the extreme Protestant view in this country, and to those who suffer from the disabilities which the Jesuits do suffer from in this country—but there were curious complaints being made, attacks had been made, or were supposed to have been made, upon Mr. Thurston, Mr. Gerard, and, I think, somebody else, and an attack seems also to have been made by Mr. Thurston upon Mr. Ware, a dis-

tinguished Protestant, I believe, of bygone times, and those were followed up by other threats, or threats of writs and actions, and under those circumstances this letter is sent to the editor of *The Rock*. Now, gentlemen, I admit, and freely admit, that the expression "steeped in sedition," although really very little more than abuse, was an unfortunate expression, and as far as my client could, they endeavoured immediately, or almost immediately—within the next issue, or the next issue but one, by the paragraphs which they inserted—to remove any impression that might have been created by that expression, which was injurious to Father Vaughan. They state, first of all, how the error took place, by an oversight; secondly, they repudiate the view that it can be properly applied to Father Vaughan; and thirdly, they express their regret. Most gentlemen would have been content with so ample an apology; but Father Vaughan was not, and technically perhaps he was entitled to refuse to be content with this apology because there remained behind the charge, which was not withdrawn, and which you remember, that members of his Order, including himself, were outlaws, whatever that may mean. It is not easy to find out nowadays what an outlaw does mean. Now, gentlemen, under those circumstances the letter goes on. It is preceded by a headline in which the editor says in effect: "Mark you: these are not my words. I am not responsible for them. They are the opinions of my correspondents." Now, I agree, if I may respectfully say so, with what fell from my Lord, that it is no answer, in point of law, to a charge that you have libelled a man, to say, "At the same time I put in a heading saying, 'This is the opinion, not of myself, but of a correspondent: it is his work, and not mine.'"

But although that is so in law, from the point of view of common sense it makes the greatest difference in the world whether a man by an oversight gives expression and publicity to a letter from a correspondent couched possibly in language too strong, or whether he writes seriously and deliberately a defamatory statement as expressing his own personal opinions. One is intentional ; the other is accidental, or an oversight as in this case. Gentlemen, so much for the circumstances of the publication of the libel.

Now let us see what Father Vaughan has lost. He has been perfectly frank about that matter, and it will be within your recollection, I dare say, that neither when he was in the box did I, nor do I now, desire to make the slightest reflection either upon his evidence or his conduct in the matter, but when he was challenged he admitted that in point of fact he was unable to point to any damage which he had suffered by reason of this libel. All he could say was that people might think this or that, and people might do this or might do the other, but when challenged as to whether any single individual had inflicted upon him any loss, or withdrawn from him any pecuniary gain, or whether any hospitality had been withdrawn from him, he was unable to do it. So, gentlemen, it stands in this way : that no pecuniary damage has been suffered by Father Vaughan. Now that distinguishes this case from most cases of libel, but there is upon this branch of the case a further observation to be made. Father Vaughan told us frankly enough that by the constitution of his Order he was under a vow of poverty, and that whatever property, damages, or anything else should come to him would immediately go over to his Society, or to his Church, or to some charity, no doubt connected

with it. So far as pecuniary damage is concerned, nothing that you can do can make the slightest difference to him.

Gentlemen, I have referred to the circumstances of the publication of the libel. Now let us look at the action. The action is brought by Father Vaughan with the leave of the Superior of the Order. I do not wonder that that leave was given. Possibly you will think that as the action could not proceed without his leave, and as he has given his leave, as Father Vaughan told us, and as any damages that you might give will go where Father Vaughan has told us, that this is in substance as much an action by the Society as by Father Vaughan himself. Now, gentlemen, let us look at the position that Father Vaughan takes up in regard to the complaint that he has been spoken of as being in the position of an outlaw. He treated, I think I must say, the Statute of 1829 in a very light and airy way. You will remember that up to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the Roman Catholics in this country were subject to serious disabilities, which it is not necessary that I should now enumerate. By that Act they were relieved of their disabilities, subject to some slight terms for the security of the State, but the Jesuits were placed upon a very different ground, and in a very different position from that in which the other Roman Catholic subjects of the Sovereign were placed.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Monastic Orders in general were placed in the same position.

Mr. Macaskie.—Certainly, my Lord. The objection of Parliament was to the Society of Jesuits, and to monastic Orders, and in order to place those upon a very different footing special sections of the Act of Parliament were enacted. I refer to those partly because it goes far to

explain the use of the term "outlaw," whatever that may mean, and partly because it so completely—I submit it to your better judgement—demolishes the contention put forward by my learned friend in opening this case, and also by Father Vaughan in the box, that there is no practical distinction to be drawn between an ordinary Roman Catholic and a member of the Society of Jesus. By the Statute of 1829 it is provided in Section 28: "And whereas Jesuits, and members of other religious Orders, Communities, or Societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, are resident within the United Kingdom; and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and final prohibition of the same therein; be it therefore enacted"; and then, without wearying you, gentlemen, with the language of the various sections, provisions are made by which every Jesuit of that day was, within six months, to send in a statement of his name and residence, and so on, to the Secretary of State, and to depart from the kingdom, subject to the payment of a fine if he did not. Then any Jesuits coming into the realm were to be banished subject to their getting a licence from the Secretary of State, which is not the case here; and then there is a provision that any person admitted a Jesuit or member of such religious Order admitting a person to be a member of his Order shall be guilty of a misdemeanour; and then comes Section 34, which is the section which applies to the present Plaintiff, and which I say goes far to explain the use of the term "outlaw" in connection with the Jesuits. It runs thus, and it is still the law of the land: "And be it further enacted that in case any person shall, after the commencement of this Act, within any part of this United Kingdom, be admitted or become a Jesuit, or brother

or member of any such religious Order, Community, or Society as aforesaid, such person shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life." Then there is a further provision in Section 36 that if he is at large after three months he may be transported for life. That is the state of the law at the present day, subject to my Lord's direction, concerning the Jesuits. Gentlemen, we heard propounded by Father Vaughan from the witness-box the extraordinary theory that this Statute of George IV. was what he called obsolete. Others may be better informed, but I know of no warrant in law for the theory that a Statute can lose its force by becoming obsolete. The Statute of Treasons is much older than this ; the Act of Settlement, upon which the Protestant succession to the Throne depends, is much older also, but I hope it could not be contended that either of them is obsolete, or that any other Statute of George IV. is obsolete. We need not consider that, neither need we consider the fantastical theory set up by Father Vaughan that Sir Robert Peel could upset an Act of Parliament, or that any statesman could. The law is the law, and a statute is a statute, and nobody can repeal it but Parliament. If any further argument for that were necessary, it is enough to say that in 1871 Parliament had to consider this matter, and it passed an Act by which it repealed the Act of 1829, excepting the sections applicable to the Jesuits, and the sections were in that Act of Parliament expressly named ; and therefore I say it is idle to pretend to-day that the Jesuits are not subject to the provisions of the Act of 1829, and if they are, their presence upon this soil of England is unlaw-

ful, and upon being prosecuted they may in the result be banished. I think there is a Statute by which for all transportation for life penal servitude has been substituted. Now no one desires, at least I hope not, to put the provisions of any Act of Parliament of a penal character unnecessarily in motion against people who behave themselves decently and in ordinary fashion; but when you find various religious controversies on foot it is not to be wondered at that a correspondent not skilled in the law, finding a provision that these people are to be banished, and may not remain in England, and may not be in England, should say that they are outlaws. What practical difference does it make between saying that a man is an outlaw, and saying that by Statute he ought not to be allowed to remain, and ought to be transported for life? It makes no practical difference. One is true, and the other is in substance practically true. It is a mere figure of speech indicating practically the same thing. Under those circumstances, what reasonable ground of complaint is there that this correspondent, seeing the situation, drew attention to the flagrant and daily breach of the law which every one of the Jesuits are committing? Now, gentlemen, what is Father Vaughan's position in the matter? He is compelled to come into Court admitting the existence of the Statute, and unless you adopt the theory that Acts of Parliament become obsolete within thirty years, he is compelled to admit, unless that be so, he is in daily disobedience and defiance of the Acts of Parliament, and he appeals to you by the same law which day by day he defies for the redress, or rather for the damages, which by the leave of his superior he hopes to obtain at your hands.

Now, gentlemen, one word more regarding that Act

upon which, I think, so much in this case turns. It is not an Act which requires any defence, because it is justified by a thousand incidents that have happened in the experience of Parliament in the history of our own land. I can understand why my learned friend Mr. Hugo Young was so eager to put his client, and the Society of his client, the Society of Jesus, upon a par with the ordinary Roman Catholics, but you do not have to look very far to see the difference in the conduct of the ordinary English Roman Catholic and the conduct of the Jesuits in times past in England. It is quite sufficient to compare the efforts of the Jesuits in the time of Queen Elizabeth to carry into effect the Papal Bull to depose Elizabeth with the loyalty of the English Roman Catholics at the time of the Armada. The same thing might be said of the incidents we are familiar with in the time of James I., and, more significant still, of the difference there was between the Jesuits and the Pope himself and English Roman Catholics on the other side concerning the incidents and breaches of the law which necessitated for the preservation of our constitution the Revolution of 1688. So it was that in 1829, when Parliament had to deal with the matter, Parliament in a considered judgement affirmed the distinction, and drew the broadest denoting margin between the ordinary Roman Catholics and the members of the Society of Jesus. Now, gentlemen, if that be so, are you going to be severe upon an honest although, it may be, a misguided correspondent, who, in the heat of ecclesiastical controversy, has used a phrase a little too strong or a little too wide? I hope not. It is your right to return a general verdict for the Plaintiff or for the Defendant; or if you think some injury has been done to Father Vaughan which can be repaired by damages in this

action brought by the leave of his superior, then you must give him such damages as you think fit. I should hope, even if you find for the Plaintiff, that they will be exceedingly small under the circumstances, for in matters of religious controversy all the blows are not on one side. People who embark in these things must expect on one side and the other that there will be hard knocks, and unless a man can point to some real pecuniary damage, or some libel which so affects his character that those about him think the worse of him, why then it is a triviality, and never ought to be brought into Court. When this case was opened it rested upon this: that they said of him he was seditious. They apologized for it, and withdrew it, and regretted it. Then it was said that he was an outlaw. That was explained, and except technically amply justified by the provisions of the Act of 1829. If you think that here this was no private quarrel between the parties, no private motive of a malicious character in the mind of the gentleman who as editor or sub-editor passed this letter, then you ought to take a different view from that for which the Plaintiff contends. It is right in a case of this sort, as I submit to you, when you find that which has been said is perhaps a little too strong, or a little too violent, a thing written in the heat of religious controversy, then, if the man is honest on the one side and on the other, and no appreciable damage has been done, you ought to throw the cloak of your protection about the honest correspondent and the honest editor.

Sir Edward Clarke, K.C.—Gentlemen, I am very sorry it has been impossible for me to have discharged all the duties that fall upon me with regard to this case, but I should like now, at its close, to have the opportunity of saying some few words to you on behalf of Father

Vaughan, who has come into Court here—who has been forced into Court by the attack which has been made upon him by the Defendants in this case, and with regard to which he asks you to do him simple justice in this matter. My learned friend, in the course of an ingenious speech, has from time to time thrown out suggestions about “an action brought by the leave of the Society,” and that sort of thing, with a view, I am afraid, of endeavouring to find somewhere in that jury-box some corner where prejudice may exist with regard to particular forms of religious belief, and to apply that prejudice to a sentiment, honourable in itself, to induce you to give but small damages to Father Vaughan. Father Vaughan, gentlemen, has appealed to you, and it is not a question of Father Vaughan's honour because it has been admitted that the phrase which has been applied to Father Vaughan is an opprobrious phrase, a phrase under which no one would rest for a moment without insisting that the man who used it with regard to him should either withdraw it, or be punished for the use of it. My learned friend has endeavoured to coax you into giving a very small verdict to Father Vaughan upon certain grounds which, I confess, seem to me to be wholly inapplicable to this case. He has talked of an honest contributor, feeling strongly on religious matters, entering into a controversy, and from the strength of his feelings being led to use language which was a little too strong with regard to one of his fellow-subjects. Gentlemen, I will not stop to discuss how far my learned friend is entitled to call these sort of things “religious controversy” at all. There does not seem very much religion of any sort or kind in the attack which has been made in these papers, and in assailing the character of Father Vaughan

and others who agree with him. However, let us pass from that for a moment. Suppose it is, and ought properly to be called, a "religious controversy." What is the case here? This is not an action against an individual who, feeling very strongly on the matter, has allowed himself to be tempted for a moment into using language which was not strictly accurate. This is an action against a newspaper which printed that attack in its columns. It is an action against the Company that printed it, that traded upon it, and made it a means of obtaining financial support, and pecuniary help, for the newspaper which has, since the time when this libel was written and published, been blazoning forth everywhere that it is the champion of what it is pleased to call "Protestantism"; and that, as the champion of Protestantism, it is entitled to the subscriptions of the people in order to fight this case. Why, gentlemen, it is not a question of a misguided controversialist whose too eager mind has led him to use a phrase which cannot be justified; it is a newspaper trading upon libel; and, having libelled Father Vaughan in a way which it cannot now defend—which it cannot even find a lawyer to justify anywhere with regard to the accusations which have been made—has been from that day to this trying to collect money for its own support in consequence of having made this attack.

Now, gentlemen, what is the attack? It is not only a question of "the Rev. Bernard Vaughan, another of these outlaws, one steeped in sedition"—the attack is not confined to that. Father Vaughan is an English gentleman, a member of a good old English family, who has spent his life in this country free from blame or reproach, and who has devoted himself, under the

vows to which my learned friend has referred, to the teaching of that which he believes to be the highest truth, namely, the truths which he believes to be important to all members of Christian society. Against him no accusation of any kind can be or has been made. His life has been a blameless one, and it has been passed among his fellow-countrymen in discharge of what he believes to be his duty, and it is against him that this attack is made. "Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the British public that Jesuits are outlaws and their pretended 'actions' null and void?" The answer is, "No, there is no one—no lawyer can be found to say such a thing." Gentlemen, the Jesuits are not outlaws. Their actions are not null and void. Here before my Lord, Father Vaughan is entitled to invoke the authority and assistance of the law in pursuance of his rights as an Englishman, and in that capacity he comes before twelve of his fellow-countrymen to repudiate imputations of the grossest kind. "Men who own no nationality, no law, save the will of their own General, who were the sole cause of two revolutions here, and who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion and to another civil war." Then he is called one of "the infamous sons of Loyola." It is well enough to make an appeal to a jury, and I hope that appeal will never be made without a willing response from a jury when they are asked to consider whether a man ought to be attacked in a free discussion of public affairs or in a free discussion of matters, whether they refer to politics or religion or other matters of great public importance. But when an appeal is made to a jury to extend leniency and tolerance to a man who thinks that he is forwarding

the cause of religion by putting foul, slanderous libels of this kind into his writings, surely I may rely upon the jury for taking a stronger and more temperate view—a view far more consonant with the spirit of religion and with the principle of freedom, and to insist that protection should be given to any man against whom such accusations are made. My learned friend repeated several times that it was a thing which was said in a hurry, or that a little too much was said perhaps, and that they had apologized for it. Why, gentlemen, you have had before you this so-called apology. This is the apology which they printed: “Libel action against *The Rock*. Our position as regards the Jesuits. An unfortunate oversight.” That is to say, they say that by an unfortunate oversight they put in the words—they slipped in, in fact; but there is not a syllable of apology for calling the Rev. Father Vaughan “one of the infamous sons of Loyola”—not a syllable of apology for saying that he and those associated with him were daily committing crimes against their country—not a sentence of apology for suggesting that they are not to be believed on their oaths or for saying that they are outlaws who ought to be driven out of any English court of law, but in the very same paper in which that pretence of an apology is put this appears: “The Jesuits and *The Rock*. The great test case.” Test of what, I wonder? The test of the way in which *The Rock* deals with matters of this kind? Then it goes on to say: “Every Protestant should help.” Help how? Why, by subscribing to *The Rock* and helping to pay the salaries of those who are running this newspaper and selling it from week to week for their own profit. Gentlemen, do consider this: that in the very number in which they published their

so-called apology there appears this, "The Jesuits teach that equivocation, lying, theft, parricide, murder are permissible under certain circumstances," and that suggestion is put in connection with the case in which Father Vaughan is obliged to come into Court and ask you for your verdict. "Will you help?" Then there is an appeal for £2,000. Then there is a later appeal only for just another £500—to help them to do what? Why, to help them to make a miserable appeal to a jury to let them off because a man had only said a little more than he was entitled to say, and because the money that was to be paid would not go into Father Vaughan's own pocket. As a matter of fact he has no reason to be ashamed of the obligation which he took upon himself many years ago that his life should be devoted not to the purpose of gain, but to the highest services to which a man could possibly devote his life. He has no reason to be ashamed of that; but is that fact, that he has chosen to deny to himself the enjoyment of wealth and the accumulation of means (the possession of which is often more attractive because of the opportunities of work that can be done for others than for the mere enjoyment which it brings to a man himself)—is the fact that he has denied himself these things to be made a topic by which you are to be induced to penalize him for having brought this action? There is the expense of bringing an action of this kind, and the incidental anxiety of the action, which can only be met, I suggest, by substantial damages being given by you in this case—all that he has had to face; and when he comes here there is now no suggestion that he is a man of dishonourable character or that there is anything to be complained of as to the way in which his life has been led. But this

newspaper, which has been collecting moneys for the purpose of fighting this case, you are asked to excuse, not because it has not got the money, for it appears to have collected substantial sums, but you are asked to excuse it on these suggestions which have been put forward by my learned friend. No one will say that Jesuits are outlaws. My learned friend says that there is only a technical difference, because there is an Act of Parliament on the Statute Book with regard to Jesuits and members of monastic Orders being admitted into this country. The distinction is a very grave one. If Jesuits were outlaws their appeal to the law courts would be of no use at all, they would have no rights of any sort or kind ; but no lawyer ventures to suggest that they are in any such position. They can undertake legal obligations, they can own land or houses, or do anything that other members of the community can do ; but according to my learned friend's suggestion the one thing which they cannot do, or cannot do with effect, is to defend their own character against attacks of this nature. Here, in the name of the freedom of the Press, conduct is attempted to be justified or excused which is as inconsistent with the true freedom of political or religious discussion as anything could possibly be. It is true that the damages which you give in this case will not go into Father Vaughan's own pocket, or be used for his own purposes or for his own advantage, but he has a disposing authority with regard to them, and if there should be anything left after the costs of this action have been dealt with he will be able in some way to dispose of that. But what has that to do with this case ? Here is an Englishman appealing to his fellow-countrymen—you, gentlemen, in the jury-box—to be justified

in respect of a slanderous statement made about him with regard to which no attempt has been made to justify it—a man whose life is admitted to have been a life of honour and integrity, and against whom no personal accusation can be made—that man, surely, when he is obliged to come into Court to protest against an attack of this kind ought to receive at your hands a very handsome verdict.

THE JUDGE TO THE JURY.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Gentlemen of the Jury,—This is an action for libel. It is sufficient to say that a libel is any writing which tends to bring the subject of attack in it into public hatred, contempt, or disrepute. I suppose there is no doubt about the tendency of these articles, because although the two principal points which have been mentioned and dwelt upon by Father Vaughan are the expressions about his being "steeped in sedition" and his being "an outlaw," one cannot fail, also, to see that the most offensive things that can possibly be said have been said of the Jesuits, and he is put forward as a man—as a Jesuit—who owns no nationality, and no law save the will of his own General, and so on. It is undoubtedly a very offensive article as far as he is concerned, but still, gentlemen, that is entirely for you; it is a question for the jury, and not for the judge, and it has been so for nearly one hundred years past. Therefore it is entirely for you to say, and not for me to say, whether this is a libel or not. But assuming that it is, then it is a mere question of damages. Now, you know, no one can regret more than I do the introduction of a great many of the topics which have been dealt with in this case. They are

very difficult to avoid, I grant, but we are not here to discuss religious controversies, or to discuss questions of social and general policy. People are entitled to have the widest possible difference of views, and to express those differences as strongly as they like upon all matters of general politics and social interest. Unfortunately when the subject of discussion is connected with anything like religious controversy, generally speaking, the spirit, which should be the spirit of religion is gone, and all the elements of human passion, hatred, malice and uncharitableness seem to be let loose, and of course the tone of the article and of the other articles (and there have been many other articles and parts of articles which have been referred to as singular illustrations of this perhaps somewhat remarkable exhibition of the kind of human weakness in human nature to which I refer, but I am afraid it must always always be so. I have been saying to myself for the last two days, *par excellence*—*bona fide*—*bona fide*, and yet on the very day in which one has been speaking to peace, one gets involved in a religious controversy of this kind, from which all the elements of peace and charitableness have been by this publication banished. Well, gentlemen, you may find that is a libel, you may think it is a very offensive thing to say of a gentleman, who is a member of an old English family, that he is "swayed as a reed," a charge for which there does not seem to be a particle of foundation, except by a most far-fetched application of an argument founded on the Catholic Encyclopedia. But you may think that that is a most improper way of simply saying that there is an Act of Parliament in force under which he may be, if proper steps are taken, banished from the country, and under which it may be an offence to

be a Jesuit ; you may think that is not what people would naturally suppose was meant by his being described as “steeped in sedition ;” and you may think, also, that that is a very exaggerated way of describing the incidence of that law, into which I need not go, because it has been correctly described to us by both the learned Counsel for the Plaintiff and for the Defendant ; you may think it is an extravagant and most offensive way of describing the incidence and operation of that law, to call him “an outlaw ;” you may think that that is carried still further, as it certainly is, in this article by making this practical application of it, which, if it were true, would let loose a stream of calumny upon every member of a monastic Order in the Kingdom without redress. This is so, for not content with having described him as steeped in sedition, and so on, it says that one of these outlaws—that is the present Plaintiff—commenced an action against the Editor of *The Chatham and Rochester News*, and then it goes on : “Why has the truth been kept from that editor?” The meaning of that, gentlemen, is this : That editor had done what he ought to have done ; he had apologized, and paid the costs, and there was an end of the matter ; but it says, “Why is the truth kept from him ? If he had known the truth he never would have done that.” What they mean to say is that even were the oath proved false—I don’t know what oath that means—the oath, I think, which it is suggested that the Jesuits take—even if that oath were proved false (and it never was), Jesuits cannot be libelled. That is in italics, so as to call attention to it. “They are outlaws, and outlaws have no legal rights either as corporations or as individuals.” If they were outlaws that would be true. An outlaw used to be a person

who in early English law had no rights. In very early days anybody was at liberty to kill him if he got the chance, but fortunately, as one of the quotations which has been referred to in the course of the case, says, that is no longer so. But there were, until a few years ago, persons who were outlaws and who, by virtue of being outlaws, were deprived of the privilege which belongs to anybody else of bringing actions in order to support their legal rights—and the invitation here is to the newspapers to take advantage of that, and to represent that no Jesuit can be libelled, and therefore no action for libel can be brought, and that you are free to say what you like about them. Now, gentlemen, if you think that that is, in the sense in which I have explained to you, a libel, then it is a mere question of damages. There is an apology published as soon as this is brought to the notice of the editor, and of course that ought to be taken into consideration in assessing the damages. I am not surprised at Father Vaughan feeling that that was not at all an adequate apology. I should not have thought it was. No doubt it is quite true it does express the regret of the editor for its having found its way into the paper, but it goes on to repeat as much as they dare to repeat what they said against the Order to which this gentleman belongs, and most of us would feel, if we were intimately associated with persons who were still held up as necessarily enemies of society, and as persons necessarily to be avoided—if we found in the same breath in which the apology was offered that we were still held up to further opprobrium in consequence of our connection with our friends, I think we should very likely say we did not feel that the apology was adequate.

Now, gentlemen, I do not, of course, ask you to take

into consideration at all the mere language of general controversy in matters of this kind. That is harmless, and it is permissible. It may be in very bad taste, and to my mind a good deal of it is in shocking taste, but then I hope I am a man of peace, and I have learnt in the course of my life, if I have learnt nothing else, some small measure of Christian charity; but the mere fact that these articles are extravagant, and go beyond good taste and good feeling, is nothing to the purpose. The question is, what sort of imputation do they cast with regard to Father Vaughan? You are the judges of that, and, if you think they do convey serious imputations, imputations which have no ground, then your damages ought to be such as will mark your sense that all legitimate limits of controversy had been greatly exceeded, and I cannot help feeling in all these cases that to a certain extent the damages ought to mark the feeling of the jury with regard to matters of that kind, and, as has often been said before, when there is no pecuniary damage (and nobody supposes there is any pecuniary damage to Father Vaughan) it is not illegitimate to take into consideration that it is desirable to put an end and a stop to this kind of thing, which can only be done by reasonable and substantial damages. It certainly will not be done if you accept the invitation of the learned counsel for the defendants, namely, to hustle Father Vaughan out of Court with a contemptuous verdict, which would be a direct encouragement to everybody else to tread in the same lines as this paper has walked in.

Gentlemen, I have no more to say to you. You will take the matter into your consideration, and if you think it is a libel you will find for the Plaintiff with such reasonable damages as you think an English gentleman,

if he has been aspersed, is entitled to. A great deal has been said to you, I do not know how many times Mr. Macaskie has said it, but he never mentioned the fact about this action having been brought without adding "with the consent of his superiors." We all know what that means. It means, Do not you do anything to pat the Jesuits as a body on the back. It means, Take into account against him that this may be to some extent an action which his superior desires to be brought. But I do not think that is legitimate at all. If you were all members of the Society of Jesus yourselves, I should say to you, you must not give a farthing more because he belongs to the Society of Jesus, and because your sympathies might be with him ; and I say do not give a farthing less because he is a member of the Society of Jesus, in so far as that may tend to make your sympathies against him. Let us administer justice here, free from sympathy, free from passion, free from prejudices, and let us say, if you think an English gentleman has been libelled, and that his character has been taken away as far as the words could do it by this article, give him such damages as will show that there is no foundation for the imputations that have been made. Will you be good enough to consider your verdict, gentlemen?

THE VERDICT.

The Jury retired at 12.40, and returned into Court at 1.10.

Mr. Justice Wills.—During the course of the hearing of this case there have been some attempts at an expression of feeling. I hope there will be no expression of any such sort when the verdict is given.

The Associate.—Have you agreed on your verdict, gentlemen?

The Foreman of the Jury.—We have.

The Associate.—Do you find for the Plaintiff or for the Defendant?

The Foreman of the Jury.—For the Plaintiff.

The Associate.—With any damages?

The Foreman of the Jury.—£300.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I ask your Lordship for judgement.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

Mr. Hugo Young.—There is a question, my Lord, about some costs in Chambers which your Lordship will, perhaps, allow my learned friend to deal with.

Mr. Denis O'Connor.—I also ask for a certificate for a special jury.

Mr. Justice Wills.—A certificate for a special jury—certainly.

Mr. Denis O'Connor.—My Lord, the defendants by their defence did not admit publication, and we wrote them a letter asking them whether that was purely a formal denial or whether they intended to rely on it, and asking them to admit. They refused to admit, and we had to interrogate, and the Master reserved the costs until the trial. I now ask for those costs.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I think you are entitled to them.

Mr. Denis O'Connor.—They were the costs of an application for interrogatories.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

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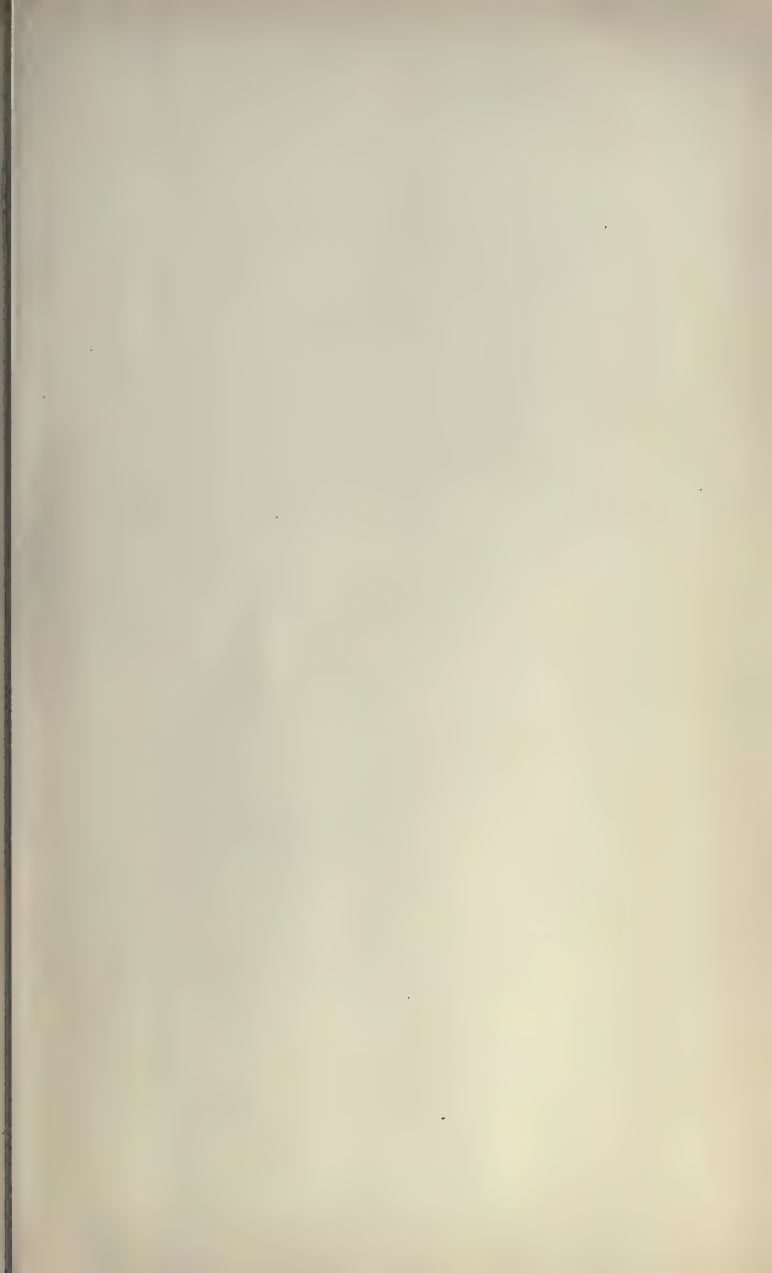
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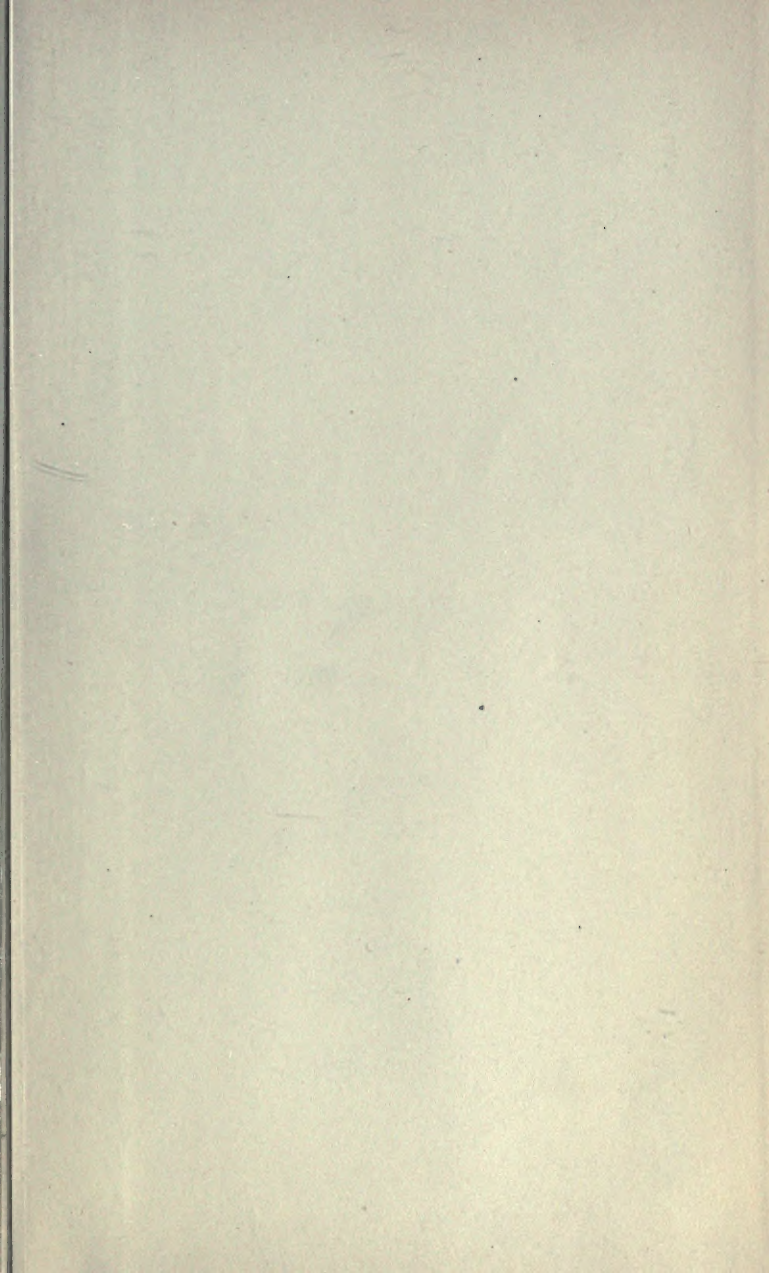
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